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VOL. 111.

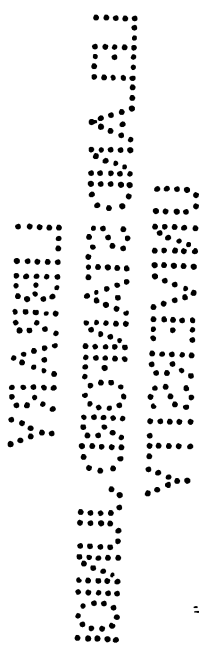
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THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*The Official Reports and Returns of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade. 1850-1861.*

THE British public naturally desires to travel at as little cost as may be, but with speed, comfort, safety, and punctuality. It has practically only one means of conveyance. The iron rail has superseded the road of other metal; the six-legged horse has, for long journeys, driven the quadruped out of, or into the field; and the single stage-coach has made way for the train of more convenient carriages. The United Kingdom is—to its infinite advantage—intersected by 10,500 miles of railway, of which two-thirds are constructed with a double line of rails; and the gaps over the country are being filled up at the rate of 400 miles a-year. The enormous sum of 400,000,000*l.* has been expended within the last thirty-five years upon these works; the total receipts derived from them during the year 1860 amounted to 27,766,622*l.*; and the net revenue for the same period was upwards of fourteen millions and a half.

It would no doubt have been better in many ways, for the shareholders as well as for the public, if the Government had exercised a judicious control over railway operations at an early stage, and had contrived, during the laying out of the different lines, to insure greater uniformity of system, better routes, and superior management. But it is useless to regret the past. We prefer to look forward, and, with a view to the public benefit, to scan the present position of affairs, and to cull only from the experience of former years the ideas that will best serve for future guidance.

There are now in the United Kingdom upwards of 300 railway companies, leasing and leased, working and worked, agreeing and combining, quarrelling and competing, entering into every conceivable complication with each other, and possessing in all directions ties of common ambition or objects of conflicting interest. They vary in the length of their lines from 2 miles to 1,000 miles, and in the amount of their capital from 20,000*l.* to 37,000,000*l.* They employ, altogether, 120,000 officers and servants; and they possess 6,000 locomotive engines, 15,000 passenger-carriages, and 180,000 trucks, waggons, and other

vehicles. They carried, in the year 1860, besides 48,000 season and periodical ticket-holders, 163,000,000 passengers, of whom about an eighth were first-class, five-sixteenths were second-class, and nine-sixteenths were third-class; and they received from them thirteen millions of money as the price of their conveyance.

These various companies command patronage, money, custom,—all that confers power,—to an extent previously unheard of in the history of associations. They have Noble Lords and Honourable Members for their active agents and astute rulers. They have opportunities of affording advantages, or of withdrawing them; of granting or withholding favours; of indulging in civilities, and of acquiring popularity, which they often employ to great advantage. United, they form a strong party in Parliament. Separately, they have the issues of life and death, as we shall presently show, pretty much at their disposal. The press is too much at their service; and one section of it is specially devoted to them. The neighbourhood is sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile to them. The Bench is often insufficiently informed in technical matters. The most eminent scientific witnesses are at their beck and call. They possess in all quarters an influence which may some day, unless proper precautions are observed, become alarming.

To the tender mercies of this heterogeneous society of companies are our 163 millions of travelling public handed over, a helpless mass. They are all, as a rule, equally ignorant of the condition of the engine and carriages, and of the line over which they are to pass; of the strength of the bridges, the efficiency of the signals, or the regularity with which they are worked. They cannot, of course, know what train is before them, or what train will follow them; nor can they be aware of any of the thousand and one risks to which they are exposed.

The public cannot, then, be expected to exercise, of itself, any efficient control over this vast, highly organised, powerful conveyance-machine; but it has nevertheless great power if its influence be properly directed; for railway companies are extremely sensitive to well-instructed public opinion. The public knows very little of the dangers that it incurs, but is a good judge of the inconveniences which it encounters. It is patient under them to an extraordinary degree. Railways are worked for profit; and whilst a company is in undisturbed possession of its territory and traffic, it naturally strives to get as much as it can out of the public, and to give as little as possible in return.

Nevertheless, when the public convenience is at stake in a particular locality, local boards, local authorities, and local newspapers

papers are sometimes of avail in obtaining a remedy. The companies, too, are most of them obliged to come to Parliament for a renewal or extension of their powers from time to time; and they are in continual negotiation as to working agreements, leases, or amalgamations, projected or desired between them. The occasion of giving them fresh advantages is the best opportunity for extracting from them any proper facilities on behalf of the public which they have previously neglected to afford; and parliamentary sanction should not be given to further combinations without great caution.

Competition is, indeed, the most effective weapon in the public armoury. Railway companies will, when competing, vie with each other in providing good carriages, well lighted and comfortably warmed; in supplying frequent trains at cheap fares; in running long distances at high speed with punctuality; in employing obliging officers and attentive servants; in constructing convenient stations, with ample platforms, and attractive refreshment and waiting-rooms. So valuable a weapon should be carefully preserved. The larger companies have repeated the process of extending their territories, and of combining with or swallowing up their neighbours, until at last they have become too unwieldy to be managed from within, or to be acted upon from without, in the manner most conducive to their own interests or the public benefit. If this course were permitted to proceed unchecked, it would terminate in the country being swamped by one large monopoly, uncontrollable, unimproveable, and unmanageable. Parliament has of late shown itself more jealous of combination, and wisely. The public interest requires that as fresh competition is engendered, in consequence of the filling up of the open spaces still remaining, the greatest advantage shall be taken of it; and that any fresh combinations of an extensive nature shall be temporary, and liable to revision as circumstances may require.

It is a common opinion that keen competition between railway companies is as injurious in the end to the interests of the public as it is to those of the shareholders.

This theory is not, as a general rule, borne out in practice. The question of amalgamation does not rest entirely with the companies. By raising their rates beyond a certain point they check traffic or divert it into other channels. There are not many localities in which they can afford to be very arbitrary. The fares between London and Manchester have never returned to the higher figure at which they stood before the reckless competition which was carried on in 1857 between those places; while some of the advantages which the public derived from that competition, of rapid travelling, numerous trains, and few stop-

pages, have remained. The fares between London and Dover will probably never again rise to the prices which were paid before the Chatham line was made, unless, upon the competing companies coming to good terms with each other, Parliament should permit them to amalgamate.

There can be no stronger instance of the advantages which may accrue to the public from competition in construction, than is to be found in the railway works which are in progress in different parts of the metropolis at the present time, for the purpose of providing central and convenient stations. Nothing else would have induced the different companies to undertake the outlay of time, trouble, and money, which they have thus forced upon each other.

That railway travelling is safer than any other mode of travelling is well known. Taking the average of a series of years, it would appear that for an average journey, say of 10 miles, only 1 in every 8,000,000 of passengers is killed, and only 1 in every 330,000 injured, from causes over which they have no control. These numbers vary materially, however, from year to year. In the last half of 1860, as is shown by the latest return before us, 136 persons were returned as killed, and 414 as injured; but of these only 36 were killed and 364 injured as passengers; and of these again only 23 were killed and 351 injured from causes beyond their own control. There is no doubt that these numbers are below the mark. Many servants of companies are undoubtedly killed and injured whose deaths are not included in the official returns, in consequence of the necessary information not being furnished by the railway companies.

Of those disasters which have acquired the name of railway accidents, 840 have been inquired into and reported on during eleven years by the officers of the Board of Trade. These were not by any means all that occurred; but they were selected for inquiry from among those which were reported by the railway companies, or which came under the notice of the Board in other ways; and they may fairly be considered as representing the principal accidents which were accompanied with personal injury. Of the total number of accidents, an annual average of 44 out of 76 consisted of collisions between trains and engines. We will notice such of the accidents reported on as appear to us most worthy of attention.

In the case of a collision on one of the Scotch lines, it was ascertained that the engine-driver and fireman had been out for more than thirty hours, and that the guard, who had suffered from two broken ribs a fortnight previously, and had returned to his work for the first time after that misfortune, had been on duty

duty from nine o'clock one evening until eleven o'clock on the next morning but one, with only two hours and a half for sleep during that period! The engine broke down, the guard was fast asleep in his van, and a passenger-train which was following came into collision with the train of which he was supposed to be taking charge.

On an Irish railway, an engine-driver whose ordinary duties extended from 5 A.M. till 10 P.M., with three hours' intermission, fell asleep from overwork, and caused an accident.

At no great distance from Birmingham, in one case, a signalman had been on duty for twenty-six hours; and there were engine-drivers and firemen, in another case, whose average duty amounted to sixteen hours a-day, but who had been out for nineteen, twenty-one, and twenty-six hours. At Normanton a pointsman worked habitually for eighteen hours a-day.

The engine-driver of a coal train, near London, was at work from 6 A.M. one day until 8:30 the next morning. The engine-drivers in North Wales were occasionally kept out for twenty-three hours; and the ordinary duties of a stationmaster on the South-West of London extended over sixteen hours on week days, and thirteen hours on Sundays. Certain other men came on duty at 6 A.M., and were sent out with a fresh train after working to between 10 and 11 P.M.; and others again remained on duty from the middle of one day to the evening of the next day.

These and other instances of over-work of servants are examples of one way in which accidents are caused. There are other causes which are equally inexcusable, but there are none which are more discreditable to the directors and managers of railways. The work that the men undergo is certainly not hard work, such as that of a *navvy*; but it is work in which great vigilance is required, and the public safety depends upon that vigilance being properly exercised. It is impossible for men who are employed over periods varying from fifteen to thirty hours, to do justice either to themselves or to their employers. The class of men so employed is not so good as it would otherwise be. Discipline cannot be maintained among them. They become stupid and reckless. They make mistakes in their signals, or neglect to keep a good look-out from their engines. They have an additional inducement to resort to stimulants, and even an excuse for excess; and they return to duty after their hours of rest, scarcely more fit for their work than when they left it.

No passenger would willingly allow his life to depend upon the activity and vigilance of a man who had been out with his engine

engine for thirty hours; but any passenger may be obliged to do so without being aware of it. Unfortunately a traffic-superintendent is not in much danger of being punished for allowing a signalman, or a locomotive-superintendent for allowing an engine-driver or fireman, to be left on duty for excessive hours. The tendency is even in the opposite direction, and a manager is more likely to be considered extravagant, and to lose his situation, in consequence of a desire to maintain his staff in what he considers a state of efficiency.

The best mode of obliging railway companies to keep up a sufficient staff, would be by preventing them from employing their servants habitually for more than twelve hours a-day; and it is probable that railway managers would be very glad in many instances to shelter themselves under such an obligation.

One collision brought to light the case of a little girl, thirteen years of age, who was doing duty as gatekeeper and signalman at an important post in Staffordshire. In other cases, a little boy was acting as a pointsman in Lancashire; a youth of sixteen was doing regular duty of fifteen hours daily in a midland county; another youth was in charge of telegraph-instruments in Kent, and, although these instruments were intended specially to provide for the safety of the traffic, he was saddled with numerous other duties which rendered it impossible for him to attend to them. A youth of nineteen, also, was found to have been in charge of a long train in North Wales, who had only once previously been on the line, who knew nothing of the running of the trains, or of the company's regulations, and who had not been provided with a watch, a time-table, or a book of rules.

The want of signals is obviated in recently-constructed lines, because the companies are required to complete them in this respect before they open them for passenger traffic; and much improvement has been made of late years on lines that have been in use for longer periods. In addition to station, or platform signals, distant-signals, as they are called, are also necessary. These are placed at distances varying from 500 to 900 yards from the stations, to warn an engine-driver of any obstruction which renders it necessary that he should stop his train. When a train is travelling at high speed, it frequently cannot be stopped in less than from half a mile to a mile; and if a driver is not warned by means of signals of this sort, at a greater or less distance from an obstruction according to the nature of the gradients and other circumstances, he cannot be expected, particularly in hazy weather, to pull up in time to avoid a collision. Signals are similarly required at the junctions between two lines of railway, or between a main line and mineral sidings; and at
some

some other places, such as level-crossings, when the gradients are steep and the view is obstructed. On many of the older lines, as well as on some of the more recent lines on which additions have been made since the opening, improvements in the way of signals are still required; and these are now and then brought to light when collisions occur for the want of them. In one year alone fifteen accidents occurred from this cause.

When signals are not strictly obeyed there can be no safety. They are the only indications by which an engine-driver is informed when it is necessary for him to slacken his speed, and prepare for stopping his train. In several cases in which a disregard of signals has led to a collision, it has turned out that for some reason they had previously been habitually disobeyed.

Over-work, as we have already stated, tends to occasion want of discipline; and sometimes regulations are disobeyed from the want of means, or from the force of circumstances. Time-tables are so drawn up that they cannot be carried out. Regulations are printed and supplied to the servants of a company which are not suitable, and which they are unable to obey, but which they are punished for not complying with when an accident happens.

Thus, trains have been arranged in the working time-tables of a railway to start at the same moment, while the regulations of the company have directed that an interval of five minutes should be maintained between them. The servants of some companies are constantly intrusted with the responsibility of maintaining that interval without being provided with any means of ascertaining it. A signalman in Northumberland stated on one occasion that he had been unable to carry out his regulations in this respect, and that he had, therefore, allowed them to fall into disuse. In the case of another accident, an engine-driver, who required to shunt his train at a particular place, but was forbidden by his regulations to do so when another train was due, was unable to ascertain the time, and had no means of knowing whether the other train had passed or not. Under these circumstances, he made the best guess he could as to the time; he came to the conclusion that the mail train must have passed; he began to shunt his train across the main line; and, whilst he was engaged in the operation, the train in question came up and ran into him.

For the maintenance of good discipline, responsible men should be employed, for reasonable hours, on sufficient wages, and under good regulations. They should be furnished with all necessary appliances, and should be subjected to irregular, but constant supervision. It has been found that the hope of reward has a better

better effect on such men than the fear of punishment; and on this principle a premium, dependent on their good conduct, is sometimes wisely paid to them half-yearly.

The want of a sufficient proportion of break-power to the trains is a defect which is constantly pointed out, not only in the case of collisions, but also with reference to accidents of other descriptions. When an engine-driver suddenly finds an obstruction before him, or a signal against him, or when any failure takes place in any portion of his engine or train, the amount of danger that is caused to the passengers varies very often directly as the distance at which he is able to bring his train to a stand; and that distance depends upon the weight of the train, the speed at which it is travelling, the state of the rails, the nature of the gradients, the power of the engine, and the proportion and weight of vehicles to which available breaks are attached. If the train be light, the break-power ample, the rails dry, and the gradients favourable, the driver may pull up within a short distance, and may avoid an impending collision. If the contrary be the case, he may not be able to pull up under a mile or a mile and a quarter, and he may, if the warning afforded to him have not been sufficient, meet with a serious accident at some point within that distance.

Trains are habitually run, on the principal lines in the country, without a suitable amount of break-power, and they are constantly despatched without any break-van behind them. Vehicles to which breaks are applied should be properly distributed in a train. If they are all in the front of it, the carriages from behind are liable to run forward upon them when any accident occurs; and the results are more serious to the passengers. Or when a coupling gives way in the middle of a train, the detached carriages, having no controlling power, may run forward upon the front part of the train, or may run back until something occurs to stop them. A powerful break at the tail of a train is, on the other hand, of the greatest use in every sort of accident. If an engine leaves the line, if a tyre gives way, if an axle fails—on the engine or on any of the carriages—the hind guard, by at once applying such a break, stretches the couplings or tends to do so; keeps the carriages back; prevents the disabled vehicle, perhaps, from being overturned, and the other carriages from mounting upon and fracturing one another; and converts what might otherwise be a very serious accident, into one which is attended with only slight results.

On some parts of the Continent, and in America, where more guards are employed in proportion to the number of vehicles than in this country, each guard is able in general to apply the

breaks of two adjacent vehicles; but the description of vehicles in use among us, and the defective communication which exists between them, do not admit of this being done; and on certain lines, where the gradients are steepest, and the necessity for additional break-power greatest, other means have therefore been resorted to. Continuous breaks, as they are called, have been constructed, which can be applied simultaneously to several vehicles by one guard riding in one of them; and they have been used on some lines for many years with excellent effect. A great number of inventors, English and foreign, have spent much time and money in producing different designs for these breaks; but three descriptions of them have been principally adopted in practice, those of Messrs. Newall, Fay, and Chambers. Without attempting to discuss in this place their respective merits, we may safely say that they are all superior to the ordinary single break, and may any of them be employed with advantage.

A recent case in South Durham strongly proved the advantage of continuous breaks. As 300 passengers were returning in an excursion train from the Lake district, the engine suddenly left the rails whilst it was descending a steep gradient at considerable speed, mainly in consequence of a defect in the permanent way. After running down the side of an embankment, it fell on its right side, at 82 yards only from the point at which it first quitted the rails. The driver was killed, and the fireman nearly so, but the passengers were comparatively unhurt, only six of them having complained after the accident. Continuous breaks of Mr. Newall's pattern were there used on three vehicles connected with the van at the tail of the train. They had fortunately been fully applied before the accident happened, to check the speed of the train in descending the incline; and to their action the safety of the passengers was chiefly due.

A system which has been found after long experience to be good for lines with heavy gradients, cannot but be good also for more level lines. The expense of fitting up a great number of carriages with such breaks would no doubt be considerable. Some extra trouble would be incurred in marshalling the trains at terminal, and in attaching and detaching carriages at intermediate stations; and, which is the great difficulty, several companies would be obliged, in order that they might be employed to the greatest advantage, to agree in adopting one particular form of break. But these difficulties are, after all, more apparent than real. They may be got over on any of the great lines by arranging that a van and two or three post-office, or other vehicles, shall be run through from one point to another, backwards and forwards, without separation. The companies would

would thus effect an important saving in compensation for accidents; and also, if the breaks were properly used, in the tyres of the wheels, and in the permanent way. The employment of continuous breaks renders the skidding of the wheels (or their being caused to slide over the rails without revolving, in order to bring a train to a stand) to a great extent unnecessary. Those breaks save much time in pulling up a train to stop at intermediate stations; and they form of themselves an admirable means of enabling the guard to attract the attention of the driver, in the event of anything happening to render it necessary for him to do so. A driver will constantly fail to notice the application of a single break, but he will always feel the simultaneous action of breaks upon three or four carriages.

The system of continuous breaks has not yet been extensively applied. The carriages of several different companies are constantly combined in one train on the through lines; and they are not as yet fitted up to correspond with one another. It is the same with systems of breaks, and train communication, as with station arrangements, and signals, and junction arrangements. What an officer of one company considers good, is believed by an officer of the next company to be dangerous and undesirable. In the mean time, the trains are habitually run without the observance of easy precautions which would tend in an important degree to increase the safety of the passengers.

The travelling public can only wonder at, and regret, the way in which they are helplessly dragged along in a disabled carriage; or the extent to which the carriages over-ride each other, and are smashed to pieces when a train is somewhat suddenly brought up. They are forced to learn with what contentment they may, that a driver could not bring his train to a stand without a serious collision after having had notice for half a mile, three-quarters of a mile, or more, of an obstruction ahead of him. The coroner charges his jury to the effect that they must not expect this particular company to adopt further precautions than those which are in general use. The same opinion is reiterated from the bench when a case comes on for compensation, with the addition, perhaps, that the question of such extra precautions, however desirable they may be, is not one with which the Court can deal; and that, if the gentlemen of the jury are of opinion that the company have used such reasonable care and attention in providing for the safety of the passengers as under these circumstances might fairly be expected from them, then they must record their verdict for the defendants; and the questions involved in cases of this sort not being popularly understood, the system is continued as before.

After

After the accident first referred to under this head, for which upwards of 20,000*l.* was paid in compensation, for deaths, injuries, and damages, the general manager of the railway to which the train belonged, issued instructions that one break to every seven vehicles should be employed with excursion-trains for the future; but this was so little attended to, that somewhat later another inquiry brought the circumstance to light, of an excursion-train having been taken over gradients of 1 in 93 and 1 in 100, with only two breaks to thirty-two carriages. About the same time another case is recorded, in which seventeen people were injured, of an excursion-train in Gloucestershire conveying a thousand passengers in twenty-seven carriages with only two breaks. These were quite insufficient to check its speed in descending an incline, containing gradients of 1 in 50 and 1 in 70, which it met with in the course of its journey. The guard placed 'spraggs,' or logs of timber, between the spokes of two of the carriage-wheels to assist the breaks; but the driver could not, with these additions to his break-power, do more than slightly reduce a comparatively slow speed in a distance of 900 yards; and the train could not, for this reason, be stopped in time to avoid a collision with a coal-train, which was an hour and seven minutes before its time, at a junction where the excursion-train was not expected. Goods-trains, also, are frequently very insufficiently provided in this respect.

We are averse to legislation on railway matters if it can be avoided, and particularly in regard to the details of railway management; but we believe, nevertheless, that much benefit would result to the railway companies as well as to the public, if a certain *minimum* proportion of break-power were required by law to be employed with all passenger-trains, at the rate, say, of one break-vehicle to every three carriages; and if it were rendered imperative upon railway companies to attach a break-vehicle with a guard in it at the tail of every passenger-train, under a penalty for non-compliance made easily recoverable by any person who chose to sue for it.

The next defect to which we would refer, is the want of means for preserving a safe interval between the trains, coupled with a want of information as to their actual position, and with unpunctuality. As the traffic upon all railways is of a mixed character, and as goods-trains, mineral-trains, and cattle-trains cannot be made to keep time absolutely, any more than passenger-trains, it is evident that there must exist a certain amount of unpunctuality. If a line be not so worked as to provide for the safe running of unpunctual as well as of punctual trains, continual danger will be incurred. At the same time it is not to be denied that great reforms

reforms might be made in this respect with advantage. Punctuality with passenger-trains is not only very much within the control of the management, but may also be taken as a tolerably good indication of its state of efficiency.

When delays do occur, it is important that they should be made known by telegraph; and, indeed, the times at which the trains may be expected, or those at which they start from or pass the principal stations, should be regularly announced at the different stations, junctions, and sidings, on all lines traversed at high speeds, and by mixed traffic. On some railways this is done; but in the majority of cases it is either omitted altogether, or not done to good purpose. A goods-train, or a slow train, or a shunting-train, is therefore kept waiting perhaps for half-an-hour, or until it can wait no longer, in anticipation of the arrival of an express passenger-train. It then blocks the main line by shunting over it, or crossing it, or starting along it, just as the expected train comes up and runs into it. If the signalman is made aware by telegraph of the time when such an express train may be expected, he is able to judge how far it is desirable to send a slow train forward, or how it may best be kept out of the way; and he need not expose it to any risk. For the want of this knowledge he may, in his uncertainty, waste time and cause danger at the same moment. This is the way in which many collisions occur, and the simple mode by which they may be avoided. Not only should a statement of the time of departure from each stopping-place be telegraphed down the line, to show how late the trains are, if they are behind time, and when they may be expected in all cases; but this information should also be properly exhibited at the stations. On one line of railway a slate is affixed to a wall at each station expressly for this purpose; and the necessary information being constantly inscribed upon it, is always at the service of any one to whom it may be of use. On another line a still further improvement has been for some years in force,—of giving notice even to the gate-keepers at the level-crossings of the approach of a train; and this system might be extended with great benefit. The trains are telegraphed on special wires from station to station; the voltaic current rings a telegraph-bell in each intermediate crossing-lodge on its way; and it thus announces to the inmate, that a train is at a greater or less distance from him, according to his situation with reference to the telegraph-station from which the signal is given.

No collisions between following trains could, of course, occur on any railway, if a sufficient distance were always strictly preserved between them. In some parts of Germany this object is sought

sought by the employment of a number of signalmen stationed along the line in sight of each other; and the platelayers are sometimes made to perform a similar duty on special occasions in this country. But the rule most commonly laid down is, that the trains shall be kept five minutes apart from one another by the regular signalmen at the stations, junctions, level-crossings, and sidings which they have to pass. As it is stated in some of the books of printed regulations, the danger-signal is to be kept up for five minutes, and the caution-signal for five minutes longer, after the passage of a train. This rule is frequently not carried out in practice, even in places where it is supposed to remain in force; and it often proves ineffectual when it is acted upon. Indeed, much longer intervals of time between the trains are insufficient in many cases to prevent them from coming into collision with one another; and on some occasions they have been so started that one has been due to overtake another, and that collisions have in this way resulted, when longer intervals have been observed. The rates of speed are so different, varying from sixty miles an hour with fast trains, to eight or ten miles an hour, or even less, with slow trains, that very long intervals of time are sometimes required to enable one train to keep out of the way of another, according to the distance that they have to run without a stoppage. At night, too, there are fewer signalmen on duty, and there is less security in that respect than by day. Fogs occur, also; mineral trains are too heavy for their engines; rails are slippery; the view is obstructed on particular parts of the line; and one train breaks down, or travels slowly for some distance, until, at an unlucky moment, it is caught up and run into by a train which is following at full speed and in fancied security.

It was soon found out that some better means than an interval of time was required in tunnels, where, from the accumulation of steam and smoke, an engine-driver was never certain of seeing ten yards before him; and accordingly, a signalman was placed at each end of the longest and most dangerous tunnels, with a telegraph, to prevent more than one train from being in them upon the same line of rails at one time. As the traffic increased, as the stoppages diminished or became less regular, and as the speeds became higher and more various, it was found necessary to provide protection in a similar manner for open portions of railway; and the system of working by telegraph, as it is called, though it still requires great extension, has thus been introduced with more or less modification, on some of the worst parts of most of the great lines. Many accidents have occurred in
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spite of it, from mistakes and misunderstandings between the signalmen, either in consequence of the defects under which it has been worked, or from the inefficiency of the servants who have been placed in charge of the telegraph-instruments, or else from their having been employed upon other duties incompatible with proper attention to their instruments; but when a good system of telegraph-working is adopted, and when responsible servants are employed, it is capable of affording a very high degree of security, and of materially assisting at the same time in the working of the traffic.

The traffic upon some of the great lines is now, however, so crowded at particular times, that the trains cannot, it is alleged, be kept even two miles (which, at sixty miles an hour, is two minutes) apart. The telegraphic lengths into which they have been divided are, therefore, under certain restrictions as to warning or speed, made to accommodate more than one train at a time on the same line of rails; and the telegraph-huts, which have been established at distances of about two miles from each other, are thus only available for obtaining a doubtful security. It is impossible to do otherwise than dread some serious accident from such a state of things, whilst it is plain that the system observed on other lines, under which one train only is permitted to be upon each length at a time, and an interval of space is absolutely maintained between every two trains, provides the best chance of safety.

As the result of the most recent experience in working the trains by telegraph, it appears that the telegraph-huts should be fitted up as follows:—One train-needle should be exclusively devoted to each line of rails in each direction, and one talking-needle should also be supplied for the use of the signalman in each direction. Two double- and two single-needle instruments are therefore required in each intermediate telegraph-hut, for working a double line of rails. The train-needles should indicate 'line-blocked' or 'line-clear' only, and should always be pegged over to one of those indications. The talking-needles should be of the ordinary description, and should be employed for all necessary messages, as well as for giving notice of the approach of trains, for describing them, for reporting anything that may be observed to be wrong in them, and for performing other duties required by local circumstances. The instruments should respectively be placed opposite to the directions in which they work, in huts of ample dimensions, and convenient for the men. Clocks should be provided for their use, and record-books, in which they should enter the time at which each train is signalled to
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them and from them. It is better that tunnels should be included in telegraph lengths of this description, than that they should be protected by signalmen at each end of them.

Collisions at the junctions of two or more lines of rails are caused, either by a mistake of the signalman in charge of them, or by the disobedience of the driver of an engine or train to the signals which are exhibited to him, or by a want of sufficient signals, or of good arrangements for working the signals and points.

The best junctions are now fitted up with raised stages for the accommodation of the signalmen, on which all the signal-levers and point-handles are collected together, and from which they can be conveniently worked. Each signalman has a main-signal at his box, and a distant-signal (worked by a wire) from 600 to 900 yards away from it, applicable to each line of rails under his control. He keeps his signals, on most lines, at 'danger,' and only lowers them as may be necessary for the passage of a train. An admirable improvement has been introduced of late, of so connecting the points and signals with each other, that the points may be moved freely in either direction as long as the signals are kept at 'danger;' that the points are fixed in their proper positions when a signal is lowered to allow a train to pass; and that the signals cannot be so lowered until the points have been first turned in the right direction. A signalman is thus prevented from making any mistake which can lead to an accident; and as the signals are weighted to fly to 'danger' in the event of any failure of the machinery for working them, the only risk to be apprehended is from the drivers not obeying the signals made to them, from their miscalculating the distance in which they can stop their trains, or from their not being provided with sufficient break-power.

On one of the great lines on which junctions are very numerous, the inferior system has been adopted of having one semaphore-post only, with two arms on it, at each junction-box; and of keeping the distant-signals applicable to the main line at 'all right,' instead of at 'danger.' This system has led to some accidents. The more rational and common practice is to employ as many junction-signals as there are lines of way, to prevent the engine-drivers from being misled, or from mistaking the signals made to them. For this purpose each junction-box is generally provided with two semaphore-posts, each of which has two arms. Four arms on one post would, of course, answer the same end.

For junctions, as well as at stations and other places where fixed signals are required, semaphore signals are now generally admitted to be superior to any other of the numerous kinds in
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use, and they are most commonly employed. They would, no doubt, become universal if it were not thought advisable on some of the established lines to adhere to the different systems that have been already adopted.

Collisions on single lines, from trains meeting one another while travelling in opposite directions, are due to recklessness, or mistakes, or misunderstandings, under defective systems of working. There can be no safety from this class of accident unless stringent regulations be adopted for preventing trains from being started in opposite directions at the same time.

Various systems of working have been employed. On some single lines the trains are worked by the printed time-tables as long as they are tolerably punctual, without any other precaution than adherence to the crossing-places therein prescribed; and any alterations in those crossing-places, which are rendered necessary by irregularities in the traffic, are arranged by telegraph between the station-masters or persons temporarily in charge of the stations, on their own responsibility. This system has proved ineffectual, in consequence either of want of intelligence or want of caution on the part of those in charge of the stations, or else of misunderstandings between the station-masters and others.

On a railway in the West of England, the system was adopted of making one officer (the locomotive-superintendent) responsible, in the event of deviations from the time-tables, for arranging fresh places of crossing for the trains; similarly to the American plan of employing a train-despatcher for regulating the traffic. In this case, distinct instructions were required to be sent by the locomotive-superintendent himself, to station-masters, guards, and all parties concerned in any alterations that were effected. As the traffic of the line was very heavy, this officer had a complicated task to perform, more particularly when extra trains were run at the same time that the ordinary traffic was irregular. A collision with loss of life occurred under this system, partly in consequence of the insertion of the word 'at' in the copy of a telegraph-message, which was not as explicit as it might have been; and partly from the misunderstandings to which this trifling addition led.

On a railway in the north of Scotland, the locomotive-superintendent was himself killed in a collision which occurred between an engine on which he was riding in one direction, and a train which was proceeding under his general instructions (though he did not expect it on that particular occasion) in the opposite direction.

On a railway in Staffordshire, the time-tables were found to be so arranged that if they had been followed the trains must have
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come six times a day into collision with one another on a portion of single line.

When a portion of double line is worked temporarily as a single line, in consequence of renewals, repairs, or obstructions, a pilot-man or pilot-engine is usually employed to start, or accompany each train; but even under this system a fatal collision occurred not long since. It turned out that the pilot-man was not sufficiently distinguishable by night, that a fixed main-signal was wanting at the end of the single line, and that the discipline had not been sufficiently strict.

There are three systems under which single lines have hitherto been safely worked. The first and best, which, when it can be rigidly carried out, prevents all possibility of collision, and makes a single line safer than a double one, is that of working with one engine only, or two coupled together, at a time. The second, and next best, is that of employing what is called a 'train-staff' for the regulation of the traffic. The 'train-staff' was at first a sort of truncheon, with which, when a guard was armed, he was at liberty to proceed over the portion of line to which it belonged, in either direction. It is now made in various forms, from that of a small brass case containing a key, and fastened by a strap over the guard's shoulder, to that of a staff five feet long, or of a signal placed in a socket (similar to a lamp socket) on the engine or tender. The mode in which it is applied is as follows:—

A single line is divided into any convenient number of lengths for the purposes of working; and to each length is appointed a separate 'train-staff,' distinct in form and colour from those on the other lengths. No train is permitted, under any circumstances whatever, to start from the terminal station of a length unless the staff belonging to the portion of line over which it is about to travel is present. If two or three trains are waiting to proceed in the same direction, they are all provided with train-tickets, corresponding in colour and form to the staff, except the last, which is accompanied by the staff itself. The train-tickets are only procurable at the terminal stations of the staff, and can only be obtained at these by means of the staff; as they are contained in a box, also similar in colour, of which the staff forms the key, or which is opened by a key attached to the staff. During the operation of ballasting, or when an accident happens, the staff is still supreme. It must be sent for an assisting engine, or must accompany the ballast engine; and no officer or person in authority can send forward an engine or train during its absence; but the most hurried director or the most impatient manager must, as well as the third-class passenger, await its return.

A code of regulations embodying the above provisions is now circulated by the Board of Trade, and recommended for adoption; and these provisions are more or less in force upon all single lines on which the staff system is employed.

The third system is that in which the duty of the train-staff is performed by a train-porter, constantly travelling backwards and forwards. Such an officer may be wanted, and there seems to be no reason why he should not be employed, even when the staff system is in force. But the train-staff has certainly these advantages over the train-porter—that it is never sick or sorry, that it never exceeds the bounds of sobriety, that it is unable to make a mistake, that it can neither be misunderstood nor misunderstand any one, that having nothing to fear and nothing to hope for it is no respecter of persons, that its instructions cannot be questioned, that by its presence or absence at any particular point it will always speak for itself, and that it can have no secrets and tell no lies.

The officers of the Board of Trade have of late years, before recommending the opening of a portion of single line for passenger traffic, demanded that a certificate should be furnished on behalf of the company wishing to open it, to the effect that one of the three modes above referred to would be adopted in working it. These undertakings have not always been carried out in practice, because the officers superintending the working of the lines have not in some cases felt themselves bound by the spirit of the certificates so given by others. But there is no doubt that the requiring of such certificates has very much contributed in a general way to the safety of the public.

Next after collisions, the class of accidents that is most numerous and of the greatest importance is that which arises from engines or carriages leaving the rails. These accidents are occasioned, sometimes by defects in the rolling stock, such as the failure of axles, wheel-tyres, springs, or other parts of the machinery of a train; and sometimes by defects in the permanent way, which includes the rails, chairs, fastenings, sleepers, and ballast. An opportunity occasionally offers of attributing such accidents to high speed when the real cause has not been found out; but high speed alone can never be considered as the principal cause of an accident, except in the case of a curve, of which the radius is so small as to render the speed employed dangerous, or on which the super-elevation of the outer above the inner rail is not sufficient to prevent the flange of an engine or carriage-wheel from mounting the former.

In writing thus we do not mean to justify excessive speeds, or to imply that the danger of railway travelling is not materially greater

greater when the speed is increased beyond a certain point, which varies with the nature of the line, the condition of its rolling-stock, and the strength and state of repair of its permanent way. On the contrary, we conceive that the principal companies have been both foolish and rash in allowing their trains to run at the speeds which have now for some years been at all times and seasons habitually employed, and especially so in permitting their engine-drivers to make up time on the road. They have been foolish because high speeds are exceedingly expensive, in requiring superior arrangements for conducting the traffic, in causing interruptions or extra speed to the slow traffic, in the wear and tear of stock and road, in compensation to persons killed and injured, and in preventing the development of local traffic. They have been rash because, other things being equal, greater risk, both of collisions and of trains leaving the rails, is incurred at high speeds than at low speeds, and because, when an accident does occur, a high speed is liable materially to increase the damage to the stock and the injuries to the passengers which result from it.

In these respects we agree with much that is stated in a pamphlet against high speeds which has been circulated by Mr. G. R. Stephenson, C.E., under the form of a letter to the President of the Board of Trade, and which we commend to our readers. We are unable to endorse all his conclusions, especially as regards break-power and the reversing of engines, which are contrary to the teaching of practical experience; but we would add a few figures in corroboration of his views, because we conceive them to afford a somewhat strong illustration of the danger, and expense in compensation alone, of fast traffic. Out of a total sum of 181,270*l.*, which was officially returned by the different companies as having been paid in the year 1860 as compensation for accidents and losses, 22,504*l.* is stated to have been paid on a line 381 miles long which stands high in public estimation for comfort and speed; whilst 11,125*l.* is stated to have been paid by a neighbouring line, 656 miles long, which is popularly supposed to be at the same time more deliberate and more dangerous; and 55,362*l.* is given as paid by a third line, 968 miles long, which rivals the first line in its speed, if not in its other qualifications.

At the same time we must add, that the fastest trains have not in practice contributed to produce the accidents in which the greatest loss of life and injuries have been sustained, and that some of the slower (stopping) trains are obliged to run at greater speed between the stations than the faster (through) trains. We should be glad to see the speed of all trains diminished through

the winter months, as the attempt to maintain them invariably leads to great irregularities, much dissatisfaction, considerable risk, and extra loss of life. Fogs and frosts, sleet and snow, driving winds and slippery rails, are highly inimical to punctuality, and they all cause extra danger—the more so under defective systems, not sufficiently able to cope with irregularity. In fogs the engine-drivers cannot see sometimes fifty yards before them. During frost the roads are rigid, repairs and renewals are difficult, and iron is more brittle; and the permanent way is often left in a most unsatisfactory condition by the thaw that succeeds it. High speeds at such seasons are more objectionable than during the summer months. Many will remember the disastrous accidents that occurred one after another during the somewhat unusual continuance of hard weather that was experienced last winter. The companies then found it necessary suddenly to reduce their speeds, and to throw the traffic into a state of irregularity from which it was some time in recovering. That state of things was less satisfactory, both to the officers and servants of the companies and to the public, besides being less to the interest of the companies, than if the speeds had been deliberately reduced at an earlier date and the necessary alterations had been effected in the time-tables. The public would not, we are convinced, be otherwise than pleased at any reduction of speed that would during the worst of the winter months enable punctuality to be more regularly maintained.

But we were saying, before thus digressing upon the subject of speeds, that except under certain conditions upon curves, high speed could never be properly considered as the principal cause of an engine or train leaving the rails; and we may add, that there is invariably some other very good cause for every accident of this description, though it is not always brought to light. Speed is, in fact, a comparative question. What would be a comparatively high and dangerous speed in one case, is a comparatively slow and safe speed in another. When a train filled with electors ran off the rails on a line near the north-west coast of England on one occasion, it was found that a very unsteady engine, whose trailing wheels had been removed for greater facility in taking the curves, had been thrown from a bad permanent way by a shaky bridge. The speed in that case, though not more than thirty miles an hour, was unsafe, whereas at the same spot a steady engine might have travelled along a sound road over a rigid bridge with perfect safety at sixty miles an hour. The fact is that whatever the speed employed may be, the permanent way of every passenger line ought to be maintained in so efficient a condition

condition as to be safe at a speed considerably higher. In all engineering works it is a rule that there shall be a margin of strength of two, three, or more times, above that which is absolutely required. Railway bridges of wrought-iron are required by the officers of the Board of Trade to have an ultimate strength capable of bearing four times, and of cast-iron six times the greatest weight that they will have in practice to support. There ought in like manner to be a sufficient margin of strength and stability in the permanent way, which should be safe not merely at the speeds daily employed upon it, but at much higher speeds also. We regret to say that this rule is not always carried out, and that the permanent way of some railways is permitted to fall into a most unsatisfactory condition. After an old line has been worked to the utmost, the renewals occupy a considerable period, perhaps a series of years; and whilst they are going on a train may run off the rails, partly, perhaps, from the defective condition of the road, and partly from other causes.

If no death ensues after an accident of this description, no public inquiry takes place. If death unfortunately follows, the coroner and his jury assemble. The evidence is probably conflicting, the causes are technical, and eminent engineers give it as their opinion that the road was in fair working order. They have often seen other roads in a worse condition; the accident ought not to have happened; and no one can be blamed for what has occurred. The jury return a verdict of 'Accidental Death,' and thank the company for their attention, their civility, and their readiness to afford information. The chairman congratulates the shareholders at their next meeting that the line has been so free from accident.

Out of the average before alluded to, of seventy-six accidents per annum, thirteen arise from engines and trains leaving the rails, in consequence, principally, of defects connected with the permanent way of different descriptions. One defect, that has been the direct cause of several prominent accidents, is the decay or shearing of the trenails, or wooden plugs, by means of which the chairs are attached to the sleepers. Trenails have been, and are still preferred by many engineers to wrought-iron spikes for this purpose, but they have proved themselves to be treacherous. They are found to give way more or less quickly, according to their quality and the positions in which they are placed, at the part between the chair and the sleeper, where strength is most required; and experience has amply shown that they ought never to be trusted on curves, because they are apt to be cut off by the edges of the chairs, which are generally sharp. Even on a straight line they sometimes give way suddenly after having

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been in use for six years and upwards. An express train from a watering-place of much resort on the north-west coast of England ran off a straight portion of line solely from this cause; and a fatal accident happened, also on a straight line, in the south of Scotland, not long since, from the same cause. In both of these cases, other parts of the permanent way proved on examination to be in a dangerous condition from this source of weakness. Wooden trenails possess the advantage of holding better in the sleepers than iron spikes, and therefore of retaining the chairs more firmly in their places as long as the timber is sound; but it is clear, after the experience that has been obtained of their liability to failure, that whenever they are used in future, a proportion of wrought-iron spikes—say two in each sleeper—should be used with them.

Amongst other defects in the roadway that lead more or less directly to accident, may be mentioned weak rails, or rails laid upon sleepers too far apart; and employed perhaps, when of a double-headed section, first with one head and then with the other head uppermost. The rails have frequently been fractured under these circumstances by the weight and momentum of a passing engine, and often without the engine or the train being thrown off the line. Points and crossings, again, are badly put in, or are allowed to get out of order. When sleepers decay, the beds of the chairs become uneven, or the fastenings get loose in consequence of the holes in which they are inserted becoming too large for them; and in the latter case, the gauge between the rails ceases to be well kept. The joints of the rails also are more difficult to keep up, and the ends of the rails acquire excessive motion as the trains pass over them. As each part becomes loose and shaky, the keys which keep the rails in the chairs are more apt to drop out, the chairs are more liable to fracture, and accidents of all sorts are more likely to occur.

It is surprising how bad a road the trains will sometimes traverse day after day without accident, and how the working platelayers will manage to keep them on the rails under the most adverse circumstances, though of course reckless engineers tend to engender careless foremen, and careless foremen to make neglectful platelayers. In many cases individuals, or local authorities, have complained with good cause of the condition of different lines of railway, and have asked for an inspecting officer from the Board of Trade to report upon them. In one of these cases of complaint, in which the permanent way proved to be in a very bad state, one engine had run off the line four times, and another once, within twenty days.

Our remarks apply, in spirit, to every one of the many descriptions

tions of roadway that have been laid down. In one and all, the same points require attention in order that a reasonable degree of safety may be maintained.

Safety in such matters is, after all, principally a question of margin. There must be a sufficient margin of strength, of stability, and of good repair; and it is important also to select that form of permanent way in which fastenings are least likely to get loose, if it possesses other good qualities. We would specify the fished-joint, as it is termed, as being the greatest improvement that has been effected of late years in permanent way. The most common and most efficacious mode of 'fishing' the joints is by placing a slab of wrought-iron on each side of the ends of the rails at their point of junction, and by securing them with four screw-bolts which pass through both of the fish-plates and through the rails between them. It is an advantage to employ a section of rail to which the fished-joint can be applied. Where the rails are not united in this or some other efficient manner at the joints, every tyre of every vehicle receives a greater or less blow in passing every joint. Each end of each rail is depressed in turn as a tyre passes over it, and rises again as the tyre proceeds onwards. Each tyre receives a blow as it leaves one rail and comes against the end of another, and the ends of the rails are forced down one after another against the bottom of the chairs. This action causes a rapid succession of blows as a train passes along the line, and the noise and rattle which are thus produced will be at once recognized by our readers.

A strong permanent way, kept in good order, is a pleasant sight; it gives satisfaction to all concerned, and it forms a marvellously safe road to travel over. It is moreover an economical thing in the long run. Where a weak road in bad order costs 200*l.* per mile to get into proper condition, or 150*l.* per mile to keep up, a superior road will only cost 100*l.* per mile for its maintenance. The rolling-stock suffers, also, most materially when a road is out of order. Engines and carriages complain bitterly of it. Tyres, axles, and springs fail more frequently upon it. Engine-drivers and guards do not like it. Passengers perceive excessive oscillation, or unpleasant motion, or rattling joints, and become afraid of it. It is a constant source of anxiety, annoyance, and expense.

Of the accidents that have been caused by the failure of the machinery of trains, the greatest number have been due to the fracture of the tyres of the wheels. Accidents of this nature were a few years ago classed as non-preventible; but now, fortunately, they need no longer be so considered.

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The tyres in common use, after being rolled out to the required shape, and cut to the desired length, are turned round into the form of a circle and welded at the ends; and their inner circumferences are made rather smaller than the exterior of the wheels to which they are to be attached. They are heated before they are applied to the wheels, sufficiently to allow of their being slipped over them; and they contract in cooling, so as to grasp them tightly. They are finally secured to the wheels, partly by the firmness with which they thus grasp them, and partly by rivets, or bolts, which are passed through the tyres as well as through the rims of the wheels.

The great majority of the tyres that fail give way either at the weld or at the bolt-holes, which are necessarily their weakest points; and the most dangerous tyres are those which are shrunk on the wheels too tightly. In a season of severe frost, when the roads become rigid and are uneven, the tyres are more severely tried than at any other time, as well on these accounts as because they have then also inferior powers of resistance. Besides having to encounter more constant and harder blows from the roughness of the permanent way, their tensile strength is decreased in proportion to the lowness of the temperature, because the strength of wrought iron gradually diminishes from a temperature of something like 600° of Fahrenheit's scale; and further, they are apt to shrink into a state of greater tension at such times, because the colder the temperature the more they become contracted.

When fracture takes place, they are liable, in suddenly opening out, to fly off the wheel; and they occasionally break up into a number of pieces. The mode in which accidents chiefly happen is by the vehicles to which they belong being thus thrown off the line; but in some cases, passengers in the trains, and others, have been killed or injured by the fragments; and in one case, a passenger in one train was killed by a tyre which flew from a second train as the two trains passed each other in opposite directions. When a tyre flies from the leading wheel of an engine, the engine invariably leaves the line; and the results are likely, in such a case, to be very disastrous. There was a fatal accident of this sort not long since near Tottenham, which has already led to much litigation, and is said to be likely to produce still more.

When a tyre flies from one of the carriages of a train, the carriage so disabled is frequently dragged for a considerable distance before the driver discovers the mishap, to the excessive discomfort, and sometimes to the serious injury of the passengers and their effects, as well as of any other passengers who may be in
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the carriages behind it. Among the numerous instances of this sort that have been experienced, may be mentioned an accident that occurred in the north of England. The wheel-tyre of a first-class carriage gave way, and the driver did not know anything of it until after he had travelled for three miles. The guard's van broke away from behind this vehicle at an early stage, and was left standing in the ballast; but the carriage itself was dragged for two miles and three-quarters further, till all its wheels and axles had been knocked away from under it, when its couplings at length gave way. Then again there was the 'notorious carriage' accident in one of the Midland counties, which will long be remembered by some gentlemen residing in Sheffield. The tyres of a wheel belonging to a first-class carriage, which had been previously stated by one of the officers of the company to be 'notorious' for having a disagreeable motion in travelling, failed while the train was proceeding at a speed of 35 or 40 miles an hour. The train consisted of an engine and tender and nine vehicles, and the carriage that became disabled was third from the hind end of it. After it had been dragged over the sleepers for about 400 yards, the axles got loose, and were doubled up and broken; while the two last vehicles were separated violently from the hinder part, and the engine and tender from the front of the train. Seven detached vehicles were then running down a gradient of 1 in 131 at considerable speed, without a break before or behind them, and with no other check than that which was afforded by the bumping or sliding of the wheelless first-class carriage over the rails. They only came to a stand, finally, near the entrance to a tunnel, at 900 yards from the place where they had left the van, and 1300 yards from the point at which the first portion of tyre flew off.

Accidents of this description are suggestive of another precaution to which we shall refer; but we must first explain the mode in which accidents arising from the failure of tyres may be prevented. It is not the mere fracture of the tyre, it will be observed, that occasions the mischief, or causes the vehicle to which it is attached to leave the line; but it is the way in which the tyre flies open, and in which it is either thrown off the wheel at once, or broken gradually to pieces during its revolutions over the rails and ballast. To prevent this result, numerous modes of fastening have been patented and put in practice, which have for their object, both the dove-tailing of the tyre to the wheel to prevent it from flying when it fails, and the avoiding of the bolt-holes, which weaken the tyre to the extent of 20 per cent. of its section, and render it more liable to fail. Different methods are preferred upon different railways, which have been introduced

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or invented by the officers of those railways. They are all superior to the old method above described; but they require various degrees of attention and good workmanship, and are more or less efficient. We would particularly specify, as amongst the most secure, the two rival modes upon the South-Eastern and the Brighton Railways, known as Mansell's and Burke's Patents.

It will be a long time before the means of security that are thus placed at the disposal of locomotive- and carriage-superintendents come into general use. Vast numbers of old tyres have to be worn out, and the new and best modes of fastening have not yet succeeded in gaining a footing on some of the longest of the lines of railway. But the travelling public should understand that there is no necessity whatever for their being dragged helplessly along for miles in a disabled carriage, at the peril, perhaps at the cost, of their lives, behind an express or any other train, in consequence of the fracture of a wheel-tyre; because, in the first place, the tyres can be so effectually secured on the wheels that it is not only impossible for them to fly in case of fracture, but that they may even be broken into several pieces without endangering the safety of the train; and because in the second place, the train can without difficulty be provided with good means of communication from one end to the other, by the use of which the driver may at once be apprised of any accident.

This last is of itself a subject of importance, and one which merits a brief discussion.

The business of the engine-driver and fireman of a train is to attend to the engine and keep an incessant look-out ahead for signals and obstructions; and this is quite as much as they can do properly. When they are travelling at speed, the rattle of the engine and train and the rapid rate at which they pass through the atmosphere (which is equivalent to a hurricane blowing in the opposite direction) often render it impossible for them to hear any sound from the carriages behind them. A guard may at times attract the attention of a driver by putting on a break and suddenly taking it off again; but so little effect has this operation upon the momentum of the moving mass (which may weigh from 100 to 200 tons) that the driver will more frequently not notice it at all. It is true that if a guard has the means which he ought to possess, of applying breaks to two or three carriages as well as to his van all at the same time, he can, by making use of them, always cause the driver to look round. But breaks of this description have only as yet come into partial use; and even when they are employed it is desirable to have a means of communication independent of them,

them, because a guard may find it necessary to make a signal to the driver when these breaks are applied and when he cannot safely release them.

A great number of suggestions have been made from time to time, and many inventions patented, for providing means of intercommunication in various ways between different parts of a train. Some would employ electricity, others air-tubes or water-tubes; and others, again, would have signals on each carriage, which should attract the attention of the guard, and indicate the compartment from which they were given; while powerful bells, or whistles worked by air or steam, supplied by the revolutions of the axles or fresh from the engine, or pieces of ordnance, or explosive signals to be dropped under the wheels, would be more appropriate and effective according to the views of different inventors. A simple means of accomplishing this object has now been in use on several railways for some years, with slight modifications of detail on the different lines. The apparatus consists of a hemp or wire rope, by means of which the guard from behind either rings a bell on the tender or pulls the handle of the steam-whistle on the engine. The rope is sometimes passed under the middle of the carriages, with an allotted portion to each carriage, and sometimes inserted in eyes at the sides of the carriages, under the doors. The coupling is effected in the former case by means of spring-loops, and the eyes in the latter are made of a metal spring to admit of the rope being readily slipped into them. In either case the rope can be attached and detached whenever it is necessary without any practical inconvenience or delay; and by making it a rule that the signal to start the trains shall always be given by means of the rope, it is easy to insure that the arrangement shall be kept in working order. This system of communication is at once so simple, inexpensive, and effective, that it is impossible to understand how any manager can allow his trains to travel without it; more particularly when those trains run at the highest rates of speed, and sometimes for a couple of hours without stopping.

On one of the great lines of railway, a travelling-porter has been habitually employed on the fast through-trains, to ride in a recess constructed on the back of the tender, solely for the purpose of keeping a look-out along the carriages during the journey. This system was commenced in 1853, in consequence of an accident to a train in the early part of that year which occasioned the death of a director of the company and injury to five other passengers. It was afterwards discontinued with a particular train; but that train ran up on fire in 1857 towards the London ticket-platform, in consequence of prolonged friction

friction between the casing of a wheel and a wheel-tyre; and a first-class carriage was almost consumed. In spite of the cries and signals of the passengers, neither the driver nor any of the guards (of whom there were three) knew anything of what was going on until after the driver had shut off his steam to pull up at the ticket-platform. He then, in looking back, saw a gentleman waving an umbrella out of a carriage window. He thought at first that he had lost his hat and was beckoning to the platelayers; but afterwards, supposing that there was something wrong, he sounded the break-whistle and pulled up the train. Twenty persons were then able to alight from the carriage in question, which was rapidly consumed; and it was clear that they had had a very narrow escape of being roasted alive.

The disadvantages of placing a porter as a look-out man in that position, are—1. That in a fog, or in the dark, he may be quite ignorant of mischief going on in the middle of a train, or near the hind end of it. 2. That he is not available as a breaksman, and is therefore not made the best use of. 3. That he is helpless in the event of a coupling breaking, and some of the carriages being left behind.

The present practice upon most other lines is for the guard or guards of a train to look after luggage, and to sort letters and parcels on their journeys. These guards are not expected to see at once any danger that arises, or at least they cannot be blamed for not doing so, because they always have the excuse to offer of having been engaged upon other duties; and even when they do observe that anything is wrong, they are too often helpless. They are perhaps in the front of a train instead of behind it; or if behind it, they can only apply their own single break, and they have no means of attracting the attention of the driver.

One step in advance, from this state of things, is the employment of the travelling-porter, and another improvement is that of having break-vans constructed, as they now frequently are, with portions raised above the roof, extended beyond the sides, and glazed in front and at the back, through which a guard can always see along the roofs and sides of the carriages which form his train when there are no intermediate vehicles of undue height or width to intercept his view. The only measures wanting to afford a tolerably perfect arrangement are that a guard should be placed at the hind end of every train in a van of this description, with instructions to keep a constant look-out along the carriages and attend to nothing but the condition of the train, with a rope to communicate with the engine-driver, and with continuous breaks to apply at once to his van and two or three other vehicles in case of sudden obstruction or accident. A guard thus placed
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and thus provided would be able to prevent much risk. These precautions ought, we conceive, to be adopted in all cases; and there can be no doubt that they would greatly increase the comparative safety of travelling.

We have instances of the advantages of such arrangements in the case of some, as well as ample evidence of the want of them in the case of other accidents; and, looking to the disinclination of railway companies to adopt them, it would seem desirable that they should be enforced by law. We are not disposed to advocate, at all events in the first instance, any special means of communication between passengers and guards.

There are many symptoms which notify to a guard on the look-out from behind when anything is amiss, such as disturbance of the ballast and its flying up against his glass-windows, or unusual motion in the carriages communicating itself to his van, when any of the wheels in front of him are off the rails; or the smell of fire, in case of fire; or the smell of grease, in case of axles becoming hot;—which would often not be noticeable to, or noticed by, a guard in the front van or a porter on the tender. It is further advantageous to employ a guard at the back of a train, because he has the best remedy always at his command in the power to apply his break, or breaks; which enables him, by stretching the couplings, to keep a disabled carriage on its legs, to prevent it from turning over, and the other carriages from overwhelming it, or the train from rushing forward upon the engine and tender; to prevent, in fine, the train from being doubled up and the carriages from being smashed.

As an instance of the good effects of such an arrangement, we may quote an accident that occurred to a night express train from Scotland to London. This train was composed of ten vehicles besides the engine and tender, and was travelling down a gradient of 1 in 200 within ten miles of London, when the tyre of the right leading-wheel of a convict-carriage suddenly gave way. The guard was riding in a van behind the convict-carriage, with a raised roof glazed to the front; and he saw it 'throw itself off the line.' He was provided with a cord communicating with a bell on the tender, and secured round a wheel in his van in the ordinary manner. He ran to this wheel and rang the tender-bell several times, and after having attracted the driver's attention, he at once screwed on his break. The driver, looking round, saw at a glance what had occurred. He shut off his steam, reversed his engine, told the fireman to apply his break, and whistled for the break of the other guard; and all the available means were thus put in force for stopping the train almost immediately after the failure of the tyre.

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The train was pulled up in about half-a-mile without injury to any one, though the convicts, who were men of the worst class, were much jolted and shaken in running over the sleepers. They were the more frightened because their carriage was caught, shortly before the train was brought to a stand, in a main-line crossing which came in its way; was thus detached, with the van behind it, from the remainder of the train; and was thrown across the other line of rails. A composite carriage in front of the convict-carriage was at the same time overturned, but without any great violence, and without being separated from the carriage before it.

It happened that this train did not meet with a crossing or any other impediment until it had slackened speed sufficiently to render a check harmless, and that there was a guard in a break-van at the back of the train looking out at the right moment. If there had been no guard looking out from behind, it would most likely have run on to the crossing in question at full speed without the driver being aware of what had occurred. If the hind-guard had been furnished with continuous breaks, as well as with a convenient van at the back of the train and a communication with the driver, and if he had thus been able, as soon as he saw the convict-carriage leave the line, to apply breaks to four vehicles instead of to one, the train might then have been stopped in a much shorter distance; and it would have been pulled up in a complete condition, without the convict-carriage being detached from it, without the composite carriage being overturned, and with much less risk in every way than was experienced.

The remarks that we have here made upon accidents arising from the failure of wheel-tyres, apply equally to those which are caused by the failure of axles, axle-guards, axle-boxes, wheels, and couplings, as far as communication between the two ends of a train is concerned. Our space will not enable us to comment at length upon accidents of these descriptions; nor is it necessary that we should do so. They form, when taken altogether, only a small proportion of the total number; and they would all be deprived of a great part of their danger by the same precaution,—of having a guard on the look-out in a van behind the train, with the breaks of several vehicles at his command. Those accidents also will become still fewer in number as experience is gained in regard to the causes of failure, the best means and modes of manufacture, and the proportions that ought to be observed in construction. Even in the case of the fracture of any portion of an engine, the most serious risks may be avoided, or the consequences of the worst accidents may be alleviated, if only a guard be on the watch, and if he be provided with a
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powerful break easily and quickly applied. We may add, that any method of communication which is adopted between guards and engine-drivers ought, whatever may be its other qualifications, to be so arranged that it must of itself give warning to the driver, in the event of the fracture of a coupling. A system of breaks also which is wound off rather than turned on, and in which the break-blocks fly at once to the wheels when a coupling gives way, has certainly great advantages over contrivances in which these objects are not attained.

Crank-axles are constantly failing, and require incessant watchfulness, although their failures do not contribute much to the production of serious accidents. One very serious accident in the south-east of England, and another in a midland county, were, however, occasioned partly by the fracture of a crank-axle and partly by the defective state of the permanent way.

No failure is more to be dreaded in a train than that of the leading axle, or one of the leading wheel-tyres of the engine; and it is essential, therefore, that these parts should always be maintained in thoroughly efficient condition, and should as far as possible be placed beyond doubt. The axles of passenger carriages ought to occasion very little risk, because, after being used for a reasonable period, they can be transferred to and worn out under goods' waggons.

The boilers of locomotive engines on passenger lines explode at the rate of about three a year, and often with fatal results to those who are in charge of them or near them, but not so frequently with injury or loss of life to passengers. These explosions were formerly attributed almost invariably to the carelessness or recklessness of the men who were in charge of the engines. They were accused either of letting the water get too low in the boiler or of tampering with the safety-valves, according to circumstances. These causes enter largely, no doubt, into accidents which are caused by the explosions of stationary boilers, as these are often entrusted to persons incompetent to take charge of them; but they have very little to do with the explosions of locomotive boilers. The latter are necessarily under the charge of responsible men, fully aware of their own danger, and most attentive in the general way to their duties; and if it were considered necessary, there would be no difficulty in providing them with safety-valves with which they could not tamper. But all the experience of late years goes to show that locomotive boilers do not explode until they are almost eaten through by corrosion, provided there is no radical defect in their construction.

The precautions which are required to prevent such explosions are—ample strength in the first instance; decreasing pressure as
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the boilers get older; and early renewal, especially of those parts which cannot be examined except at long intervals, and particularly when water of a destructive quality is employed, as is sometimes unavoidably the case; together with good stays in all directions, which prevent explosions and convert them into mere leaks; and personal responsibility on the part of the locomotive-superintendent. This officer ought to know the condition of his boilers, what parts of them are likely to fail first, what water is used with them on different parts of his line, what defects of construction exist in any of them, and, within certain limits, how long each will last. He may, it is true, be taken by surprise occasionally, in consequence of corrosion proceeding in a particular case with unprecedented activity; but he will run very little, if any risk even in this respect, if he takes advantage of all the warnings which he receives from time to time, and allows an ample margin on the side of safety in all cases.

There have been two instances of engines exploding while travelling with fast trains. In one of these cases there was found to be a defect in the stays of the roof of the fire-box; and in the other a plate in the barrel of the boiler had been reduced by corrosion from three-eighths to one-sixteenth of an inch, above one of the longitudinal seams of rivets. In the latter case the engine was blown all to pieces, the fireman was killed, and the driver nearly so; but though the train was brought to a stand within eighty yards, the passengers escaped with comparatively little injury, a guard and a post-office guard having been the principal sufferers besides those on the engine.

Passing over the miscellaneous accidents which occur at level-crossings, or from horses or cows being found upon the line, or from obstructions wilfully placed on the rails, or from excess of speed in entering a station,—all of which involve, in a greater or less degree, the question of break-power which has been already discussed, and show the extreme importance of it,—the only large item left to us is that of accidents at facing-points, at the points, that is to say, through which a train is directly turned from one main line to another, or from a main line to a siding.

On a double line of railway facing-points are necessary at junctions, but they need be otherwise used only in exceptional cases, because the points may be fixed on each line in the direction in which the trains travel, and not so as to meet them; but on a single line they are indispensable, because the trains must pass through them in both directions.

These points are weighted for the most part to stand in the position in which they are principally used, and they are expected

pected to fall back into that position after a train has passed through them, and are left in many cases to do so of themselves. The system of self-acting points is convenient in goods' yards, in positions where goods' trains pass through them, or goods' waggons are shunted through them, at very slow speeds; but it ought never to be employed in the case of facing-points through which passenger trains are in the habit of running. Such points ought always to be held, or secured, or locked in position; and to be provided with convenient handles, judiciously placed.

There is another precaution also which ought to be observed with regard to them, but which has not received the same attention in this as in other countries. An engine-driver cannot see, as he approaches a pair of facing-points, whether they are set right for him to proceed until he is very near them; and he is obliged, if it be his duty to pass them at speed, to take it for granted that they are so. In some cases he finds that they are unattended, and are set in the wrong direction, when it is not only too late for him to pull up, but even to effect any perceptible diminution in his speed; and in other cases he is equally helpless when the pointsman makes a mistake and turns them in the wrong direction.

In order to provide against these sources of accident, the points and signals have been so connected at most of the junctions constructed within the last two or three years, that the signals cannot be lowered for a train to proceed until the points have been first set in the right direction, and that the points cannot then be altered until after the signal which applies to them has been again raised to 'danger.' Disc or other signals are now attached also to those facing-points which occur on single lines in the neighbourhood of stations or sidings, to indicate 'danger' or 'all right' to an engine-driver while he is still at some distance from them. These are precautions which ought by degrees to be brought into universal use. The smaller signals which are used to indicate the condition of isolated facing-points ought, however, to show clearly the side towards which the points are turned as well as the exact position in which they stand, because it is desirable that a driver shall be able to see for himself at a glance, as he approaches them, not only whether they are set in the right direction, but also whether they are fully turned over in that direction. Such points are almost certain to throw a train off the line when they are partly open and partly shut.

In one year there were ten, and in another eleven accidents at facing-points; but the average number per annum of those which are brought under the notice of the Board of Trade does not exceed five. They ought not to occur unless there be a

gross mistake or great neglect on the part of a responsible man, in performing a duty for which proper appliances are afforded. They often occur in consequence of the points not being attended to at all, or of the employment of unfit or inexperienced servants, or of servants with other distant duties to perform, or for want of the best appliances. There have been cases in which a pointsman has turned the points in the wrong direction as a train was approaching; but accidents of this sort are either prevented altogether or are rendered less liable to occur when the indicating-signals referred to are attached to them. The pointsmen are thus, besides being made more careful in working the points, reminded in all cases of the side to which they ought to be turned.

In an accident in the south of Ireland by which five lives were lost, a mail-train ran into a siding through a pair of points which had stuck in the wrong direction, were in bad order, and were unattended. The points in this case were so constructed as to be self-acting in the ordinary way. They were intended to have been kept spiked, so as to be right for the main line; but that precaution was not observed.

In the south-east of Scotland a train was turned into a siding by an invalid shoemaker who had taken charge of the points on low wages for the sake of the change of air and scene which the duty would afford him!

A breaksman unacquainted with the working of certain points near Liverpool, turned some goods' waggons on to a main line instead of into a siding during the absence of the regular pointsman (who was not kept on duty on Sunday), and left them standing there in a fog without the least suspicion of his mistake, until they were run into by a passenger-train.

One accident of this sort was wilfully produced, and in a manner characteristic of the country in which it occurred. A young woman who was about to be married to an engine-driver on a railway in the north of Ireland, arranged, somewhat suddenly, to start off with him one evening in a train which he was driving. The affair got wind, and there was a considerable crowd and much confusion on the station-platform. The bride-elect had sent her box to the station, and had informed the station-master that she intended to walk on to another station to meet the train. Her father and brother, who were not propitious, were unable to find her either on the platform or in the carriages, though she entered one of them from the wrong side, and they endeavoured in vain to prevent her box from being placed in the van; but they suspected that she was in the train, and they determined to detain her and it together. The night was dark, and there

there were a pair of facing-points leading to a siding, and into a bog, near the end of the platform. In collusion, as was suspected, with the station-porter, they fastened the points over in the wrong direction; and after the train had started the driver found, to his surprise, that he was proceeding along the siding instead of the main line. Before he could pull up, his engine ran into the bog. The young woman, in her alarm, jumped out of her carriage into a pool of water, but happily without any serious consequences; and the pair were afterwards, we understand, conveyed as fellow-passengers in another train, and united after a less romantic journey.

We have now, in sufficient detail for our present purpose, gone through the different causes by which railway accidents are produced, and the precautions by which the greater number of them may be altogether avoided, and the remainder may have their evil effects materially alleviated. We do not wish to indulge in, or to lay before our readers, any exaggerated expectations of immunity from these disasters. We are too well acquainted with the imperfection of human instrumentality to suppose, that even if all the systems of working were rendered perfect, if all the requisite means and appliances were supplied, and if all failure of materials were provided against, there would not still be mistakes on the part of some, and neglect on the part of others, of the officers and servants employed. If the railway officers and servants were as careless as the general public—who post 10,000 letters in one year without any address on them, who send 460*l*. worth of property in letters that can neither be delivered nor returned, and only 286 of whose letters out of every 287 can be made to reach their owners—we should find railway travelling a very different and very dangerous business.

Most fortunately it is found by the test of experience that it is not so, and that increased responsibilities lead to greater care and foresight.

The same experience shows also, that three-fourths of the serious accidents that occur might very well be avoided altogether; that instead of having to record an average of seventy-six accidents every year, we need only, after allowing amply for all neglects, failures, defects, and contingencies, have to put up with nineteen, or say twenty, if proper precautions were observed; and that as those accidents which are most destructive to the passengers are also those which might best be prevented, and as the precautions that ought to be adopted would further tend to diminish the evil effects of those that would still occur, the proportion of passengers killed and injured would be reduced in a much greater ratio than the number of accidents; and, in

fact, that the loss of life and injuries necessarily incident to railway travelling would, under such circumstances, become very small indeed.

The strength of materials is now so far ascertained, the processes of manufacture have arrived at such a degree of perfection, and the proper principles of construction are so well understood, that there is practically hardly any risk of failure in the permanent way, the bridges, the engine boilers, or any of the machinery of a railway upon which safety depends, when proper trouble is taken to make them safe, when they are not retained in use for too long a period, when due attention is paid to deterioration, decay, corrosion, and all the effects of wear and tear, and when a sufficient margin for safety is allowed. A piece of boiler-plate of fair quality, which will sustain a breaking strain of 20 tons to the square inch and upwards, may be employed with perfect confidence up to a strain of 4 or 5 tons to the square inch; and there is no necessity for subjecting it in any case to a greater strain; and so on with other materials. Structures of timber, and masonry, and brickwork, bend, or crack, or open, or show alterations of shape, before they finally give way; and they should be attended to in time, instead of being employed up to the last moment as is sometimes done. The only contingencies against which we cannot altogether provide are:—1. Human mistakes and misconduct; 2. Occasional flaws in cast-iron; and 3. Defective welds in wrought-iron; and even these may be counteracted to some extent. Proper treatment and good appliances, and the employment of experienced and responsible officers and servants, will reduce human mistakes and misconduct to a minimum. Cast-iron need not be used at all in positions in which an undiscoverable flaw would affect the public safety. Wheel-tyres can be so fastened to wheels as to prevent them from flying off, or flying open, even if they do give way at a defective weld.

There are already in existence very efficient means for procuring safety on railways, if only undue economy, false interest, or unseemly prejudice did not interfere to prevent these means from being made the most of. The real difficulty is not to devise new methods of security, but to induce those who have the charge of railways to employ to the best advantage the means which are already at their disposal.

It will be our last duty to consider how this end can be best attained, and how a greater degree of attention than is at present given to the safety of our travelling public can be enforced. In doing so, we cannot agree with our Northern contemporary who has during the past year so eloquently demanded
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extended Government interference, amidst glowing descriptions of crashes between opposing trains, rushing like infuriated bulls into the embrace of death,—of the never-to-be-forgotten carnage of peace, more appalling than that of war,—of gravitation, trees, platelayers, boulders, mechanists, and felons,—of atoms of iron unshackled by frost,—and of imaginations riveted (like boiler-plates) with horrors. We write with somewhat the same views, and in the self-same interest; but we conceive that an opposite and more commonplace remedy would be more effectual, more easily applied, and more in accordance with the customs and constitution of the country.

Government interference judiciously exercised at an early stage would, no doubt, have been of great benefit, and might have been the means of saving the railway companies themselves from many of the evils under which they are now labouring. They would have avoided excessive and expensive competition as well as much extravagance in construction; and they would have attained greater uniformity in many respects, the want of which entails the most serious disadvantages. But Government interference at the present time, besides requiring a large staff, would be attended with great difficulties if it were carried to the extent of attempting a remedy for all the preventible causes from which railway accidents arise, and of assuming the control of each particular railway. Setting aside the anomaly of arbitrarily compelling a number of different companies which are working for profit to spend money upon objects which their own officers may consider useless and unprofitable, it must be remembered that grave differences would be liable to arise continually between the Government officers and the railway officers, as they do now between the officers of the different companies themselves, on the question of safety. It is desirable that improvements on any railway should as far as possible be introduced under the auspices of those who have the management of it, to give them a fair chance of success, rather than that they should be carried out by those who disapprove of them and would not be sorry to prove them to be defective. It will readily be seen that the officers of a railway company would be inclined on the one hand to lay the blame of any accident that might happen upon a Government improvement, whilst the Government officers might discover on the other hand that it was owing to the want of its having been properly carried out; and that neither of them would be practically responsible in such a case for the public safety.

We conceive that, in place of dividing the responsibility in this manner, we ought, on the contrary, to do everything in
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our power to fix it upon individuals; and fully agreeing with our contemporary as to the necessity that exists for increased interference with the proceedings of the railway companies, we only differ with him as to the mode in which that interference should be exercised. We have already stated that we think certain precautions should be rendered obligatory by force of law. For the rest, we should advocate no other than a better-informed public interference; and we think that if any legislation be in future undertaken on the subject, it should be directed to the furtherance of this object. It is of course a great object with railway companies not to have a bad name with the Press; and any exposure, through this medium, of mismanagement or want of precaution does them much harm. When a railway accident occurs, the reporters for the press are obliged to trust principally to the officers of the railway companies for their information as to the causes of it; and there is not much time afforded to them for deliberate inquiry, even if they had the means of making it. Under these circumstances the reports upon such accidents are hasty and superficial, and naturally have a tendency to be favourable to the companies and their officers.

If an accident be fatal, the representatives of the press have an opportunity of hearing the evidence adduced before the coroner and his jury, and of recording the verdict to which it leads; but the special business of this tribunal is, not to investigate the causes of the accident, but to discover the cause of death only; and though in some cases a patient coroner and an intelligent jury may do much good, by eliciting information and inducing public discussion upon defects which are brought to light, yet in many more the inquiry is hurried over in a slovenly manner, and the truth does not appear. In others, again, the investigation degenerates into a mere instrument in the hands of the company for misleading people as to the real causes of the accident.

In cases where death does not ensue, no public inquiry takes place; and the press and the public have no means at the time, nor until all interest in the subject has passed away, of ascertaining accurately the causes by which it has been produced. We must here add, that the press does not always derive as much advantage as it might from the opportunities that are afforded to it. In one case, in which a driver was killed by the explosion of his engine, while travelling at speed with a mail train a few months since, the result of the inquest was kept, by some influence which we cannot pretend to fathom, out of the newspapers altogether. And yet reporters were present, a number of eminent scientific witnesses were brought forward, and the evidence

evidence was of a character more interesting and more important than usual.

The inquiries which are instituted by the Board of Trade into such accidents as are brought under their notice are made without authority, and are conducted in private; and they can only be made public by being laid before Parliament, which is done at irregular intervals. These Reports contain much information on the subject of railway accidents; but appearing, as they do, long after all interest in the subjects of them has ceased, they form an uncondensable mass of detail, too bulky for criticism and too dry for perusal.

It is very easy to say with Sterne, that they 'order this matter better' in France. But in France the Government controls the butchers and bakers, as well as the press and the railways; and it is itself controlled by the mob, for whom it is obliged to find food in periods of comparative scarcity, and work in times of expected tumult. This state of things would not so well agree with the constitution and temperament of Mr. John Bull.

There is, however, one respect in which we might copy from the great French nation with advantage, and that is in the more equitable distribution of responsibilities and punishments between the higher officers of railway companies and their subordinates. Both our law and our practice are seriously at fault in this respect. An overworked, an inefficient, an unlucky servant, or one provided with insufficient appliances, may be punished severely for an accident which occurs more through his misfortune than his misconduct; whilst the officer who ought really to be considered responsible, may escape without punishment and even without blame.

In Scotland the engine-driver of a goods train was committed to prison not very long since, on the prosecution of the procurator fiscal, for running into a passenger train in a tunnel, although he could not have seen it in sufficient time to enable him to stop his own train; and he underwent, if we remember right, two months of imprisonment for an accident which was caused by a want of telegraphic communication for signalling the trains one at a time through the tunnel. In France, when a similar accident occurred some little time afterwards, the manager and engineer of the railway were severely punished for not having provided the tunnel with a telegraph for the protection of the trains.

While setting forth the reforms that might be made by the railway companies, we would also warn travellers that they are, in fact, more to blame in the matter of loss of life, though not in the matter of injury, than their carriers. The number of those who

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are killed by the companies amounts to an annual average of 18, whilst the number of those who kill themselves, from imprudence or recklessness, is 21. On the other hand, the number of those who are annually injured from no fault of their own by the railway companies, averages 350, while the number of those who injure themselves is only 16. These are the averages, at least, which the returns before us afford.

We will not attempt to caution passengers against entering or leaving trains in motion, because we know how little effect it would have upon this foolish practice; but we would impress, if we could, the spirit of the lesson which we saw printed in different languages in a railway carriage in Holland, a few years since: 'You are requested not to put no heads nor arms out of the windows.' On some of our older railways the lines of rails are nearer to each other than on the more modern ones; and there are gate-posts, bridges, tunnels, sheds, walls, water-cranes, tanks, and signal-boxes, in different parts of the country, nearer to the carriages than is consistent with the safety of people who protrude their heads from the carriage windows. We would add, further, that the great and very natural disinclination that exists on the part of the public to make use of the foot-bridges which have been constructed at some stations, does much to prevent the multiplication of these bridges, which are, in spite of the extra trouble which they cause, very necessary in many instances to safety.

The sum of our conclusions may be stated in a very few words. The means of railway control which may best be made available for the benefit of the public are competition and publicity. Competition produces convenience, and publicity precaution. By a judicious encouragement of competition, or in other words, by preventing those further combinations from being made legal which would tend to neutralise this valuable resource, as much accommodation may be obtained for the public as they can reasonably expect, and more than they could get in any other way. Publicity would be gained by the Government's placing at once at the disposal of the press and the public that timely information as to the true causes of accident which they have a right to possess. Responsibility would then be attached to the higher officers of railway companies; error would be exposed, and truth proclaimed; warnings would be afforded, and instruction imparted; the lessons of experience would be prominently set forth, and would, in a greater degree than at present, be practically enforced; and an increased measure of PRECAUTION, upon which safety principally depends, would, without doubt, eventually be ensured.

ART. II.—*Autobiography of Miss Cornelia Knight, Lady Companion to the Princess Charlotte of Wales: with Extracts from her Journals and Anecdote-Books.* Two vols. London, 1861.

MORE than twenty years ago the world was scandalised by the appearance of the 'Diary Illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth,' which made public such strange revelations respecting the Court-history of the Regency. The book was condemned by public opinion, with an universal and righteous expression of disgust. The compiler, for the sake of earning a little money, had poured profusely out all the scandal hoarded in volumes of ill-natured note-books, and in numbers of confidential and careless letters, deeply affecting the character of some and the memory of many more, and in especial that of a benefactress. But it would probably have been dismissed with more of contempt than of hostile notice, had it not also deeply affronted two classes of readers, usually opposed to each other—those who thought Conservative principles engaged in the defence of the character of George IV., of which singular sect there were still a few living in 1838; and those, more powerful in that day, who had more or less committed themselves by their advocacy of the unfortunate Queen Caroline. Twenty years more have pretty nearly disposed of both these classes, and indeed of all who take any interest in the intrigues of Carlton House, and Warwick House, and Connaught Place, except as matters of historical gossip, or who care for the accurate distribution of posthumous contempt between the unhappy couple whose sordid quarrels were once affairs of State, and puzzled the wits and almost broke the hearts of statesmen who had nerve to confront Europe in arms. It is therefore with comparative indifference that we find the favourite tattle of our grandmothers once more revived by the publication of these relics of Miss Cornelia Knight, or Ellis Cornelia Knight, as she signs herself; Lady companion, as she ought to have been styled—under-governess, as people would persist in styling her—to the Princess Charlotte during the eventful years of her life 1813 and 1814. Not that we would commit the gross injustice of comparing Miss Knight to the diarist in question. We cannot believe that Miss Knight intended her so-called *Autobiography* for publication, though her editor, Mr. Kaye, gives reasons for thinking she did; and, at all events, she did not betray, or enable others to betray, the confidences made to her in correspondence, by keeping and docketing private letters. Nor are her remains satirical in style, nor very liberal in their revelations. Miss Knight had the character in her generation of being an extremely cautious person, and her caution

tion exhibits itself curiously enough in these volumes; for while at one time she notes down, in the most tranquil and matter-of-fact way, circumstances which any one who was interested in the personages concerned would forget if they could, or commit at all events to their memory alone, she seems at other times embarrassed by the delicacy of her own secrets, and chronicles them with much apparatus of mystery. She reminds us, occasionally, of that poor comrade of Thistlewood the traitor who wrote down some political sentiments in prison to please a fancier of autographs, but could not refrain, through habit, from designating Sidmouth and Castlereagh by initials and dashes, though he was going to be hanged next morning. But the general impression produced by the present diarist is only a trifle less painful than that left by her predecessor. She is constantly imputing, often by such quiet insinuation as is not readily detected, low or crooked motives to almost every person concerned in the Princess Charlotte's affairs. Traits of the worst description are recorded with such dispassionate tranquillity, that it is only on reflection and second reading that we become conscious how very base, and even shocking, are the conduct or sentiments thus calmly ascribed. It is therefore one of those books of scandal of which it is impossible not to regret the publication; such as do but cause unnecessary annoyance, if not to the living, to those who cherish the memories of their dead, while they add absolutely nothing to our knowledge of any fraction of history worth knowing. But as such books will always continue to be published while money is an object with 'families into whose hands they have got,' and will certainly be read when published (Miss Knight has already reached a third edition), we must content ourselves with entering this, our conventional protest, in opposition to the arguments by which Mr. Kaye justifies the publication, and proceed.

Miss Knight was the daughter of Admiral Sir Joseph Knight, an officer of well-deserved reputation. She made the acquaintance, as a girl, of 'Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, and other celebrities of the age.' She attained in her day considerable reputation 'as a lady of extensive learning and manifold accomplishments.' Mrs. Piozzi calls her 'the far-famed Cornelia Knight.' She wrote 'Dinarbas, a Sequel to Rasselas,' and 'Marcus Flaminius, a View of the Military, Political, and Social Life of the Romans,' a novel in two volumes, which, as Mr. Kaye rather satirically remarks, 'being in the stately classical style, hit the taste of the age.' But judging from these remains alone, and not having read either Dinarbas or Marcus Flaminius, we should be inclined to suspect that the learning which gained her celebrity did not reach

reach much beyond the standard required for astonishing 'persons of quality.' It did not certainly preserve her from startling historical mistakes, or from a pertinacious inability to spell foreign names (which her editor has not taken the trouble to correct), and to scan either French or Latin verses.*

Miss Knight's father, Sir Joseph, died in 1775, when she was about eighteen; and Lady Knight, being in straitened circumstances, and unable to obtain a pension, went with her daughter to live on the Continent. They dwelt a good deal at Rome, where Miss Knight picked up an amount of knowledge of the personages and ways of its curious Court very rare with English people, and which furnishes the most amusing portion of her foreign diaries. She was at Rome when the French agitator, Basseville, was murdered by the Conservative mob, in 1793. In 1798, when Berthier occupied the Eternal City, she and her mother effected their escape to Naples with some difficulty. And here commences that which—when we remember what she afterwards became—is the most curious chapter in Miss Knight's history; over which her editor passes with very discreet forbearance of remark. She and her mother established the closest intimacy with Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy, and with his too celebrated wife. They partook in all the vehement enthusiasm with which the victory of the Nile and Lord Nelson's triumphant arrival at Naples were saluted by the English there. They were also the eye-witnesses and the partakers of the idolatry evinced by the King and Queen of Naples, and by Lady Hamilton, for the hero who threw himself so unsuspectingly into their arms. She became a kind of deputy poetess laureate for the occasion; added a stanza—'Join we great Nelson's name,' and so forth—to the National Anthem; and addressed strains commencing, 'Come, cheer up, fair Delia,' to Lady Hamilton, in connexion with the great commander. She became, apparently, the indispensable inmate of that circle. She accompanied them to Palermo, and there Lady Knight died, in 1799; and 'Cornelia,' says the editor, 'in fulfilment of her mother's dying injunctions, placed herself under the protection of the Hamiltons.' Miss Knight herself tells us nothing of this, nor of the causes which led her to form so close an attachment to her Ladyship, whom she cautiously terms 'a singular mixture of right and wrong.' She only informs us that she left Sicily in company with the Hamiltons, with Lady Hamilton's mother Mrs. Cadogan, Lord Nelson, and the Queen of Naples, on the 8th June, 1800, for Leghorn; and proceeded thence to Ancona, which place

* See vol. ii., pp. 181 and 197.

they reached after a difficult and somewhat romantic journey. She reached Trieste by a different ship; but there rejoined the Hamilton and Nelson party, and proceeded with them on what may be called their triumphal route through Germany, by Vienna, Dresden, and Hamburg. They arrived in town in November, when Miss Knight 'went to a hotel in Albemarle Street with Mrs. Cadogan.' And it is scarcely necessary to say that Miss Knight's account of the journey contains little but a chronicle of the decorous ovations with which it was attended.

Now let us turn to the other side of the story. In the summer of 1800, Mrs. St. George, an Irish widow lady of family, was residing in Germany, and familiar with several of its courts. She was young, of much talent, and a very lively power of observation. Portions of her 'Journal' have been printed by her son, the present Dean of Westminster. We extract from it without comment, which is quite unnecessary, the passages which relate to the sojourn of Nelson, the Hamiltons, and Miss Knight at Dresden:—

'Oct. 2.—Dined at the Elliots'. [Mr. Elliot was British Minister at the Saxon Court.] While I was playing at chess with Mr. Elliot, the news arrived of Lord Nelson's arrival, with Sir W. and Lady Hamilton, Mrs. Cadogan, mother of the latter, and Miss Cornelia Knight, famous for her "Continuation of Rasselas" and "Private Life of the Romans."

'Oct. 3.—Dined at Mr. Elliot's, with only the Nelson party. It is plain that Lord Nelson thinks of nothing but Lady Hamilton, who is totally occupied by the same object. She is bold, forward, coarse, assuming, and vain. Her figure is colossal, but, excepting her feet, which are hideous, well shaped. Her bones are large, and she is exceedingly *embonpoint*. She resembles the bust of Ariadne: the shape of all the features is fine, as is the form of her head, and particularly her ears; her teeth are a little irregular, but tolerably white; her eyes bright blue, with a brown spot in one, which, though a defect, takes nothing away from her beauty and expression. Her eyebrows and hair are dark, and her complexion coarse. Her expression is strongly marked, variable, and interesting; her movements in common life ungraceful; her voice low, but not disagreeable. Lord Nelson is a little man, without any dignity, who, I suppose, must resemble what Suwarrow was in his youth, as he is like all the pictures I have seen of that General. Lady Hamilton takes possession of him, and he is a willing captive, the most devoted and submissive I have seen. Sir William is old, infirm, all admiration of his wife, and never spoke to-day but to applaud her. Miss Cornelia Knight seems the decided flatterer of the two, and never opens her mouth but to show forth their praise; and Mrs. Cadogan, Lady Hamilton's mother, is what one might expect. After dinner we had several songs in honour of Lord Nelson, written by Miss Knight, and sung by Lady Hamilton.

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She puffs the incense full in his face, but he receives it with pleasure, and snuffs it up very cordially. . . .

'Oct. 7.—Lady H—— continues her demonstrations of friendship, and said many fine things about my accompanying her at sight. Still she does not gain upon me. I think her bold, daring, vain, even to folly, and stamped with the manner of her first situation much more strongly than one would suppose, after having represented Majesty and lived in good company fifteen years. Her ruling passions seem to me vanity, avarice, and love for the pleasures of the table. She shows a great avidity for presents, and has actually obtained some at Dresden by the common artifice of admiring and longing. Mr. Elliot says she will captivate the Prince of Wales, whose mind is as vulgar as her own, and play a great part in England. . . .

'Oct. 8.—Dined at Madame de Loss's, wife to the Prime Minister, with the Nelson party. The Electress will not receive Lady Hamilton, on account of her former dissolute life. She wished to go to Court, on which a pretext was made to avoid receiving company last Sunday, and I understand there will be no Court while she stays. Lord Nelson, understanding the Elector did not wish to see her, said to Mr. Elliot, "Sir, if there is any difficulty of that sort, Lady Hamilton will knock the Elector down, and — me, I'll knock him down too." She was not invited in the beginning to Madame de Loss's, upon which Lord Nelson sent his excuse, and then Mr. Elliot persuaded Madame de Loss to invite her.

'Oct. 9.—A great breakfast at the Elliots', given to the Nelson party. Lady Hamilton repeated her attitudes with great effect. All the company, except their party and myself, went away before dinner; after which Lady Hamilton, who declared she was passionately fond of champagne, took such a portion of it as astonished me. Lord Nelson was not behindhand; called more vociferously than usual for songs in his own praise, and after many bumpers proposed the Queen of Naples, adding, "She is my Queen; she is Queen to the backbone." Poor Mr. Elliot, who was anxious the party should not expose themselves more than they had done already, and wished to get over the last day as well as he had done the rest, endeavoured to stop the effusion of champagne, and effected it with some difficulty, but not till the Lord and Lady, or, as he calls them, Antony and Moll Cleopatra, were pretty far gone. I was so tired I returned home soon after dinner, but not till Cleopatra had talked to me a great deal of her doubts whether the Queen would receive her, adding, "I care little about it. I had much sooner she would settle half Sir W.'s pension on me." After I went, Mr. Elliot told me she acted Nina intolerably ill, and danced the Tarantola. During her acting Lord Nelson expressed his admiration by the Irish sound of astonished applause, which no written character can imitate, and by crying every now and then, "Mrs. Siddons be d—d!" Lady Hamilton expressed great anxiety to go to Court, and Mrs. Elliot assured her it would not amuse her, and that the Elector never gave dinners or suppers. "What!" cried she, "no guttling?" Sir William also this evening performed
feats

feats of activity, hopping round the room on his backbone, his arms, legs, star and ribbon all flying about in the air.

'Oct. 10.—Mr. Elliot saw them on board [a boat on the Elbe] to-day. He heard by chance from a King's messenger that a frigate waited for them at Hamburg, and ventured to announce it formally. He says, "The moment they were on board there was an end of the fine arts, of the attitudes, of the acting, the dancing, and the singing. Lady Hamilton's maid began to scold in French about some provisions which had been forgot, in language quite impossible to repeat, using certain French words which were never spoken but by *men* of the lowest class, and roaring them out from one boat to another. Lady Hamilton began bawling for an Irish stew, and her old mother set about washing the potatoes, which she did as cleverly as possible. They were exactly like Hogarth's actresses dressing in the barn.'*

Now, it may be said once for all, it is open to every one to make such allowance as he may think proper for the youth and vivacity and slightly satirical turn of the authoress of these sketches. But they must be substantially true. They were written down on the impression of the moment, and preserved for no purpose except that of communication to her own family. There is no suspicion of intended publication here. Some, in their veneration for the memory of Lord Nelson, have been displeased at their appearance. They are wrong, we think. To get at the truth about the *tracasseries* of Carlton House is of no conceivable importance to mankind; but that the character of one of the real heroes of history should be thoroughly known—known in its weaknesses no less than its strength—is of very considerable importance indeed. Such men must not be painted 'en buste.' Nor is there any fear that the real fame of Nelson will suffer by additional exposures of his follies about Lady Hamilton. As well criticise Samson for his relations with Dalilah. The truth is that there are marked men in history, though very few, whose character is of the Samsonic type—men of unlimited bravery, intense and contagious enthusiasm, absolute simplicity and honesty of purpose, and withal the merest children, or worse than children, in point of external demeanour and of personal weaknesses, whether of the same nature with those of Nelson or not. Such men were Wolfe, Seidlitz, Suwarrow (to whom Mrs. St. George acutely compares Nelson). Such is Garibaldi. Men like these are always cherished, as they should be, in popular affection, and lose little or nothing of their peculiar popularity after Time has done its worst in disclosing their failings.

* Journal kept during a visit to Germany in 1799 and 1800, edited by the Dean of Westminster, pp. 75-83.

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But the strange part of this Teniers-like bit of history, for our present purpose, consists in the light which it reflects on the real characteristics of the refined Miss Cornelia Knight, 'lady-companion' a few years afterwards to the Princess Charlotte. We find her, not a young girl deprived of her natural protector, but a demure orphan of forty-two, deliberately attaching herself to the fortunes and society of this bacchanalian citizeness of the demi-monde, and her convenient mother. We do not insinuate the slightest scandal against Miss Knight. Though she must have handled a vast deal of pitch between Palermo and Albemarle-street, she remained undefiled; and far from having any imputation cast upon her, she passed for a model of decorum, if not quite 'one of the most high-minded women in the world, and the kindest-hearted,' as Lady Charlotte Bury calls her, in the spirit of Connaught-House partisanship. Her condescension, and that of others, to the Hamiltons, was in some degree veiled by the blaze of Nelson's glory, and the services which the boldness and readiness of his Emma had rendered to the British cause. She was attached to them by the ties of dependence and gratitude. 'Most of my friends,' she says after her arrival in London, 'were very urgent with me to drop the acquaintance; but circumstanced as I had been, I feared the charge of ingratitude, though greatly embarrassed what to do, for things became very unpleasant.' (Vol. i. p. 162.) All this sufficiently accounts for the indulgence of society towards her; but it does not account for the extraordinary circumstance that a lady, whose antecedents in this respect were so unlucky, was selected, first as the familiar attendant of the stiff Queen Charlotte, next as the 'lady-companion' of that Queen's granddaughter during the most critical years of her brief life. That the travelling-companion of Emma Hamilton should have been chosen, not simply to play propriety in a youthful Princess's drawing-room, but to train her heart and intellect, and watch over her under circumstances of embarrassment and delicacy almost unparalleled, is such a fact as the greatest enemy of courts would scarcely have dared to invent. We fear it can only remain on record as a proof how indescribably low the standard, not exactly of morals, but of moral sentiment, had descended in ours, at the period in question.

So, however, it fell out. In March, 1805, Miss Knight was taken into the service of Queen Charlotte, without any solicitation, she says, on her part:—

'Her Majesty had been pleased to express a desire that I should be attached to her person, without any particular employment, but that I should be lodged at Windsor, in a house belonging to Her Majesty,
with

with a maid in her service to do the work of the house. Her Majesty added that she would allow me 300*l.* a-year, and that I should be present at her evening parties when invited, and always on Sundays and red-letter days, and be ready to attend her in the morning when required to do so.—vol. i. p. 168.

In this capacity she passed the melancholy season of the death of the Princess Amelia and final seclusion of George III.; and she adds some touching details of these events to those already known. In 1813 she was transferred, or rather transferred herself, to the service of the Princess Charlotte; but the circumstances of the change are very warily recounted, and not quite intelligibly. It seems that she had got heartily tired of the Queen's dreary little society—'dull, uninteresting, and monotonous; every year more confined, and ever, from the kindness of the Royal Family, condemned to listen to all their complaints and private quarrels.' Nor does Queen Charlotte seem to have cared particularly for Miss Knight. But Her Majesty had the tenacity of soured old age. Miss Knight could not, therefore, get herself liberated without a most disproportionate amount of finesse and diplomacy. Sir Henry Halford was the agent employed by the Regent, as it should seem, to effect the lady's extradition. He wrote her a most pressing letter, offering her among other things, as she asserts, the title of 'Honourable;' and 'with this letter came two from the Princess Elizabeth, one of which was written by the Queen's desire, to give me a hint that the Prince wished I should come forward to assist him but adding, that the Queen would not bias me either way. The other letter was a private one, in which she urged me to write a letter to the Queen, showing an inclination to accept, and offering to consider myself still as in her service, or terms to that effect.' The answer she received was unsatisfactory. 'I saw,' she says, 'that the Queen wished me to take the refusal on myself, that she might not offend the Prince.' She was dreadfully disappointed; and went, 'with a heavy heart, after an hysterical fit,' to the Castle, where she met such a reception as compelled her to decline the Prince Regent's proposal. But the pressure on the part of Carlton House continued, until (if we may believe her) she adopted an expedient which seems to carry one back to the days when Queen Elizabeth's courtiers used to propitiate her with purses full of broad pieces. She was aware that Her Majesty was just at this time hard pressed for cash; and, renewing her supplication for permission to depart, 'offered some arrangements which I thought would serve to free Her Majesty from embarrassment, and *particularly the loan of one thousand pounds, without interest*—a sum which I knew the Queen was at that time very desirous to procure,

cure, and which, added to the salary which I gave up, and the house which she might let, would set her completely at her ease in respect to Frogmore and the farm.' But the Queen, unlike the governor of Tilbury, was proof against the allurements of the 'thousand pounds.' 'To this letter I received, next day, two answers—the one, relative to my offer, of course private; and the other respecting my acceptance of the employment. Both were resentful and bitter to a high degree.' Miss Knight was very angry, and so she told Lord Moira's wife and sister. 'The ladies approved of my feelings, but Lord Moira did not. He thought my nerves ought to be braced against marks of resentment which he did not think I had deserved. *I did not mention to them the pecuniary part of the correspondence*; nor is it known to any human being except one friend, who will never repeat it.' (Vol. i. p. 196.) At last the arrangement was effected, as she tells us, by means of an urgent letter from the Prince Regent himself; possibly the 'pecuniary part of the correspondence' had diminished her mistress's reluctance to part with her. But the Queen remained—at least in Miss Knight's belief—her fixed enemy to the end of her days; and she herself, as we shall see, ultimately repented having left Her Majesty.

On the 25th January, 1813, Miss Knight was 'presented' on her new appointment. The establishment into which she had, with full knowledge of the facts, introduced herself, was certainly not such as the well-regulated mind of a duenna of fifty would usually select as a refuge after the storms of life. The daughter of George and Caroline was now just seventeen; a fine spirited girl, with much talent, much nobleness of heart, an ungoverned will, but a most affectionate, and through affection a controllable disposition. Such is the verdict posterity may fairly pass on the poor perishing creature who then filled such a space in the public eye—the bright ephemeron of our history, or the 'fair-haired daughter of the isles,' of whom those who were grown men forty years ago can even now hardly read without some emotion. So hemmed in from childhood upwards by every evil influence—the victim of so much sinister design—that she should have won love and respect—that calumny should have glanced harmless from beside her, is surely enough to prove her real merit, even after all allowance for the exaggerations both of flattery and of faction, which, in her case, happened to combine. At the time when the Regent chose Miss Knight to attend her, he had been seized with a sudden fear lest his clever child should all at once chip the shell, and soar beyond his control. She had just had the boldness to ask her father, through Lord Liverpool, 'that, as she understood

Lady de Clifford had resigned, she might have no other governess, but an establishment of her own, and ladies-in-waiting.' 'I believe,' says Miss Knight, 'she wrote that letter by the advice of Miss Mercer Elphinstone, her old and intimate friend.' We believe Miss Knight's suspicion of Miss Mercer's interference to be entirely false; and it will be seen presently how this misstatement is in keeping with many other particulars asserted or insinuated in this Autobiography respecting the lady in question, now Countess de Flahault. The Prince, however,

'was violently angry when he heard of the letter, and took Lord Eldon down with him to Windsor, where in the Queen's room, before Her Majesty, Princess Mary, and Lady de Clifford, in a very rough manner the learned Lord expounded the law of England as not affording Her Royal Highness what she demanded; and, on the Prince's asking what he would have done as a father, he is said to have answered, "If she had been my daughter, I would have locked her up." Princess Charlotte heard this with great dignity, and answered not a word; but she afterwards went into the room of one of her aunts, burst into tears, and exclaimed, "What would the King say if he could know that his grand-daughter had been compared to the grand-daughter of a collier?"'—vol. i. p. 184.

The story is differently told (as the editor points out) in Lady Charlotte Bury's Diary, and more plausibly, as the epigram is ascribed to Lady de Clifford instead of the girlish Princess. Most probably neither version is true. The result, however, of 'things being in this uncomfortable state,' as Miss Knight calls it, was, that the new establishment, with the Duchess of Leeds at the head as 'Governess,' was framed by the Regent and Sir Henry Halford as nearly on a nursery model as the case would admit of. The Princess's 'coming out,' if such a phrase be applicable to Princesses, was indefinitely postponed. 'Warwick House' was selected as her place of confinement. We copy the description of it for the benefit of modern Londoners, and to show what accommodation was thought sufficient for presumptive royalty in the times when King George III. was content with a couple of lodging-houses on the Esplanade at Weymouth, and his offspring with the brick boxes about Kew:—

'Warwick House, in which Princess Charlotte and I, with an excellent family of old servants, were now the only residents, was an old, moderate-sized dwelling, at that time miserably out of repair, and almost falling to ruins. It was situated at the extremity of a narrow lane,* with a small courtyard and gates, at which two sentinels were placed. On the ground floor were a hall, dining-room, library, comp-

* 'At the end of Warwick Street, which stretches from Cockspur Street towards the modern Carlton House Terrace,' says the editor.

troller's-room, and two very small rooms, with a good staircase, and two back staircases much the reverse. . . . Yet for a private family it was far from being uncomfortable, though anything but royal. The drawing-room and Princess Charlotte's bedroom, with bay windows, looked on a small garden with a wall, and a road which divided it from the garden of Carlton House, to which there was a door of communication. Nothing could more perfectly resemble a convent than this residence; but it was a seat of happiness to Princess Charlotte compared with the Lower Lodge at Windsor, and she was anxiously desirous to remain in town as much as possible.'

She was promised, according to Miss Knight, parties and balls, and drawing-rooms without number, to sweeten her seclusion; but no such promises were kept. 'Every consideration was to be sacrificed to the plan of keeping the Princess Charlotte as much as possible a child;' and here we have the secret unconsciously revealed of great part of Miss Knight's dissatisfaction with her new office; for the title of 'Sub-governess,' which the Court people persisted in giving her, and against which she continually remonstrated, was in keeping with that jealousy of the Princess's years which would fain have revoked the premature grant of a 'lady companion.'

In this strictly watched retirement the poor young Princess had to endure a far severer trial than those of such petty annoyances—the tribulation brought on her by the quarrels between the Regent and Princess of Wales, which, in this summer, reached their height. We know that the natural yearning of a child's heart made the Princess lean strongly to the side of her mother. Great part of the people, and even of the Court, sympathised strongly with this tendency on her part. All London was affected on the famous occasion when their carriages met during a period of prohibited intercourse on Constitution Hill, and mother and daughter almost threw themselves into each other's arms—an event, by the way, to which Miss Knight does not advert, though it made a great sensation at the time. We know now what the Princess could not know, for none could explain it to her with the observance of the common sanctity of the maternal relation, why it was absolutely necessary to stifle that voice of affection. We know that in enforcing the separation as far as he could, the Regent was performing no more than a duty, however repulsive. But then he, of all men, was the most utterly unfitted to enforce on a daughter precepts in themselves salutary. His deep sins against that mother—the unmanly, undignified character of his dealings with his family—the vices of his crapulous Court—all these rose up in judgment against him, whenever he endeavoured to take what, in the case of another

father, might have been deemed salutary precautions. And all his faults were known to his daughter but too well, while the evidence of her mother's failings rested on hearsay, which she would not believe. The Regent, it must be plainly said for truth's sake, was one of those men on whom a course of hard profligacy has wrought out its own last revenge. Even when he meant well he could no longer act well. He had lost the refined sense of delicacy and honourable courtesy in dealing with man or woman; all that was left was a certain plausibility of manner, and even that manner has been severely observed upon by persons well qualified to judge. When his daughter was 'thrown into agonies of grief' by the daily discussions about her mother's guilt, on the occasion of the famous Douglas Charges (in the spring of 1813), he could not forbear, according to Miss Knight, from forcing the poor girl to go with him through the hateful subject of the 'investigation' in the presence of Lord Liverpool, 'as his confidential servant!' The Princess was 'dreadfully overcome' by this piece of coarseness, and the Regent could not, for the life of him, conceive why, 'for she had taken everything he had said to her, *when alone*, perfectly well!' Scenes illustrating the same deficiency of moral perception on his part abound throughout these pages.

'The Prince took me aside this evening [very shortly after her engagement with the Princess], and talked to me for a long while against the Princess of Wales, and the little regard she had shown for Princess Charlotte when a child, and how by her negligence there was a mark on the Princess Charlotte's nose, having left her hands at liberty, whereas *he* used continually to watch beside her cradle. He said very severe things of the Princess of Wales in every way, and even accused her of threatening to declare that the Princess was not his daughter. I really had not remarked this little blemish on the smooth and beautiful skin of my young Princess, and should have had great difficulty in forbearing to smile at the seriousness with which that important misfortune was mentioned, if I had not been horrified by the rest of the conversation.'—vol. i. p. 211.

Even when the Regent meant kindly, his tactless and frivolous ways of proclaiming his authority were almost as annoying as his displeasure.

'He was in high good humour this evening, but in the midst of it tapping me on the shoulder, said, "Remember, however, my dear Chevalier" (his pet name for Miss Knight), "that Charlotte must lay aside the idle nonsense of thinking that she has a will of her own; while I live she must be subject to me as she is at present, if she were thirty, or forty, or five-and-forty." This, of course, I did not repeat to Her Royal Highness.'

Occasionally

Occasionally the monotony of princely intercourse was varied for the inmates of Warwick House by such scenes as the following. After a birthday dinner at Sandhurst—

‘The Prince did not speak to Princess Charlotte, the Duchess, or me, but looked as if he wished to annihilate us. When the Queen was about to depart, the Prince Regent was not to be found, and we afterwards learned that he, with the Duke of York, Prince of Orange (the father), and many others, were under the table. The Duke of York hurt his head very seriously against the cellaret. In short, it was a sad business.’

Yet, coarse and unfeeling as the Prince may be deemed in his conduct to his child, it is justice to his memory to say that even the narrative of the resentful Miss Knight does not ascribe to him anything amounting to cruelty. His behaviour was by turns overbearing, sulky, jealous, querulous—everything but what it should have been where the object was to conciliate and to restrain; but of intentional cruelty there is no evidence.

Of the associates in the same service whom Miss Knight encountered at Warwick House, she gives the following hopeful picture:—

‘The Bishop of Salisbury used to come three or four times a week, and “do the important” as Her Royal Highness’s “preceptor.” He had expressed great satisfaction at my coming into her service, and had, I know, wished it many years before; but however willing I was to be on the best terms with the Bishop, and to induce Princess Charlotte to treat him with attention, I could not but see how narrow his views, how strong his prejudices, and how unequal his talents were to the charge with which he had been entrusted by the good old King, much against the Prince’s inclination. The Bishop’s first points were to arm Princess Charlotte against the encouragement of Popery and Whig principles (two evils which he seemed to think equally great), and to appear himself a man of consequence. The Bishop had been preceptor to the Duke of Kent, and living much at Windsor, where he was formerly a canon, had imbibed the *bad style of manners* belonging to that place’ [this is an accusation against the Collegiate Chapel which we never heard of before]; ‘and as it was not grafted on any natural or acquired elegance, he was in that respect also unfit for his situation; added to which his temper was hasty, and his manner easily ruffled.’—vol. i. p. 233.

We by no means accept all poor Miss Knight’s jaundiced views of the personages about the Princess; but it seems clear enough, from all we know of him, that Bishop Fisher, whatever his episcopal merits may have been, was about as fit to direct the intellect and control the temper of a young and sorely perplexed girl as he would have been to nurse a child of a year old. Under the
Bishop

Bishop were 'Dr. Short, sub-preceptor, a good sort of Devonshire man, with some classical knowledge, very little taste, an honest heart, but over-cautious temper, fearful of offending;' 'Mr. Sterkey? minister of the Swiss church, who read French with the Princess,' strangely described as 'a man of good manners for his station, and of a very pliant disposition, ready to do anything not absolutely wicked;' and Küper, the German preceptor, suspected of being a spy. Then there was the good Duchess of Leeds (governess), who had no inclination to quarrel with anybody, and really seems to have been the most sensible and cleanest of the party:—

'Provided that she might ride two or three times a week at Hall's, a second-rate riding-school, on an old quiet horse, for exercise, get into her shower-bath, and take calomel when she pleased, dine out, and go to all parties when invited, shake hands with everybody, and touch her salary, she cared for nothing more, except when mischievous people to plague her, or curious people to know what was going on, talked to her about Princess Charlotte's petticoats being too short, of Her Royal Highness nodding instead of bowing, or talking to the maids of honour at chapel between the prayers and the sermon.'

None of them perhaps quite what the disappointed lady-companion paints them, but evidently a wretchedly inferior set of attendants, from whom the proud and clever Princess instinctively withdrew herself into a state of mental insulation.

Such was the muddy whirlpool into which the unfortunate Miss Knight plunged herself, and in which, after an ineffectual struggle or two, she went, as we shall see, to the bottom. Unfortunately she did not enter the household as an impartial person. All its inmates naturally took one side or the other, the mother's or the father's; she had taken the former beforehand. This is plain on her own statement. 'When Lord Moira was endeavouring to persuade me to accept the place offered me,' she says, 'I told him my sole motive then was to assist *in rescuing a noble young creature from surrounding persecution*, to give her room to show what she really was, misunderstood as she appeared to be, and certainly capable of becoming a blessing to her country or the reverse;' and more to the same effect. This passage really affords the key to her subsequent narrative. After reading it, one feels that her protestations of impartiality and a simple desire to perform a difficult duty must go for nothing. All her actions were subject to a bias, and so is her narrative. She soon lost favour with the Prince Regent, and to lose favour with him was to become the object of a kind of effeminate, spiteful, and wayward hostility. Unfortunately she did not gain it with the Princess; and this was the crowning disappointment of her life.

The

The Princess evidently had confidence in her steadiness, and wished, in her way, to be kind to her and to love her; but she did *not* love her, nor even like her; and the efforts went against the grain. We collect this from the general tenor of the *Autobiography*, as well as from Lady Charlotte Bury's express statement. But, with the natural feeling of unsuccessful candidates for the attachment of a superior, Miss Knight could not ascribe this failure to any demerits of her own, and attributed it throughout to the ill offices of another. And here commences the most objectionable part of the narrative. The person on whom Miss Knight fixed as the subject of her jealousy was Miss Mercer Elphinstone. To her she ascribes, sometimes by assertion, more often by insinuation, almost every disappointment which occurred to herself. Miss Mercer was perhaps the only one of the Princess's few intimates who was the choice of her own heart. Some years older than the latter, she was able at once to be her adviser and her bosom friend. And although herself no favourite of the Regent, nor partial to him—in fact, involved in his general dislike of the ‘damned ladies’—she seems to have exercised that influence, on all important occasions, in order to persuade her friend into submission to her father. That such unpalatable advice should have been given and received without any interruption of their cordial relations, does honour to both. Accordingly, in the Princess of Wales's circle, Miss Mercer was regarded as one of those who ‘set the mother against the daughter;’* and Miss Knight probably shared the feelings of the Connaught House party:—

‘About this time,’ she says (March, 1813), ‘Miss Mercer Elphinstone came to town, and Princess Charlotte wrote to ask the Regent's permission for seeing her. It was evident that this had been arranged beforehand, and that the conditions were that Miss Mercer, who had more influence than any one with Princess Charlotte, should open her eyes to her mother's imprudence, and break the confidential intimacy between them.’—vol. i. p. 225.

We believe this to be altogether false. No conditions whatever were made with Miss Mercer; the permission was simply given to her father, who was in the Prince's household. However, we are told in the very next page:—

‘I soon perceived the change, and also some difference of conduct towards myself. Princess Charlotte left off shaking hands with me when we met in the morning and parted at night; a circumstance trifling in itself, and unnecessary where people live in the same house together, but it was accompanied by hints that when she had an

* Lady Charlotte Bury's *Diary*, i. 249. See also Moore's *Diary*, vol. iii. p. 112.
establishment

establishment her ladies should be kept at a distance; and a short time after, that her ladies ought to be peeresses or of the highest connexions. I could easily guess whence all this was derived, but said nothing.' Soon after, on a similar occasion, 'I burst into tears, and was obliged to remain in my room that evening. Next day Princess Charlotte hinted something about jealousy, of which I took no notice; but I perceived her mind had been poisoned.'

All this—and there is much more of such stuff—seems to have been in truth the mere prompting of the 'green-eyed monster.' Miss Mercer and Miss Knight were on the most friendly outward terms, and the former seems to have known nothing of what was rankling in the mind of the poor lady-companion.

These petty *tracasseries* were soon to give way to intrigues and annoyance of a more serious description. No young lady of great prospects, let alone her being—

'The loveliest maid, besides,
That ever heir'd a crown,'*

can escape rumours of flirtations; and so long as the world goes on in its present way, such will be borne on every breeze. In the case of the Princess Charlotte, these began early enough. Already, when Miss Knight joined the household, talk was busy about Captain Fitzclarence, the late Lord Munster, whom, as we have been informed, the Princess scarcely knew by sight. Her father wished her to marry the young Prince of Orange, just restored to his Dutch expectations by the fall of Napoleon. The project was taken up very strongly by the Regent, partly from exceeding desire to get rid of the additional embarrassment occasioned by his daughter in his unhappy relations with his wife. The scheme did no discredit to its promoters: the Prince's character stood high, the marriage was in consonance with the then British policy; but, somehow, Orange matches (notwithstanding the instance of the great Deliverer) have seldom been popular in England. At all events, the Princess could not abide him. As soon as she discovered what was in store for her, she seems to have been anxious to escape from persecution by some other union—she had scarcely considered what. She wanted to marry some one of the Princes of Prussia—she wanted to marry the Duke of Gloucester; and however the idea may provoke a smile from those who remember that kind-hearted Prince in later days, it was not thought so preposterous in 1813. Attachment to him she had not formed; but he had touched her feelings by words of friendly encouragement

* When dressed for the evening, says Miss Knight, with excusable partiality, she was 'the handsomest woman in the room.'

proffered

proffered in her deep troubles. One of her truest-hearted advisers, Lord Grey, did not disapprove of the idea. Lord Grey was a strong party man, and one whose judgment was as subject in general to be warped by party considerations as that of others; but not on a matter appealing so closely to the higher principles of his nature as the confidence of an almost friendless girl, and she the heiress of the throne. He seems, as far as we can judge, to have advised her in the spirit of a friend interested in her welfare alone, and at the same time free from that over-sensitive regard to her rank and position which affected the judgment of others:—

‘About this time’ (August, 1813), writes Miss Knight, ‘Her Royal Highness, by the advice of Miss Mercer, with whom she constantly communicated, entered into another correspondence which promised great utility. Politics were not concerned in it, and nothing could be more correct than the advice given with respect to her filial duty, as well as other points of her conduct. To this friend she communicated what had passed with her father; and the advice was, if possible, to comply with his wishes with regard to the Prince of Orange; but, if resolved to marry the Duke of Gloucester, to wait patiently until the age of twenty-one, when more efficacious measures could be pursued. This adviser professed himself the friend of the Duke, but certainly was fair and impartial in the manner in which he wrote.’

A stranger notion than this seems to have entered the heads of some less authorised intermeddlers—that of marrying her to the Duke of Devonshire, then the rising star of the world of fashion. Miss Knight repeats an ‘ill-natured story’ that Miss Mercer encouraged the Duke’s expectations in this direction, in hopes that, if repulsed, he might fall back on herself. ‘I heard this story,’ she kindly says, ‘from every one, but did not believe it.’—(Vol. i., p. 243.) It gave rise, however, to the only smart saying we have seen attributed to Miss Knight, which is in Lady C. Bury’s Diary: ‘There was hung (in a room at Warwick House) one portrait, amongst others, that very much resembled the Duke of Devonshire. I asked Miss Knight whom it represented; she said that was not known: *it had been supposed a likeness of the Pretender when young.*’

All these ideas, however, evaporated, and the disagreeable reality pressed on. The young Princess did her best to comply with the general wish. She consented to marry the Prince of Orange, and then she withdrew her consent. High and low puzzled their brains to explain that inexplicable thing ‘the bent of woman’s fantasy.’ Lord Castlereagh’s solution was curt and characteristic: ‘Faction had been busy at work upon the Princess Charlotte’s mind.’—(‘Correspondence,’ vol. x., p. 61.) Others
laid

laid her obstinacy at her mother's door. Others detected the influence of the clever, handsome, intriguing Duchess of Oldenburg, sister of the Czar, whose proceedings in England were the subject of much comment among professed politicians; and these had certainly some reason to congratulate themselves on their clear-sightedness when the rejected Prince was ultimately picked up by another sister. Others looked to personal causes. Miss Knight thought the Prince 'particularly plain and sickly in his look,' and boyish in manner. Some said he had offended taste by a very glaring pair of scarlet breeches, donned in an inauspicious hour. Some, that by help of that 'mad, droll German' Prince Paul of Wirtemberg, he got sadly intoxicated on one occasion when he had to dance with his intended—a disagreeable circumstance, but less unpardonable, perhaps, in the eyes of one who had been used (if Miss Knight can be believed) to see her father and the keeper of her father's conscience in a similar plight. The reason commonly assigned consisted in disputes about the Princess's residence in Holland; on which much ingenious constitutional lore was spent, furnished to the Princess either by Mr. Hallam or some equally competent authority. This, however, was no doubt an 'official' reason only. Whatever the real cause may have been, it lay deeper. As for the mother herself, those who are acquainted with the debasing revelations of the 'Diary of the Times of George the Fourth' know how she received, and used, the disagreement. Without one thought for her daughter's real happiness, she was wholly absorbed in exultation at the defeat of her husband's hopes by that daughter's 'spirited' resistance. She applauded it to the echo, and professed to believe that a plot had been thereby defeated for banishing the young Princess to the Continent, and then declaring her illegitimate! It is edifying to observe that each parent brought this charge against the other. This opposition ultimately led to those measures of increased severity on the part of the Regent which produced the Princess Charlotte's famous flight from Warwick House, in a hackney-coach, on July 12, 1814.

The immediate cause of those measures has, however, not been hitherto known. Miss Knight offers a solution of the question, if we can believe her. She brings Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg now on the scene as pressing his attentions on her mistress, 'who was by no means partial to him, and only received him with civility. However, Miss Mercer evidently wished to recommend him.' Had this been true, Miss Mercer could hardly repent of having promoted the event which secured a few short months of happiness to her ill-fated friend. But we believe there

there is no more foundation for this than for the many similar insinuations with which these pages are filled. Thus much only seems probable, that reports about Prince Leopold united with other causes in determining the Regent to get rid of all the Warwick House establishment, and carry the Princess Charlotte to his own home. And then followed the escapade in question, over which we wish to pause for a few moments, merely to show the apparent hopelessness of arriving at historical truth in details when an event so notorious, and in which so many took part, is represented with such strange discrepancies of narrative by independent eye-witnesses. The following is Miss Knight's account, omitting only some details about herself, and some sly, ill-natured hits at her *bête noire* Miss Mercer :—

'About six (in the evening of the 12th July) the Regent came (to Warwick House), attended by the Bishop only (as I supposed); but he came up alone, and desired I would leave him with Princess Charlotte. He was shut up with her three-quarters of an hour, and afterwards a quarter more with the Bishop and Her Royal Highness. The door then opened, and she came out in the greatest agony, saying she had but one instant to speak to me, for that the Prince asked for me. I followed her into her dressing-room, when she told me the new ladies were in possession of the house; that I and all the servants were to be dismissed; that she was to be confined at Carlton House for five days, after which she was to be taken to Cranbourne Lodge, in the midst of Windsor Forest, where she was to see no one but the Queen once a week; and that if she did not go immediately, the Prince would sleep at Warwick House that night as well as all the ladies. I begged her to be calm, and advised her to go over as soon as possible, assuring her that her friends would not forget her. She fell on her knees in the greatest agitation, exclaiming, "God Almighty grant me patience!" I wished to stay and comfort her, but she urged me to go to the Prince, for fear of greater displeasure. I went to him, and he shut the door; the Bishop was with him. He told me he was sorry to put a lady to inconvenience, but that he wanted my room that evening for the ladies, repeating what Princess Charlotte had already told me. I asked in what I had offended, but he said he made no complaint, and would make none; that he had a right to make any changes he pleased, and that he was blamed for having let things go on as they had done. . . . I then made a low curtsy to him and left the room. What was my astonishment when I could not find Princess Charlotte anywhere, and when at length Miss Mercer and her maid, who had come (as was often the case) to dress her before dinner, appeared from my bedroom, the latter crying, and Miss Mercer saying she supposed Princess Charlotte was gone to her mother! The Prince came forward when I returned to the dressing-room, and I brought Miss Mercer, who desired I would do so, that she might not be suspected of anything clandestine. She told him that as she was
dressing

dressing herself in Princess Charlotte's bedroom, she heard her say she would go to her mother's (Lewis, the dresser, thought when she took her bonnet she was going to Carlton House), and before they could prevent it she had disappeared. The Prince was very cool, and seemed rather pleased, saying he was glad that everybody would now see what she was, and that it would be known on the Continent, and no one would marry her. . . . The Bishop and Miss Mercer offered to go and look for her, and proposed my accompanying them, which I refused, saying I should wait, for that I did not wish to be in *that house*—meaning the Princess of Wales's—but that if I went, and Princess Charlotte asked me to stay with her, I could not refuse remaining with her *there or in a prison*. . . . About nine the Bishop returned. He did not come to me, but I heard he was gone over to Carlton House, that he had found Princess Charlotte, but had not brought her with him. I therefore went immediately to Connaught Place, and asked to see Princess Charlotte alone. Lady Charlotte Lindsay, in waiting on the Princess of Wales, came out to me and told me that Her Royal Highness was with her mother, Miss Mercer Elphinstone, and Mr. Brougham, in the next room, and the Princess of Wales desired I should walk in. She added how much the Princess had been surprised when she heard, by a messenger despatched from the house to Blackheath (whither she had gone on business), that Princess Charlotte was there, and not finding Mr. Whitbread and another member—I forget whom—to advise with, had sent for Mr. Brougham, and that before she got home Princess Charlotte had sent for the Duke of Sussex. I still begged to see Princess Charlotte alone, to which Lady Charlotte Lindsay seemed willing to consent; but Miss Mercer, who came in, said she had promised the Regent not to leave her alone with any one. I said, rather stiffly, that she might go with me, and Her Royal Highness withdrew with me into the part of the room separated by columns, when I gave her her seals, to which was annexed a key, and a letter which had come during her absence. She met me with great joy, and told me I was to stay with her, for she had written offering to go to her father on that condition, and that she would retain her maid, and receive the visits of Miss Mercer. We waited some time for the return of the Bishop with the answer to these proposals, and at length I offered to go to Carlton House, and endeavour to see the Prince. I did, but could not see him. I was told that I might see the Chancellor or Lord Liverpool. I answered I was ready to see either of them, when I was ushered into a room where the Chancellor and Lord Ellenborough were seated at each end of a long table. The former informed me that the Bishop was returned with the answer that Her Royal Highness must submit unconditionally, on which I replied that I had nothing more to do but return to her, and take her maid and night-things, as she might be obliged to remain that night in Connaught Place. . . . I went back to Princess Charlotte, taking with me Mrs. Lewis, her dresser; and when I arrived I found the Bishop had stated she must submit to return to her father unconditionally,

ditionally, holding out the hope that Miss Mercer would be allowed to visit her. I saw the letter she had written. It was very flattering to me; but I did not wish to have been made an object of controversy between her and her father. It was two in the morning before the Duke of York arrived to take her away. I was too much affected to follow her down stairs; . . . and I afterwards heard from the Duke of Sussex that a hackney-coach followed the Duke of York with the Chancellor and two other lawyers in it, as also that when dear Princess Charlotte arrived at Carlton House she was made to remain in the court-yard for more than half-an-hour, while they were debating within how they would receive her.*

Let us now compare with Miss Knight's story the account given by Lord Brougham† of the same event, thirty years after its occurrence. It must be premised that this cannot be well understood without reading Lord Eldon's succinct narrative of his own share in it, as reported by Mr. Twiss:—‡

'When we arrived I informed her a carriage was at the door, and we would attend her home. But home she would not go. She kicked and bounced, but would not go. Well, to do my office as gently as I could, I told her I was sorry for it, for until she did go, she would be obliged to entertain us, as we would not leave her. At last she accompanied us.'†

'But this,' says Lord Brougham, 'is a perfect mis-statement, indeed a pure fiction, and there are three persons living who know it to be so, and, having read the above lines, agree in so declaring it. When the Princess's escape became known at Carlton House (for it is not true, as stated by Mr. Twiss, that the Prince and Bishop went to see her at Warwick House, to inform her of the new constitution of her household, and that she asked leave to retire, and escaped by a back-staircase), the Regent sent notice to the heads of the law, and of his own Duchy of Cornwall establishment. Soon after these arrived, each in a separate hackney-coach, at Connaught Terrace, the Princess of Wales's residence. There were the Chancellor, Lord Ellenborough, Mr. Adam, Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, Mr. Leach, the Bishop of Salisbury, and afterwards the Duke of Kent. There had already come to join the Princess Charlotte Miss Mercer, now Lady Keith and Countess de Flahault, who came by the Regent's express desire as his daughter's most confidential friend; Mr. Brougham (for whom the young Princess had sent as

* Vol. i. p. 304-310. Some slight additional details are given at the beginning of vol. ii.

† We quote from the 'Law Review,' vol. i.: 'Life of Lord Eldon,' attributed to Lord Brougham by Lord Campbell, in his 'Lives of the Chancellors.' There is a separate account in the 'Edinburgh Review' for 1838, which is commonly ascribed to Lord Brougham also. And, lastly, there is the contemporaneous account in the Whig paper, 'The Morning Chronicle,' of July 14, 1814 (Miss Knight, vol. i. p. 311), which, from internal evidence, looks very like a *communiqué* from 'Mr. Brougham.' All three vary in some particulars.

‡ Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 523.

a person she had already often consulted); the Duke of Sussex, whose attendance he had taken the precaution of asking, knowing that he happened to dine in the immediate neighbourhood; the Princess of Wales, too, had arrived from her villa at Blackheath, where she was when Mr. Brougham and Miss Mercer arrived. Her Royal Highness was accompanied by Lady Charlotte Lindsay, then in waiting. Dinner had been ordered by the Princess Charlotte, and the party, except the Duke of Sussex, who did not immediately arrive, were at table, when from time to time the arrival of the great personages sent by the Regent was announced, as each of their hackney-coaches in succession came into the street. Some were suffered to remain in these vehicles, better fitted for convenience than for state; but the presumptive heiress to the Crown having chosen that conveyance, it was the humour of the party, which she was now delighting with her humour and interesting by her high spirits, like a bird flown from a cage, that these exalted subjects should become familiar with a residence which had so lately been graced with the occupancy of their future sovereign. Exceptions, however, were made, and the Duke of York immediately was asked into a room on the ground floor. It is an undoubted fact, that not one of the persons sent by the Regent, not even the Duke of York, ever was in any of the apartments above-stairs for one instant until the young Princess had agreed to leave the house and return home. The Princess of Wales saw the Duke of York for a few minutes below; and this was the only communication between the company above and those below—of whom all but the Duke and the Bishop remained outside the house. After a great deal of discussion, the Princess asked Mr. Brougham what he, on the whole, would advise her to do. He said, "Return to Warwick House or to Carlton House, and on no account pass a night out of it." She was exceedingly affected—even to tears—and asked if he too refused to stand by her. The day was beginning to break—a *Westminster election* to reinstate Lord William (after the sentence on him which abolished the pillory and led to his re-election) was to be held that day at ten o'clock. Mr. Brougham led the young Princess to the window, and said, "I have but to show you to the multitude which in a few hours will fill these streets and that park, and possibly Carlton House will be pulled down; but in an hour after the soldiers will be called out, blood will flow, and if your Royal Highness lives a hundred years, it will never be forgotten that your running away from your home and your father was the cause of the mischief; and you may depend upon it the English people so hate blood that you will never get over it." She at once perceived the truth of this statement, and, without any kind of hesitation, agreed to see her uncle below, and accompany him home. But she told him she would not go in any carriage except one of her father's, as her character might suffer; she therefore retired to the drawing-room until a royal coach was sent for, and she then went home with the Duke of York.

So far his Lordship. We omit the singular story which follows, about the 'protocol executed in sexplicate original,' at Connaught House,

House, before the Princess left it, solemnly recording her resolution never to marry the Prince of Orange, to which we find no allusion elsewhere.

Leaving out the contradiction of the statement in the '*Life of Lord Eldon*' (on which more presently), it will be seen that his Lordship commences by declaring that 'it is not true that the Prince and Bishop went to see the Princess at Warwick House at all.' This assertion is sufficient of itself to show the extreme defectiveness of his Lordship's memory. The fact that they *did* go to Warwick House is stated in all the narratives of the time, and has now received confirmation, if any such had been needed, from Miss Knight's plain narrative. We have also seen another authentic version of the occurrences at Warwick House, slightly differing from Miss Knight's, but only by such minute discrepancies as occur every day between straightforward witnesses. After the Princess's first impetuous declaration that 'she would go to her mother,' she and the one or two friends who were endeavouring to calm her mind—

'were disturbed by the Bishop knocking loudly at the door of her bedroom; and the Princess, thinking that it was her father come to take her away, rushed through the passage which led to Miss Knight's apartment (which also communicated with the back stairs). Miss Mercer, on this, retreated to finish dressing in Mrs. Lewis's room. There was a window in this room which overlooked Warwick Lane; and the first suspicion which those in the room had of the Princess's flight was from hearing some persons who were working in the street say, "Why, sure it is the Princess who has run up the lane!" The Princess had her bonnet on long before her interview with the Regent. Her flight was sudden and unpremeditated, under the influence of terror.'

The next statement of Lord Brougham on which we are forced to comment is his description of the 'dinner at Connaught Place,' and of the events which there took place. It would appear from this that 'the party,' including Mr. Brougham himself, sat down to that jocose meal, Lord Eldon, Lord Ellenborough, and other dignitaries of state, remaining outside, in their 'hackney-coaches,' not even asked in-doors, while the Princess Charlotte—the terrified young creature who had just fled thither for protection against what her imagination represented as a frightful persecution—amused herself, and the rest of the company, by being extremely facetious at the expense of the dignitaries aforesaid! Such a story, if true, would scarcely increase our respect for the Princess, who, young as she was, would have been guilty of strangely indecorous trifling at such a moment, in a party of very unwonted associates. But apparently his Lordship's playful memory has

has here again deceived him. Unless we are very much misinformed, Mr. Brougham was not one of the guests at that 'dinner' at all. A hasty meal had been served in a small room adjoining the drawing-room, to which none sat down except the Princess of Wales, Princess Charlotte, Lady Charlotte Lindsay, and Miss Mercer. Mr. Brougham—sent for as a legal adviser, not a guest—arrived while they were at table. The supposed concourse of hackney-coaches in front of the house during the dinner seems to be simply a melodramatic incident. Lords Eldon and Ellenborough very certainly were not there. We have seen that Miss Knight went to Connaught Place some time *after* the Princess's flight; found the above-named ladies there, and Mr. Brougham with them; waited there for some time for an answer from the Bishop of Salisbury to certain proposals; and then went to Carlton House, where she found the Chancellor and Lord Ellenborough 'seated at each end of a long table.' By this time it must have been late at night; and as the two legal sages were at Carlton House at the two ends of a long table, it is quite clear they were not, as Lord Brougham supposes, sitting as butts for his and the Princess Charlotte's pleasantries in front of Connaught 'Terrace,' as his Lordship calls it by the figure *prolepsis*. Miss Knight goes on to say, 'it was two in the morning before the Duke of York arrived to take her (the Princess) away. I afterwards heard from the Duke of Sussex that a hackney-coach *followed* him (the Duke of York), with the Chancellor and two other lawyers in it.' Lord Eldon, therefore, did not arrive until the very end of the little drama; and then, no doubt, took place the scene between him and the Princess, which Mr. Twiss makes him describe in a style more graphical than refined. Except to Lord Brougham—who doubtless believes that his predecessor had an innate propensity for unnecessary lying—it would have seemed strange that Lord Eldon or his biographer should go out of the way to invent a false account of an indifferent occurrence, in which, moreover, the Chancellor does not play a very dignified part. But we have other authority for saying that Lord Eldon's story is simply true.

The next point in Lord Brougham's narrative on which commentary becomes indispensable is not quite so much *de minimis* as those we have referred to. 'Mr. Brougham,' he says, 'was sent for by the young Princess, *as a person she had already often consulted.*' Mr. Brougham, as all the world knows, was the legal and partly the political adviser of her mother, the Princess of Wales. Miss Knight, we have seen, tells quite a different story, namely, that it was the Princess of Wales herself who 'had sent for Mr. Brougham,' and that before her mother's arrival Princess Charlotte

Charlotte had sent for the Duke of Sussex.* Now we need not say that on the question who sent for him, mother or daughter, Lord Brougham's own direct statement ought to be a very different authority from Miss Knight's hearsay. But it is impossible not to remark how signally his Lordship's memory has failed him as to other parts of this transaction. It is certainly strange—passing strange—that though poor Princess Charlotte could not well have had many 'secrets' from the prying eyes at Warwick House, neither its inmates nor any one else except his Lordship himself seem to have been the least aware that she had consulted him often, or consulted him at all. On one occasion, in April, 1814, she wrote a letter to the Prince Regent, touching her proposed marriage, which made the Prince remark to Miss Knight that it was *supposed* Princess Charlotte must have legal advisers, as her letters were not those of a woman. 'I said that he must recollect she had gone through a course of study on the laws of England, and by his own observation to me one evening at Carlton House was allowed to be mistress of the subject. He smiled, and said Her Royal Highness turned his arms against himself.'—(Vol. i., p. 286.) And we know that those who were far nearer to her heart than Miss Knight believed that she 'had no legal adviser at all.' Thus much must be said—that if it is true that the young Princess, without the knowledge of her own closest intimates, was wont to consult her mother's professional counsellor and her father's ablest political enemy, it shows, better than any other evidence, the evil influence attained over her by that mother, shows an amount of duplicity on her own part for which we should not have been prepared, and justifies in substance, if not in point of taste and judgment, the measures which that father adopted or threatened towards her.

As to the not very important question whose influence it was which prevailed on the young Princess to return to her father, the actors in the scene seem all to disagree, partly from that natural tendency which every one has on such occasions to represent himself as the first performer. The Duke of Buckingham says ('Memoirs of the Court of England under the Regency') that it was the Princess of Wales who induced her daughter to go back, being for her own part merely anxious to encounter no obstacles to her project for leaving the country. 'It is certain,' says Miss Knight, pointedly, 'that on the fatal morning it struck me that the Princess of Wales was more

* Lord Brougham, as we have seen, says that *he* brought the Duke of Sussex.

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anxious for the removal of Princess Charlotte out of her house than the Prince was to get her into his.' Lord Eldon evidently thought that *he* prevailed on the Princess to leave, through the awful threat that he and Lord Ellenborough would stay with her till she did. The Duke of Sussex told Sir Samuel Romilly that '*he* and Brougham persuaded her to go to Carlton House.'—('Diary of Sir Samuel Romilly,' iii., 145.) Lord Brougham himself, as we see from his narrative, has no doubt that '*alone he did it.*' Evidently all the parties pulled together with a hearty goodwill, though from a singular variety of motives; and their united efforts overcame the resolution of an unhappy child, probably more frightened than obstinate.

We should be extremely reluctant, in conclusion, to disturb the picturesque effect of that well-told private scene at the window between the Princess and her adviser which ends Lord Brougham's narrative, and which has become, as it were, a part of received English history. Very few men would have had the presence of mind and readiness of wit to address so rhetorical an argument to an agitated young Princess at such a moment; but no one will deny that the hero of the tale might have been one of those few. Nevertheless, there are some details which our prosaic minds find a difficulty in understanding. 'The Westminster election' gave occasion for the pointed warning; but there was *no* Westminster election that day: it took place on Saturday the 16th, and the preliminary Palace Yard meeting had been on Monday the 11th. 'The day was beginning to break' is an essential feature in the composition—that is, it was past three o'clock. The Princess then consented; but before she would go, a carriage had to be sent for from Connaught Place to Carlton House, made ready there, and brought back to Connaught House again. At this rate, the Princess could scarcely have reached her father's before it was broad daylight and the streets filling—a singular circumstance, which no contemporary mentions. Now Miss Knight says 'it was two in the morning before the Duke of York arrived to take her away,' and implies that she did not stay long afterwards. Not a word about sending for a carriage; the Duke had evidently brought one. The 'Morning Chronicle' says, 'At a little past three Her Royal Highness was conveyed to Carlton House.'*

After this, one may fairly ask with Sir Walter Raleigh, 'what is history?' Had we an account of some event of antiquity of

* The Edinburgh Reviewer says, 'returned to Warwick House between four and five o'clock.' We know that she never returned to Warwick House at all.

the same apparent authenticity with Lord Brougham's narrative of that in which he took part at Connaught House, what Niebuhr would venture to question it? and yet, as soon as another eye-witness is evoked from the shades, and the newspapers of the day are consulted, they flatly and irreconcilably contradict him!

One question, however, of more than mere historical curiosity forces itself on the reader of this little domestic novellette. Why were all parties—the Duke of Sussex and Mr. Brougham, quite as much as the Duke of York and Lord Eldon—so vehemently anxious to get the Princess Charlotte, despite her tears and sufferings, to Carlton House immediately? The night was far spent, or rather it was already morning. After many hours of fatigue and agitation, what more natural than that she should repose a few hours longer under the roof of her own mother? Why could not this be effected without entrenching on her father's right to control her movements? There is no reason for supposing that the Regent would, on his own account, have objected to so trifling an indulgence. Such unnecessary cruelty would have been inconsistent with the rest of his conduct, which, as we have said, was in all this matter rather arbitrary and injudicious than barbarous. And if he had insisted on this point, what a fine opportunity for his opponents to 'make capital' out of such a display of senseless tyranny! But, in truth, the reader will not have forgotten Miss Knight's shrewd hint, that the mother was far more anxious to get rid of the daughter than the father to get her back. And it is clear that he must have been prepared for the contingency of her remaining at Connaught House that night; for we have seen that Miss Knight was allowed to take thither 'her maid and night things.' Unfortunately the real reason for this precipitancy seems plain enough. Every man in that house well knew—every one, probably, except the young Princess herself and Miss Mercer knew—that Connaught House was not a residence in which the heiress of the Crown could with propriety remain for a single night. She could not be exposed to encounter 'the Sapios' and the rest of the goodly society whose doings are chronicled in Lady Charlotte Bury's pages; and her mother's character and temper afforded no guarantee that she should be spared a single item of such disgrace. Such was doubtless the motive which acted, and very properly acted, on the Princess of Wales's own advisers; and yet those very advisers were ready to take the first occasion afterwards of reiterating their conviction of that lady's absolute innocence, and the causeless jealousy of her illustrious persecutor!

With the Warwick House escapade ends Miss Knight's appearance on the historical stage. She was dismissed, as we have seen, that evening. She 'kicked and bounced a good deal,' as Lord Eldon would have phrased it; 'begged to know in what she had offended;' but the Regent answered, 'he made no complaints, and should make none.' She was excessively angry when the 'Morning Post' informed mankind that, 'by means of one of the most pious and virtuous characters of the land, it was soon discovered that many of the Princess's associates were persons possessing pernicious sentiments alike hostile to the daughter, the father, and the country,' and wrote to the Bishop of Salisbury to know if *she* was one of the 'obnoxious associates' in question. What answer the pious and virtuous prelate made does not appear. She once more endeavoured to mollify the Prince Regent, whom she assured 'I have no acquaintance, nor have I had any communication, with persons of seditious principles, improper conduct, or sentiments hostile to your Royal Highness;' but equally in vain. It is clear she was suspected of aiding and comforting the Whigs in their designs against the heiress presumptive. The exalted Toryism of this Autobiography reads like a posthumous protest against such injustice. She was never admitted within the precincts of the Regent's household again. But she was allowed the consolation of attending one drawing-room, in March, 1815. She had a pension of 300*l.* a-year 'as a compensation for having left the Queen's service to attend on Princess Charlotte;' in strictness perhaps a sufficient acknowledgment, but not a very ample one, for the devotion of her later years to the service of the family. She was gratified when 'a person who had the means of knowing many things relative to the Princess Charlotte told her the Regent and Queen had opened their eyes with respect to her, and were now persuaded that her conduct had been such as they could not think injurious to themselves. It is probable,' she adds, 'that they knew who was the mischief-maker' (vol. ii. p. 113). After the final separation from the Court her little chronicle loses, of course, its historical importance, if such a phrase can be used in reference to it. But for those readers who find some amusement in tracing the 'romance of a dull life,' there is something of interest in watching the way in which the poor lady clung for a long time to the associations of that circle from which she was now dissevered. She catalogues very fondly every letter she received from Princess Charlotte, and these were at first rather numerous and 'affectionate;' entering into details respecting the little occupations and annoyances of her life. Their frequency soon diminishes; as in the ordinary case of friendship between a
superior

superior and an inferior. When their personal communication is interrupted, the former breaks gradually away, not through unkindness, but engrossed by new scenes and subjects, from that tie of intimacy which the latter still cherishes, and vainly endeavours to maintain. Marriage, and its new employments, obliterated the impressions left by the old humble companion. At last, on July 30, 1817, Miss Knight, on going abroad, 'called to take leave of Princess Charlotte, but could not see her, as Prince Leopold was suffering from a pain in his face! She wrote me a very affectionate note afterwards to apologise.' Such was the end of their intimacy, for in a few months more the young Princess had ceased to exist. 'The entry in Miss Knight's diary, on this afflicting subject, is brief and inexpressive,' says the editor.

'I received a visit from Miss Knight,' says Lady Charlotte Bury, in 1820; 'her presence recalled Kensington and the poor Princess to my mind. She conversed with sense and kindness on these topics, but her exceeding prudence always restrains the expression of her feelings, and she appeared averse to dwelling on the subject. . . . Miss Knight has a very refined mind, and takes delight in every subject connected with literature and the fine arts. She is exceedingly well read, and has an excellent judgment in these matters. I alluded once to the poor Princess Charlotte's death, but Miss Knight only replied, "Ah! that was a melancholy event," and passed on to other subjects. She did not impress me with the idea of lamenting the Princess so much as I supposed she would have done. But perhaps she may in reality mourn her melancholy fate, and only forbears speaking of her lest she should say too much. Certainly Miss Knight was very ill-used by the Queen and the Regent, and I do not think Princess Charlotte liked, though she esteemed her. Miss Knight was not sufficiently gay, or of a style of character suited to Her Royal Highness.'—*Diary*, vol. iv. p. 7.

Certainly the misgiving that her own life had, after all, been thrown away by mistake, seems to have visited the poor companion in her disgrace:—

'I have lived,' she says, near the close of her life, 'to witness the termination of many things, and I humbly bend with resignation and gratitude to the Divine dispensations. With respect to myself all I can say is this, I cannot help regretting having left the Queen. My intentions were not bad, but in many respects I consulted my feelings more than my reason. My mind was then too active, perhaps now it is too indolent; but either I ought to have remained with the Queen, or I ought to have carried things with a higher hand to be really useful while I was with Princess Charlotte. I had no support from the
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loose statements by way of note as that 'the Duke of Wellington called the battle of Navarino an untoward accident' (ii., 270). The biographical notices in the notes of persons mentioned by Miss Knight are of the usual order of indolence: those comparatively unknown, of whom we should have been glad to learn something, are regularly passed over without remark; while we are treated to detailed memoirs of those with whom everybody is familiar. These, however, are not always very appropriate—as when the only mention made of the literary works of the gay Chevalier de Boufflers is that he 'published a book called *Libre Arbitre*,' and of those of the once famous M. de Fontanes, that he 'translated into French Pope's Essay on Man.' Miss Knight says of Dumouriez, 'He had been both a lawyer and a soldier, and I used to fancy that I could trace in him the distinctive features of both professions.' This, says the editor, 'is an error. At the age of eighteen young Dumouriez distinguished himself at an affair of the advanced posts under Marshal d'Estrées, and in the following year he obtained a cornetcy of horse.' True; but he does not add that Dumouriez was 'reformed' immediately afterwards—that for twenty years he performed scarcely any military duty, but, though never a lawyer, was employed almost wholly as a civilian; which accounts for the *tam Marte quàm Mercurio* air which the fair writer ascribes to him. These may seem trifles to remark on; but, in truth, they are not so to those who are really fond of biographical study, and know how much the good editing of a book of that description contributes to the pleasure of reading it.

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- ART. III.—1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England.* 6 vols. 1861.
2. *Suggestions on Popular Education.* By Nassau W. Senior. London, 1861.
3. *Letter to Earl Granville, written by Sir James Kay Shuttleworth on the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the State of National Education.* 1861.
4. *Remarks on some Portions of the Report of the Royal Commission on Education.* London, 1861.
5. *Remarks on the Discouragements to Religious Teaching in the Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England.* London, 1861.
6. *Report of the Committee on Council of Education for 1860-1.* London, 1861.

7. *Fiftieth*

7. *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Incorporated National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales.* 1861.
8. *A Letter to J. Bowstead, Esq., H. M. Inspector of British and Foreign Schools, concerning Education in South Wales.* By Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. London, 1861.
9. *Speech of the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P., on Moving the Education Estimate in Committee of Supply, July 11th, 1861.* London, 1861.
10. *Minute of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, establishing a Revised Code of Regulations.* 1861.
11. *Letter to Earl Granville, K.G., on the Revised Code of Regulations contained in the Minute of the Committee of Council on Education, dated July 29th, 1861.* By Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, Bart. London, 1861.
12. *The New Educational Code: Grouping by Age, and Paying for Results. Two Letters.* By John Menet, M.A., Chaplain of the Hockerill Training School. London, 1861.
13. *Letter of the Wesleyan Committee of Education to the Right Honourable Earl Granville, K.G., on the Revised Educational Code.* 1861.
14. *Memorial of the Committee of the Rochester Diocesan Training Institution at Hockerill to the Right Hon. Earl Granville, K.G., on the Revised Code of the Committee of Council on Education.* 1861.
15. *The Revised Code of the Committee of Council on Education dispassionately considered.* By Charles John Vaughan, D.D., Vicar of Doncaster. Cambridge, 1861.
16. *The Revised Code.* By James Fraser, M.A., Rector of Upton, late Assistant-Commissioner in the Education Inquiry. London, 1861.

IT is well known that Popular Education in England and Wales has for upwards of twenty years back been materially aided by a grant of money annually voted by Parliament, and has been very much influenced and controlled by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, to whom the administration of the grant has been committed; that a Royal Commission has lately made a Report, in which certain important changes are recommended; and that the Committee of Council has still more recently issued a minute containing what is called the Revised Code, as the canon by which it proposes to be guided after the 31st March, 1862.

It is important in the first place to ascertain the real merits of the system which is actually in operation, and next to consider

sider the new plan now under discussion; and therefore we shall here notice, in the order in which they appeared, the Report of the Commissioners, and the Revised Code of the Committee of Council. We need scarcely say, after the remarks contained in our last number, that we do not intend to take much for granted in favour of the existing system. On the contrary, we shall especially note and examine the Royal Commissioners' criticism on its working; for it is to their judgment, or their supposed judgment, on things as they are, that the new regulations owe their birth.

The main object of the Commission was to elicit information. A second object was to recommend measures 'for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people.' To elicit information, there is no better machinery than a mixed Commission consisting of men of independent minds, clear heads, and ordinary judgment, who have not been previously connected in any special manner with the subject which they have to investigate. To make recommendations worthy of attention, more practical acquaintance with the subject is needed. And so it happens that the part of the Report which is concerned with investigation and criticism is remarkably good, while the recommendations are wholly impracticable.

The amount of education in this country as stated by the Commissioners is undoubtedly most encouraging. Indeed, the progress reported to have been made in the last fifty years is from 500,000 to 2,500,000, from 1 in 17 of the population to 1 in 7,—an enormous stride. Out of a population of some 20,000,000 there are, we learn, but 120,000 children wholly without instruction, and of these 100,000 are the children of out-door paupers who may be dealt with immediately and separately by a legislative enactment. We have yet to include within our meshes the untaught 100,000 and the 20,000. But we are better off than any of our continental neighbours. In France the proportion of children receiving instruction to the whole population is 1 in 9, in Holland 1 in 8, and the slight superiority of Prussia, where the proportion is 1 in 6, is dearly bought by her compulsory system of schooling. These are the only nations whose educational statistics are supplied by the Commissioners.

In our own country the importance of the figures which we have quoted is only seen when we look back a few years and mark their steady growth. In 1858 there was one person in seven under instruction (it is probable that by this time the proportion may be one in six), in 1851 one in eight, in 1843 one in ten, in 1833 one in eleven, in 1818 one in seventeen, and at the beginning of the present century there was hardly any basis

on

on which to make a calculation. Whatever advance there has since been is mainly the work of the British and Foreign School Society, the National Society, and the Committee of Council on Education. Among them the merit must be divided, but in unequal shares. For the origin of the two Societies we have to go back fifty-one years, for that of the Educational Committee twenty-three. It would be an interesting sight could we transfer ourselves to Freemasons' Tavern, and see the goodly gathering of Whigs under the presidency of the Duke of Bedford, on Saturday, May 11, 1811, to pass resolutions in favour of 'the system of education invented by Mr. Joseph Lancaster,' which, it was thought, enabled 'one master to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic to any number of children by the agency of his scholars alone.'

The result of this meeting was the permanent establishment of the Borough-road Training Institution, and of the British and Foreign School Society, which, for a few years previously, had been dragging on a scarcely more than nominal existence. Another meeting was called on October 16, 1811, under the presidency of Archbishop Manners Sutton; and thus commenced the National Society for the Education of the Poor throughout England and Wales in the Principles of the Established Church. This Society has just published its fiftieth annual Report.

Before the institution of these two Societies, there were (we speak, of course, in general terms) no day-schools worthy of the name, such as we now find in every town and in every large village in England. There were a few endowed schools scattered over the country, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had made most praiseworthy efforts to furnish instruction to some of the children of the poor in London:—

'But it is evident from the early reports of the National Society,' says the fiftieth Report, 'that its good and pious founders had before them the task of supplying school-accommodation for a very large majority of the parishes of England and Wales. This, however, was far from the whole of the work which the Society had to accomplish. Before much progress could be made in school-building, it was necessary to overcome many deep-seated prejudices against the diffusion of information among the labouring classes, and to consider and define the principles on which any general scheme of national education could be safely conducted. Besides this, teachers were to be trained for the work of school-keeping; methods of instruction had to be arranged; books were to be provided. With all these things the present generation is familiar, but half a century ago they were matters of experiment.'—(P. v.)

So far, then, as *quantity* goes, nothing could be more satisfactory

factory than the advance that has been made. The *quality* of schools depends upon their organization and method, upon their instruction, and upon their tone and discipline. At the end of the last century Dr. Bell invented the monitorial system. In 1797 he published a pamphlet explaining its principles, and it was adopted by two schools in England (St. Botolph, Aldgate, and the Kendal Schools of Industry), previous to the commencement of the nineteenth century. In 1803 Mr. Joseph Lancaster also wrote upon the subject of Education, acknowledging, in the first three editions of his pamphlet, that the discovery of 'the system' (as the monitorial plan of teaching was proudly called) was due to Dr. Bell; but after a time, outstripping Dr. Bell in popularity and acquiring the patronage of Whig magnates, he advertised himself in the newspapers as '*the inventor*, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of a new and mechanical system of education for the use of schools.'

The partisans of Dr. Bell and of Mr. Lancaster differed fundamentally on the all-important question of the combination of religious and secular instruction, but they vied with each other in the unqualified approbation that they gave to 'the system.' But as soon as 'the system' was brought to the test, it was found wanting:—

'The first important result,' say the Commissioners, 'which was obtained from the inspection of the state of education in the years 1839-46 was proof of the inadequacy of the monitorial system and of the inefficiency of the teachers who were then in possession of the schools. The unanimous testimony of the inspectors was that the teachers were bad, and that the monitors, from their extreme youth, were of little use. They were fit only for the discharge of routine duties, and even these they discharged without interest, without weight, and without authority. They were frequently untrustworthy, and almost always ignorant. The consequence of this was that the schools were generally in a deplorable state in every part of England. . . . It may be stated generally that all the inspectors declared that the best teachers were ignorant and unskilful, though they were often well-meaning and serious-minded men, and that the inferior and more numerous class of teachers were unfit for their position, and unqualified to discharge any useful function in education.'—(*Report*, i. p. 93.)

In place of the inefficient monitorial system and unskilled masters, was substituted in the year 1846 the present system of pupil-teachers, working under trained and certificated masters and mistresses, which is generally known as the Government System. The evidence not only of the comparative superiority, but of the actual merits of this system—as exhibited in the
six

six volumes of the Report of the Commissioners, and in the yearly Reports of the Education Committee—is undoubtedly very strong. With regard to pupil-teachers, Mr. Cook (one of the inspectors, and a man of sound judgment) says, ‘they often conduct lessons in reading, arithmetic, and writing from copies and dictation, better than many adult teachers of ordinary ability,’ whilst many of them ‘can teach and examine a large class in grammar, geography, English history, and the subject-matter of books of general information, with less waste of time and greater facility of illustration than the generality of untrained masters’ (*Rep.* i. p. 103). Mr. Arnold describes them as ‘the sinews of English primary instruction’ (*ib.* iv. p. 73). The Assistant-Commissioners are unanimous as to the superiority of schools in which pupil-teachers are employed (*ib.* i. p. 103), and the Commissioners themselves express a hope of seeing a considerable increase of pupil-teachers, ‘as constituting the most successful feature of the present system’ (*ib.* p. 346, and see p. 806).

The pupil-teachers having served their apprenticeship for five years in an elementary school, pass on to one of the Training Colleges, ‘the moral condition of which appears’ to the Commissioners ‘satisfactory,’ and ‘the intellectual training of the students’ deserving of a ‘favourable opinion’ (p. 168)—‘on the whole sound and satisfactory’ (p. 138); the Colleges themselves not requiring ‘any change in relation to the State.’ (p. 143.) After two years at the Training College they undertake the charge of schools as certificated masters. Here, again, we have evidence of the immense improvement which has been wrought in schools by raising up the present race of certificated masters:—

‘My decided impression,’ says Mr. Hare, ‘is that the systems of training have been very successful, both in adapting the students to teach, and in furnishing them with solid matter and good method of instruction. As a class, they are marked, both men and women, by a quickness of eye and ear, a quiet energy, a facility of command, and a patient self-control, which, with rare exceptions, are not observed in the private instructors of the poor.’—(*Report*, iii. p. 282.)*

The Commissioners testify that ‘it is proved beyond all doubt that they are greatly superior to the untrained teachers’ (*ib.* i., p. 149); that ‘they are not only comparatively far

* The evidence of the other Assistant-Commissioners is to the same effect. See *Report*, ii. p. 96 (Mr. Fraser); *ib.*, ii. p. 161 (Mr. Hedley); *ib.*, ii. p. 218 (Mr. Winder); *ib.*, ii. p. 535 (Mr. Jenkins); *ib.*, iii. p. 84 (Mr. Cumin); *ib.*, iii. p. 393 (Mr. Wilkinson); *ib.*, iii. p. 541 (Dr. Hodgson). Mr. Coode speaks somewhat doubtfully (*ib.*, ii. p. 269); Mr. Foster reports unfavourably (*ib.*, ii. p. 360).

superior to the untrained, but are in every respect but one positively good' (*ib.*, p. 168). This single exception brings us very close to the charge on which the condemnation of the existing system rests, and we shall therefore reserve the consideration of it for the present.

From teachers we pass to instruction given. Instruction in schools may be bad, either in consequence of the subject-matter being unsuitable, or else from the teaching itself being either unintelligent or uneven. The Commissioners make no complaint on the first head. The necessary subject-matter of instruction is religious knowledge, reading, writing, spelling, ciphering; to which is added in girls' schools plain sewing. There is nothing here that could be omitted. To this are added in the better schools geography, grammar, English history, and, in some exceptional cases, drawing and music. But these subjects are only taught at the discretion of the managers and schoolmasters, and in very rapidly decreasing proportions, and do not form a necessary condition for the receipt of a Government grant. They give scope both to teachers and to pupils, when the latter are capable of being carried beyond the threshold; but they are not compulsorily taught, and inspectors have very properly refused to examine in them when dissatisfied with the examination in Scripture, reading, writing, and arithmetic. The Commissioners' commendation of certificated and pupil teachers shows that they cannot believe that lessons are given in a slovenly or unintelligent manner. Their complaint is, that children are unevenly taught. 'The lower classes,' they say, 'are neglected' (p. 154). 'The junior classes in the schools, comprehending the great majority of the children, do not learn, or learn imperfectly, the most necessary part of what they come to learn—reading, writing, and arithmetic' (p. 168). If this damaging charge be true, in the sense in which it is ordinarily accepted, we cannot understand how the Commissioners should have given so much undeserved praise to teachers. We shall presently inquire how far it is true. We now give Mr. Cook's estimate of the attainments of boys of twelve in a good school. It is quoted by the Commissioners as a true picture:—

'A boy, of fair average attainments, at the age of twelve years, in a good school, has learned—

'1. To read fluently, and with intelligence, not merely the school-books, but any work of general information likely to come in his way.

'2. To write very neatly and correctly from dictation and from memory, and to express himself in tolerably correct language. The latter attainment, however, is comparatively rare, and has been one which I have specially and repeatedly urged upon the attention of school-managers.

'3. To

'3. To work all elementary rules of arithmetic with accuracy and rapidity. The arithmetical instruction in good schools includes decimal and vulgar fractions, duodecimals, interest, &c. Much time and attention are given to this subject, but not more than are absolutely required. Indeed, when I have been consulted upon alterations of the time-tables, I have invariably recommended a larger proportion of time for this subject.

'4. To parse sentences, and to explain their construction. But the progress in English grammar is not satisfactory, and, though much time is given to the subject, it is not taught with sufficient energy and skill in a large proportion of schools which in other respects are efficiently conducted.

'5. To know the elements of English history. A good elementary work on this subject is still a desideratum; but the boys are generally acquainted with the most important facts, and show much interest in the subject.

'6. In geography the progress is generally satisfactory. In fact, most persons who attend the examinations of good schools are surprised at the amount and the accuracy of the knowledge of physical and political geography, of manners, customs, &c., displayed by intelligent children of both sexes. Well-drawn maps, often executed at leisure hours by the pupils, are commonly exhibited on these occasions.

'7. The elements of physical science, the laws of natural philosophy, and the most striking phenomena of natural history, form subjects of useful and very attractive lectures in many good schools. These subjects have been introduced within the last few years with great advantage to the pupils.

'8. The principles of political economy, with especial reference to questions which touch on the employment and remuneration of labour, principles of taxation, uses of capital, &c., effects of strikes on wages, &c., are taught with great clearness and admirable adaptation to the wants and capacities of the children of artisans, in the reading-books generally used in the metropolitan schools. I have found the boys well acquainted with these lessons in most schools which I have inspected in the course of this year.

'9. Drawing is taught with great care and skill in several schools by professors employed under the Department of Science and Art.

'That any addition can be advantageously made to this list I do not believe, considering the age of the children; nor am I of opinion that any of these subjects could be omitted without practical detriment to the schools.'—(*Minutes*, 1854-5, p. 393; *Rep.* p. 237.)

In Dr. Bell's day, to teach writing and ciphering universally was an 'Utopian scheme,' which he repudiated as impossible. 'It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an expensive manner, or all of them be taught to write and cipher. . . . It may suffice to teach the generality on an economical plan to read their Bible, and understand the doctrines of our holy religion.'*

* 'Experiments in Education,' p. 90.

The method of teaching writing was at this time that of tracing the letters of the alphabet in sand, and this, as well as syllabic spelling, was regarded as a most valuable discovery. Mr. Lancaster improved upon Dr. Bell's plan, and rejoiced over a system which afforded him as a result—

‘2,000,000 total words spelt by 100 boys per annum!’*

At the same time Mr. Lancaster invented a system of rewards and punishments; a nonsensical system of logs, and shackles, and yokes, and cages, and blankets, and dying speeches, and paper crowns, and boys and girls slapping each other's faces, from which we turn with relief to the almost perfect order, tone, and discipline of the better schools under certificated masters at present. The Inspectors report the discipline to be excellent, good, or fair in 94 out of every 100 schools receiving annual grants, and in 75 per cent. of other schools visited by them. The Commissioners say,—

‘The moral effect produced by the schools is more important than the instruction given in them, although not so appreciable. The standards by which it can be measured are less definite. We believe it to be very great, and we should be astonished if it were not so. We have seen that the managers of the public schools are almost all of them men whom strong religious convictions and feelings have impelled to found and to maintain schools at a considerable, sometimes a very great expenditure of trouble and money. We have seen that the pupil-teachers and masters have generally been selected for their moral as well as their intellectual character, and have received an education more religious than any other that is given in England. Among the higher classes in society the teacher is not socially superior to his pupils; often he is their inferior; often the difference in cultivation and refinement between the school and home is unfavourable to the school. But among the labouring classes the teacher is almost the only educated man with whom they daily come in contact. The school, when compared to the home, is a model of neatness and order. We might assume, therefore, even if we did not know it to be so, that the religious and therefore the moral influence of the public schools over the children must be very great, and we have also much evidence in support of that opinion.’—(*Report*, i. p. 266.)

If schools are increasing and well supplied with scholars, if teachers are efficient, if the subjects of instruction are suitable, and if discipline and tone are good, there is no doubt that education is in a prosperous state. With respect then to *numbers*—‘With these exceptions (the children of out-door paupers and of parents viciously inclined), all the children in the country capable of going to school receive some instruction.’ (*Ib.* i. p.

* ‘Improvements in Education,’ p. 59.

84, see also pp. 88, 293.) Next as to *teachers*. So late as 1846 'the best teachers were ignorant and unskilful.' (*Ib.* p. 99.) Now 'the effect of the presence of pupil-teachers upon the condition of the schools is very beneficial' (*Ib.* p. 102); and 'trained teachers are in every respect but one positively good.' (*Ib.* p. 168.) This exception is, as we have seen, the now frequently alleged neglect of the junior classes for the higher, of elementary for more ambitious subjects. Supposing this to be general, or even universal, it is remediable, and does not imply a want of ability or of character on the part of the teacher. As to *subjects of instruction*, no alteration is proposed by the Commissioners. As to *tone and discipline*, they report that 'the religious and moral influence of the public schools appears to be very great; to be greater than even their intellectual influence. A set of good schools civilises a whole neighbourhood. The most important function of the schools is that which they perform best.' (*Ib.* p. 273.)

Nor do the Commissioners confine themselves to giving their approbation to the results which have been produced by the existing system. They not only pronounce it 'very successful' in respect to schools, training colleges, Government expenditure and local subscriptions, inspection, method (*Ib.* p. 309), but they proceed further to approve of its principles. 'No other system has been devised which the nation could be induced to adopt.' (*Ib.* p. 308.) 'The merit and the success of the present system' is that it supports 'the intelligent management and the religious character of schools.' (*Ib.*) 'It excites feelings on the part of the managers which have a most beneficial influence on the whole character of popular education.' (*Ib.* p. 309.) 'The existing plan is the only one by which it would be possible to secure the religious character of popular education.' (*Ib.* p. 310.) 'The controversies which have occurred in the course of the last twenty years, the difficulties which they have thrown in the way of the establishment of any comprehensive system, and their practical result in the establishment of the denominational training colleges and elementary schools, appear to us to place beyond all doubt the conclusion that the great body of the population are determined that religion and education must be closely connected, and we do not think that any other principle than that which is the base of the present system would secure this result.' (*Ib.* p. 311.) 'While we are prepared to suggest means both for its modification and extension, we believe that the leading principles of the present system are sound, that they have shown themselves well adapted to the feelings of the country, and that they ought to be maintained.' (*Ib.* p. 312.)

Had the Commissioners stopped here, there would be no doubt of the character of their verdict. They might have recommended a patient adherence to a system which had already wrought so much, adding a few suggestions with regard to details, and a general warning against over-ambitiousness in the training of masters and the teaching of children. But they proceed to recommend, and we find ourselves at once in a new country. An entire dissimilarity of sentiments is found in different parts of the Report—so that disputants on each side shelter themselves under the authority of the Commissioners. No doubt the *personnel* of the Commission made either compromise or discrepancy on many points necessary. What agreement could there have been when two clergymen of the Established Church sat side by side with a gentleman who declares ‘the Establishment’ to be ‘a life-destroying upas,’ and pronounces ‘the sacred mission of Protestant Dissenting ministers’ to be ‘to shatter this image (the Established Church), and give the dust of it to the four winds of heaven’?*

The

* ‘Nonconformist Sketch-book,’ pp. 16 and 29. May we consider Mr. Miall to have abandoned some of his previously entertained views, or does he still hold them after his late researches? Some years ago he published his opinion to the following effect:—‘The clergy are men who, of necessity, are inimical to all reform; abettors of every abuse; united, organised, and therefore formidable opponents of every progressive improvement.’ (‘Nonconformist Sketch-book,’ p. 72.) ‘*The education of the people owes nothing to them.*’ (*Ib.* p. 75.) ‘In what page of our national records are we to look for the disinterestedness, the liberality, or the gentleness of the clergy? When do we find them struggling with the people for freedom and independence, or displaying that magnanimity which would prefer their country’s welfare to the preservation of their own paltry emoluments? We boldly answer NEVER!’ (*Ib.* p. 74.) ‘Fifteen thousand clergy dependent on the one hand and powerful on the other—to the aristocracy pledged servants, to their own flocks supreme dictators—stationed at convenient intervals over the length and breadth of the land, and thus coming into contact with society at all points. Could mechanism more fatal to religion, or more serviceable to the interests of the upper classes, be framed and put together?’ (*Ib.* p. 69.) But as Commissioner, by perverse fate and the vote of the majority, or, we may charitably hope, by conviction, he was compelled to put his name to the following statement of facts:—‘In rural districts . . . the burden of supporting the schools falls principally on the parochial clergy, who are very ill able to support it. . . . The heaviness of the burden borne by the clergy is imperfectly indicated even by such figures as these.* It frequently happens that the clergyman considers himself responsible for whatever is necessary to make the accounts of the school balance, and thus he places himself towards the school in the position of a banker who allows a customer habitually to overdraw his account. He is the man who most feels the mischief arising from want of education. Between him and the ignorant part of his adult parishioners there is a chasm. They will not come near him, and do not understand him if he forces himself upon them. He feels that the only means of improvement is the education of the young; and he knows that only a small part of the necessary expense can be extracted from the parents. He begs from his neighbours, he begs from the landowners; if he

* A calculation of Mr. Hedley, from which it appears that, in support of eighteen schools, 256*l.* were annually paid by landowners and occupiers, and 471*l.* by the clergy.
fails

The Commissioners acknowledge 'differences' amongst themselves. 'It must not be inferred that this (the voluntary system) is the only matter on which we differ. In a subject involving so many statements, so many inferences, so many general principles, and so many executive details, universal concurrence was not to be expected, and has not, in fact, been obtained.' (*Rep.* i. p. 299.) As if to make this quite certain, Mr. Senior, one of their number, has put out a volume of counter-proposals. But, making allowance for all this, we were quite at a loss for an adequate hypothesis on which to reconcile the facts which the Commissioners state with the conclusions which they draw from them, and the recommendations which they consequently promulgate, until we discovered from whence the plan which they propose really emanated. Its outline was, we thought, not unfamiliar to us; and, on turning to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' we found in its pages the scheme which the Commissioners have presented to Her Majesty as their own. It is not indeed in the same words, and there are a few modifications of detail; but essentially it is the same. Surely this is the oddest expedient that Royal Commissioners were ever driven to. Happily, as we have said, the valuable part of the Report, and what the country needed, is the information which it contains with regard to the present state of education. Otherwise the House of Commons might have well grudged the expense of the six thick volumes. The 'Encyclopædia Britannica' is a dear book, but it does not cost so much as the thousands spent on the Report; and it contains valuable and interesting articles on other subjects besides 'National Education.'

To show the great similarity between the schemes of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' and of the Commissioners, we will place them in parallel columns:—

Scheme of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.'

1. Educational districts must be formed. (*Vol. xv. p. 826.*)
2. An investigation must be made by Governmental authorities as to the educational wants of the district. (*Ib.*)

Scheme of the Commissioners.

1. Each county and each borough of 40,000 inhabitants is to be an educational district. (*Rep.* i. pp. 330, 545.)
2. 'An investigation must be made by a special Government inspector as to the educational wants of the district,' says Mr. Senior (*Suggestions*, p. 58). This proposal was rejected by the majority of Mr. Senior's colleagues, probably as not needing to be specified.

fails to persuade them to take their fair share of the burden, he begs from his friends, and even from strangers; and at last submits most meritoriously, and most generously, to bear not only his own proportion of the expense, but also that which ought to be borne by others. . . . These observations apply chiefly to schools connected with the Church of England, to which denomination almost all the schools in rural districts belong.' (*Rep.*, vol. i. p. 78.)

3. Existing charitable endowments must be applied. (*Ib.*)

4. A school-rate must be levied on actual property in the district. (*Ib.*)

5. A committee of management must be appointed by the rate-payers in each educational district to make payments to schools which fulfil certain conditions, according to the number of children in average attendance; and to erect new schools. (*Ib.*)

6. This payment out of the rates should take the place of grants now made to teachers, pupil-teachers, and managers, and also of voluntary subscriptions. (*Ib.*)

7. Inspectors should have power of allowing or withdrawing grants to schools. (*Ib.*)

8. Local management should not be interfered with. (*Ib.*)

9. A conscience-clause should be required; religious instruction being given, as in the Irish schools, at a specified time, and parents having power to withdraw any child from it. (*Ib.*)

10. There should be no report by the inspector on religious knowledge. (*Ib.*)

3. Existing charitable endowments must be applied. (*Ib.*, p. 547.)

4. A school-rate must be levied on the rateable property of the county or borough. (*Ib.*, pp. 545, 544.)

5. In each county or borough a Board of Education shall be appointed to make payments to schools which fulfil certain conditions, according to the number of children in average attendance after they have passed an elementary examination. (*Ib.*, pp. 528, 544.)

6. This payment out of the rates, together with an additional grant of 2s. 6d. per child from the State, is to take the place of grants made to teachers, pupil-teachers, and managers. (*Ib.*, pp. 528, 544.) 'It will not, we hope, supersede parish subscriptions.' (*Ib.*, p. 543.)

7. Inspectors are to have power of increasing or diminishing grants to schools. (*Ib.*, pp. 529, 547.)

8. Local management is not to be interfered with. (*Ib.*, p. 540.)

9. A conscience-clause is not indefensible on the grounds of justice, and it may become the duty of the Committee of Council to enforce it. (*Ib.*, p. 544.)

10. In the opinion of the majority there should be no report by the inspector on religious knowledge. (*Ib.*, p. 548.)

It really appears to us that all that the Commissioners can call their own is an attempt to dovetail together the plan of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' and the existing system of the Committee of Council. But the attempt to combine the information of the 'Encyclopædia' with the Blue Books has not been successful. It has resulted in many inconsistencies.* But there is no inconsistency in the writer in the 'Encyclopædia.' He utterly dislikes and repudiates the existing system. He thinks that the people should be educated 'through the people' (p. 815). He would 'contemplate the wants of the people, not through the peculiarities of any particular religious system, but by the light of reason and common sense as expressed by the spirit of the times' (*Ibid.*). He applauds 'the ease' with which the religious question is settled in Prussia, where, if there is a sufficiently large school, two masters are appointed belonging to different religious persuasions, and in small schools a conscience-clause is allowed. He acknowledges, however, with great naïveté, that 'whether this formal and governmental religious teaching has

* See 'Remarks on some portions of the Report of the Royal Commissioners.'
had

had much real effect in cherishing the religious faith of the people is much to be doubted, if we may judge by the results; but no one can doubt the vast effect of the system as a whole in encouraging learning and raising up an immense body of highly-educated men' (p. 817). He thinks that the 'Irish school plan comes far nearer to the idea of a real system of national education,' for no other reason than that 'a plan of operation has been laid down which *compels* the schools aided by Government to be open to all without distinction of religious creeds, and which confines the religious instruction to specific periods' (p. 325). He acknowledges that 'the stimulus given by the Government system of aid and inspection has been almost incalculable, and that the improvement in elementary schools is within the last ten years unprecedented. And yet,' he proceeds, 'with all this, the step which the Government has taken, when viewed in relation to a future complete system of national education, has been obviously *a step in the wrong direction*. No truly national system can by any possibility grow out of the present Minutes of Council unless they are greatly modified in their whole structure and tendency' (p. 826), chiefly because they are 'far too sectarian' in their tendency, and encourage denominationalism (p. 824).

This is plain dealing and intelligible. We are heartily glad to have found the author of the Commissioners' scheme, because from him we learn what are the effects which are expected and hoped to be produced by it. Those who take up the suggestions of others at second-hand often do not see their full bearing, especially when they have been accepted as a compromise, and they of course fail to give their readers a clear notion of the results which are likely to ensue. In considering then the changes proposed by the Commissioners, we must recollect that the object with which they were *originally* proposed was to substitute the 'light of reason and common sense' and 'the spirit of the times,' for 'any particular religious system' (p. 815), 'to encourage learning,' in place of 'cherishing the religious faith of the people' (p. 817), 'to dispossess the present functionaries, both ecclesiastical and municipal, of the idea that they have some special claim to precedence,' 'such claim being fatal to any really national system' (p. 826), and to upset the existing system altogether, chiefly on the grounds of its 'sectarianism.'

There are four defects which the Commissioners have pointed out, as justifying and necessitating a change of system, and which Mr. Lowe relies upon as the vindication of a revised code.

The first is a tendency to indefinite expense. (*Rep.* i. p. 543.) This is a vague charge. The Commissioners' estimate is that it would ultimately amount to 2,000,000*l.* It is thus formed: Sup-

posing

posing *all* the public schools, National, British, and Dissenting, were to be supplied with certificated teachers and pupil-teachers, the whole expense would amount, they say, to 1,300,000*l.* Add to these the private schools, and the sum would amount to 1,620,000*l.* Add to these an anticipated increase of scholars by 20 per cent., in consequence of an improved attendance, and it amounts to 1,800,000*l.* Add to this a capitation of 6*s.* on 800,000 children, and it amounts to 'nearly 2,100,000*l.* a year.'

Here it is assumed that for the development of the present system it is necessary that *all* public schools now unassisted should be brought under it. Supposing this true, the expenses would not amount to 1,300,000*l.*, but to 1,100,000*l.*;* but it is a false assumption. There will be always schools supported by individuals or bodies who will not choose to take a share of the public grant, and there are many schools which must be excluded by their size and numbers. These deductions will further reduce the sum of 1,100,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* Next, it is assumed that the scholars in all *private* schools must be provided for. This is on the hypothesis either that private schools will be aided, or that they will be swallowed up by the public schools. The first of these courses is proposed by the Commissioners, but it cannot take place under the present Minutes; the second is wholly inconceivable. All the feelings by which private schools are supported are as likely to exist ten years hence as now. The 320,000*l.*, therefore, which are allowed on this head must be struck off. Thirdly, 20 per cent. is too large an increase to contemplate in consequence of an improved attendance; for the present number of scholars belonging to the poorer classes is (we use the Commissioners' figures) 2,213,694. Twenty per cent. added to this would raise the sum to 2,656,432. Add to these the 321,768 scholars who are estimated to belong to the higher classes, and we have a total of 2,973,200. But the whole 'number whose names ought to be on the books in order that all might receive some education is' only '2,655,767' (p. 293). Therefore an increase of 10 per cent. is all that should have been calculated on. Thus the estimated 180,000*l.* must be reduced by one half, *i.e.* 90,000*l.*; but still this reduction would not be sufficient: the estimate is palpably too high, for if 2,213,694 children cost only 663,435*l.*, it is plain that 221,369 additional children would not increase the sum by more than 66,343*l.* Lastly, the capitation grant is not

* This is a simple proportion sum. If 663,435*l.* is sufficient for 917,255 scholars, 1,549,312 children whose names are on the books of elementary day-schools would cost 1,120,688*l.*; but as numbers and expense do not progress in equal ratios, we may put it down at most as 1,100,000*l.*

estimated

estimated on the right numbers or at the right price. The Commissioners fix on 800,000 as the numbers likely to obtain the capitation grant, as being roughly one-third of the 2,300,000 children who are to be at school (p. 314). But these 2,300,000 include the boys and girls who will be at private schools where no capitation is paid. Subtract the 573,436 children attending private schools (p. 295), and the third of the remaining 1,726,564, instead of 800,000, is 575,521. Nor would the sum paid to this diminished third be 6s. per child, for to all girls and to all boys taught by mistresses (that is, to about two-thirds of the scholars) there is paid only 5s. per child, where the applicants are more than 50 only 5s. or 4s., and where above 100 only 4s. or 3s. The capitation grant, therefore, instead of amounting to 240,000*l.*, as estimated, would not exceed 150,000*l.* And the whole expense, instead of being 'nearly 2,100,000*l.*,' would be, on the basis supplied by the Commissioners themselves,—

	£
For teachers and general expenditure ..	1,000,000
For estimated increase of scholars	66,343
For capitation on 575,521 children	150,000
Total	1,216,343

This sum is strikingly near to that which Sir James Kay Shuttleworth has conjectured would be the highest point which the ultimate amount of the Parliamentary grant would reach:—

'The Public Grant,' he says, 'may, in a few years, increase, with corresponding results, to 1,000,000*l.* or 1,200,000*l.*, making, in its progress, adequate provision for the education of youth from school-age to manhood; but at that point, by well-devised antecedent expedients, its increase may not only be arrested, but this annual aid may be converted into an instrument, in the hands of skilful administrators, by which all the rest of the work may be done in the most apathetic as well as in the most earnest districts. That result attained, a new series of operations may commence, by which the charge of public education may be gradually transferred from the Consolidated Fund to the local sources of income, school pence, and subscriptions.'—(*Letter to Earl Granville, on Commissioners' Report*, p. 7.)

The scheme by which the expenditure is to be arrested and reduced once more from 1,200,000*l.* to 750,000*l.* is set out in Sir James's 'Letter to Earl Granville on the Revised Code.' Already, we learn from Mr. Lingen's evidence in 1859, the building-grants which, 'during two or three years after 1853, when the rate of aid for buildings was raised, increased very much indeed,' have been, 'for the last two or three years, pretty well stationary.'—(*Evidence*, 567.) The last Report of the Committee of Council

Council shows that, in 1860, there has been a decrease of no less than 20,467*l.* in the building and furnishing grants, besides a saving of 8,280*l.* on Reformatory Schools. The same authority informs us that the net increase of expenditure for the year 1860 over that of the year 1859 is 1287*l.* Surely this does not give a very alarming prospect for the future. At this rate of progression it would take exactly a thousand years to reach the two millions which the Commissioners brandish before our eyes as the ultimate amount of the grant. Before Dr. Temple's five millions were approached, 'the colossal man' would doubtless have outgrown the need of schooling. Whatever fragment of an argument remains in the Commissioners' figures is satisfactorily answered by themselves :—

'If the money be wisely and successfully applied, it is to be desired and expected that indefinitely for some considerable time the number of schools seeking to avail themselves of the public aid will increase, as improved education is more and more widely diffused, and operates more powerfully on the public mind. One legitimate result of this, however, in a system which is based on assisting local exertion, ought to be a higher and more practical feeling of their duty by parents to provide for the education of their children; with this may be reasonably expected an increased liberality, on the part of the higher classes, to assist their poorer neighbours in the discharge of this great duty, and thenceforward we should have a right to look for a decrease, gradual at first, and then rapid, in the demands on the public purse. We believe this to be the true and not visionary view under which the expense of giving aid to education and its tendency to increase are, of themselves, to be regarded.'—(*Report*, i. p. 313.)

Mr. Senior says :—

'I am convinced that the nation in general think that the general improvement in education and its extension in inspected schools to 1,211,824 children are cheaply purchased for 572,857*l.* a year. The real source of alarm is the expectation of rapid, enormous, almost unlimited increase. This was mainly occasioned by Mr. Horace Mann's computation, introduced by him into the Census, and accepted by the Privy Council in their report of 1859, which anticipates the presence of 3,000,000 children in the inspected schools, to be taught by 30,000 certificated teachers. Mr. Mann, however, in his examination before us, admitted that his calculation was not that of those who might be expected to be at school, but of those who might be *wished* to be at school.'—(*Suggestions*, p. 15.)

The highest point that the Parliamentary grant can reach will be equal to the cost of two ships equipped as the 'Warrior.' We must have 'Warriors,' but we must also have education. The abandoned paper-duty would have covered the whole.

The second defect of the present system, as alleged by the Commissioners,

Commissioners, is 'its inability to assist the poorer districts.' This is a real difficulty; but let it not be exaggerated. If three years ago there were only 120,305 children in the whole of England and Wales, among rich and poor, who were without any schooling (*Rep.* i. p. 293), we cannot but think that the pictures which are sometimes drawn of youthful ignorance must be overdone. If, according to the Commissioners' statistics, there are only 120,305 untaught, and no less than 100,000 of these are the children of out-door paupers (*Rep.* i. p. 381), who, as we have said, may be dealt with by an immediate legislative enactment,* there remain only 20,305 to be absorbed in our present National or British schools. Certainly the greater part of this small sum total must be found in towns; and if this is so, the poor rural parishes do get education in some way or other, if not by the help of the State.

Many plans have been suggested for meeting this difficulty. Sir James Kay Shuttleworth has his proposal (*Evidence*, 2369), Mr. Tufnell has his proposal (*ib.* 3341), Mr. Fraser has his proposal (*Rep.* ii. p. 121), Mr. Senior has his scheme (*Suggestions*, p. 55), and the Revised Code makes some efforts in the same direction. But every year there issue from the Training Colleges so many new masters and mistresses that serious fears have been expressed lest the market should be overstocked with them. What are these teachers to do? As soon as the larger parishes are supplied, they must be contented with the humbler work and the lower salaries of the smaller parishes. When they have done this, the State funds begin at once to flow into those parishes. In this manner the area of the Education Committee's operations becomes enlarged each year. Every year an army of a thousand teachers is sent forth, which gradually, but inevitably, must occupy every village which is capable of maintaining more than a dame's school. Mr. Scott, the intelligent and experienced Chairman of the Wesleyan Education Committee, points out that the necessitous districts cannot have good schools until there are raised up schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in sufficient numbers to take charge of the schools. He thinks that, as soon

* We have already in our last number (vol. cx. p. 491) called attention to the plan of the authoress of the 'Workhouse Orphan,' the leading principle of which is to combine parochial with voluntary support (a point which it is very necessary to bear in mind when considering her scheme), and to receive the children's weekly allowance from their respective unions, in aid of the houses which she desires to establish. Even thus the duty is too important to be intrusted to voluntary efforts alone. The State has no right to exact such an effort on the part of individuals, when, by an alteration of its own regulations, it has the power of applying a fit remedy to the evils of the present system.

as schools have been set up in the less necessitous places, religious motives will lead men to give help to the adjoining poorer districts, and thus he thinks that the present system of Government assistance will in time sufficiently pervade the whole country.—(*Evidence*, 2127, 2128.)

> The present system goes upon the plan of meeting money locally raised with public money, and thus an annual outlay of two millions is obtained at a cost to the State of from 750,000*l.* to 800,000*l.* But if once the State were to supply the deficiencies of local energy and liberality, the majority of parishes would immediately become in their own estimation poor parishes, the greater part of the two millions would be lost, and the State would have to take upon itself the burden of supporting all or almost all the schools in England and Wales. And yet, perhaps, something might be done by lowering in the poorer parishes, with vigilance and discrimination, some of the requirements of the Committee of Council, which are found very onerous.

> The third defect of the existing system is, according to the Commissioners, 'a partial inadequacy of teaching,' which is explained to mean that the junior classes are neglected both by teachers and inspectors, and that elementary work is not taught as it might be taught. This is a very serious charge. It amounts to this, that neither teachers nor inspectors do their duty.

It is not surprising that Mr. Lowe should have considered that so great a defect justified a change of system. We will examine the grounds of this complaint. First for the inspectors. Is it true that they do not examine the lower classes? We have made inquiries of inspectors and of schoolmasters and of school-managers, and the answer has been that they examine them with as great care as that which they bestow on the first class. The Commissioners state frequently that they do not. But on what grounds do they make the statement? There is not a particle of evidence to that effect in the Reports of their Assistant-Commissioners, nor in the replies to their circular of questions, nor in their *vivâ voce* evidence. Their argument is most curious. They quote a description by Mr. Brookfield of an 'excellent,' a 'good,' and a 'fair' school, and approve his standard. (*Rep.*, i. p. 238.) They also quote a passage of Mr. Cook's, which we have already transcribed, giving an account of how much 'a boy of fair average attainments at the age of twelve years in a good school has learned.' They then remark:—'It is obvious, from the descriptions which we have quoted, that the inspection is an inspection of schools rather than of scholars, of the first class more than of any

any other classes.' How is it *obvious*? Because, 'speaking generally, the inspector's description of an excellent school turns, like that of Mr. Cook, upon the performance of boys of eleven or twelve years old.' But Mr. Cook was not describing what an excellent school is, but was specifically stating what 'a boy of twelve years in a good school has learned.' And how can it possibly follow from an inspector incidentally describing what a boy of twelve has learned, that 'inspection is of the first class more than of any others'? And how can such an inference be based on Mr. Brookfield's words, when he says in plain terms, in describing an 'excellent' school, 'Whatever is taught throughout the school is well taught and judiciously graduated to each class, according to its measure, down to the little inarticulate learners of the alphabet'?

From Mr. Cook and Mr. Brookfield the writer of this part of the Report passes to Mr. Norris. Mr. Norris in unadvised and ill-chosen terms had said—

'School-teachers seem to have a right to ask that their success be measured by the proficiency of their first-class children. In the best schools the discipline is often imperfect, the reading and writing awkward, and the arithmetic inaccurate in the junior classes. No very lasting impressions can be made on the mind or habits of a child ten years of age. In testing the success of a school, therefore, by the conduct and intelligence of its former scholars, the teacher fairly claims that he should be held responsible for those only who were allowed by their parents to stay long enough to reach his first class.'—(*Minutes*, 1859-60, p. 103.)

Mr. Norris's statement that the discipline of the junior classes is imperfect and their arithmetic (such as it is) inaccurate in the best schools, is wholly indefensible, as no school ought to be regarded as good where such defects exist. 'We should be sorry,' say the Commissioners, 'to see Mr. Norris's words construed into a claim on behalf of the teachers that they should not be responsible for any children under 10,' but they acknowledge that 'his words do not necessarily bear such a meaning,' and that 'his meaning, though not clearly expressed, may have been that however a master may attempt to instruct his children, his teaching cannot be permanent in its effects if they leave him at an early age.' But if the Commissioners think that this may be all that the passage contains, it is difficult to see why they should find in it 'a proof of the tendency to judge a school by its first class only,' and a conclusive demonstration 'that inspectors as well as masters are inclined to measure the success of a school by the proficiency of its first-class children.' In fact we see nothing on which to rest this charge, as against the inspectors,
except

except the following passage from one of Mr. Arnold's Reports:—'An inspector finding an advanced upper class in a school, a class working sums in fractions, decimals, and higher rules, and answering well in grammar and history, constructs, half insensibly, whether so inclined or not, but with the greatest ease if so inclined, a most favourable report on a school, whatever may be the character of the other classes which help to compose it.' Of course it is a matter of 'the greatest ease;' but no inspector would write 'good' for 'bad' unless he was 'half insensible.' If Mr. Arnold only means that a good first class raises a prepossession in the mind of the examiner in behalf of the whole school, it may well be true; but the prepossession would only exist until the lower classes were examined and were found to be ill-taught.

The only *vivâ voce* evidence on the subject is that of Mr. Cook, Mr. Watkins, and Mr. Lingen. Mr. Cook says, 'All the inspectors try the ciphering very closely, and all the inspectors try the writing very closely. I do not know that the inspectors would consider themselves bound (I should not say that they were bound) to hear every child read, but to ascertain that they read well in every class.'—(*Evidence*, 864.) Mr. Watkins says, 'We hear them all read, or the great majority of them, we see all their sums, we look at all their copybooks, and question very often the whole of the scholars, almost every child.'—(*Ib.*, 1042.) On this evidence an ingenious argument is formed in the following manner. Mr. Cook had said that he required four hours to examine a school of 150 children, but that he could get through the staple of the work in one hour and a half. The Commissioners, conveniently ignoring the first part of his statement, reduce one hour and a half to seconds, divide the sum so arrived at by 150, and find the result to be 36. Hereupon they write gravely, 'As only 36 seconds would be thus occupied in examining the reading, writing, and arithmetic of each scholar, the examination could be hardly otherwise than cursory.' Why did not Mr. Rogers save his colleagues from so ridiculous a blunder as this? He must have seen a school examined, and must therefore have been aware that while one class was occupied in reading, the other classes were occupied in writing and arithmetic, and *vice versâ*, the whole hour and a half (or whatever time was employed) being fully occupied in the case of each scholar. The idea in the mind of the Commissioners seems to be that, as at the universities, each child is brought up before the inspector for his examination, while the rest are awaiting their turn in idleness. Mr. Lingen's evidence is passed over in silence:—

'I think that the inspectors are one and all alive to the necessity of looking to the lower forms. In their printed reports I think you will find

find that they constantly dwell upon that fact, namely, that a school is not to be measured by its higher forms only. The tendency, I imagine, in going into a school would always be to judge very much of its capabilities by its higher forms; but there certainly is not room to say that the inspectors are not fully alive to the necessity of looking to the lower forms.'—(*Evidence*, 428.)

Thus Mr. Mitchell writes in his Report for last year:—

'A master has lately apologised to me for the backwardness of his lower classes by stating he had devoted his time to the instruction of the eight or ten upper boys. Of course such excuse is not permissible, being, in fact, a simple recurrence to one of the chief difficulties inspectors had to meet with in the earlier periods of inspection.'—(*Annual Report for 1860*, p. 63.)

The Commissioners seem to have suspected, before the commencement of their inquiries, that the junior classes were neglected; and they instructed the Assistant-Commissioners to examine specially into the matter. The judgment pronounced by the Assistant-Commissioners is therefore very important; yet it is not quoted by the Commissioners. The Assistant-Commissioners are Mr. Fraser, Mr. Hedley, Mr. Winder, Mr. Coode, Mr. Foster, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Cumin, Mr. Hare, Mr. Wilkinson, Dr. Hodgson. Mr. Fraser speaks of 'the weak point in public schools' (whether under trained or untrained teachers) being 'the inadequate attention paid to the lower classes.' Elsewhere, however, he states that the present system 'is not defective in its primary stage, but in its secondary. It deals fairly with the pupils while it has them in hand, but it does not keep them in hand long enough;' that is, it does not provide adequate night schools and reading-rooms. 'I have all along borne witness to the efficiency of our system of elementary or primary education, when it is worked with ordinary zeal and ordinary liberality.' (*Rep.* ii. p. 114.) It is difficult to reconcile these two statements. Mr. Fraser seems to countenance the popular objection with regard to the junior classes in day-schools, but to apply it to those which are taught on the old monitorial system, equally with those which are taught by certificated and pupil teachers. In his summary he states that the unsatisfactory condition of the lower classes results from the deficiency of teaching powers which is found 'particularly in small *unassisted* public schools.' (p. 117.) Mr. Hedley makes no complaint. Mr. Winder states, with proper reprobation, that the master frequently confines his own teachings to the one or two upper classes, leaving the rest to the pupil-teachers; and he accounts for his 'being obliged' to do this by the youth of the pupil-teachers. (*Ib.* ii. p. 226.) He holds, however, that

'the best public schools achieve something like the maximum of success possible under the present conditions of attendance;' and states that, in such a school as Rochdale Parochial School, 'even if a child never pass beyond the second or third class, he will have been taught to read well, write fairly from dictation, and to make a simple calculation.' (p. 225.) Mr. Coode 'is compelled to say that teaching to read at its earliest stages is unduly neglected, and that this neglect is too often in proportion to the higher pretensions of the teacher.' (p. 270.) Mr. Foster and Mr. Jenkins, taking exactly opposite views as to the over-education of teachers, do not specifically complain of neglect of the junior classes; nor does Mr. Cumin. Mr. Hare says, 'I have not detected any neglect of the lower classes as compared with the upper, nor any abandonment of the less promising pupils to their stupidity and sloth.' (*Id.* iii. p. 283.) Mr. Wilkinson says, 'I certainly detected, on several occasions, a disposition to put forward prominently a few select pupils; and, on the average, I am disposed to think the proficiency of the lower classes hardly bears the same ratio to that of the upper classes which it would do if the exertions of the teacher were equally distributed among all. This remark applies to masters. I think the level of instruction is more fair in girls' schools.' (p. 393.) Dr. Hodgson says, 'In some cases I have wished that more of the head teacher's time might be devoted to the younger classes. But this is a point on which it is difficult to judge without longer and more repeated observation than it was in my power to make.' (p. 541.) The language of the Assistant-Commissioners, then, is moderate, and such as all sensible men would approve. It amounts to a warning to teachers not to be carried away by the pleasure of instructing their advanced pupils, and a reproof to them for having in some cases done so. It must, in fairness, be said that this does not justify the strong assertions that have lately been made with regard to the neglect of the junior classes.

In July last Mr. Lowe summed up as follows:—

'I think it probable that the criticism [of the Commissioners] is in some degree well founded, because I never saw a public school in England where too much attention was not given to the upper classes. . . . I can see no reason why the schools intended for the poorer classes should not be subject to the same influences. . . . I do not expect to see the time when the same thing may not be said, with more or less justice, of the public education of the country.'—(*Speech*, p. 7.)

Closely connected, but not to be confounded with this, is the complaint made by the Royal Commissioners, that the elementary subjects, reading, writing, and arithmetic, are disregarded. This complaint

complaint is based upon the reiterated charges of the inspectors, in which they urge on masters and mistresses the imperative duty of devoting themselves to elementary subjects. These charges are very strong, and they ought to be very strong, for, as Mr. Cook says, 'there is and always will be great danger lest teachers, of considerable ability and even energy, should neglect the somewhat mechanical and certainly most fatiguing work, of bestowing upon every section and every individual child that amount of care and systematic attention which is requisite in order to secure proficiency in those elementary subjects upon which real progress in all teachers of elementary education principally depends.' (*Min. 1857-8*, p. 252.) It should, however, be remembered that urgency in enforcing this point need not be so much a proof of the teachers having neglected their duty, as of the inspectors fulfilling theirs. For, as long as human nature is what it is, such words of warning will never, under any system, be unnecessary. And those words, strong as they most properly are, have to be judged of by the side of such qualifying statements as these, which are culled from the last volume of annual Reports:—

'There is good reason, as was the case last year, to be satisfied with the progress of school-children in the subjects of their instruction, and especially in the elementary and more important subjects.'—(*Mr. Watkins's Report*, p. 40.)

'I think I see a decided tendency now going on to stick to what may be called necessary subjects. By necessary subjects, I mean reading, writing, spelling, religious knowledge, and arithmetic, and, in girls' schools, needlework.'—(*Mr. Kennedy's Report*, p. 96.)

'The Parliamentary grant has placed within reach of the working population a sound although plain education for their children. I do not refer to the extent and variety of their studies, but to their knowledge of a few elementary subjects.'—(*Mr. Stewart's Report*, p. 121.)

'The three indispensable elements of education—reading, writing, and arithmetic—evidently receive, as they ought to do, the largest share of attention, and are most successfully inculcated.'—(*Mr. Bowstead's Report*, p. 162.)

The result of the year's Report is, that *reading* is taught excellently well or fairly in 89 per cent., moderately in less than 11 per cent., and badly in $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of inspected schools; that *writing* is taught excellently well or fairly in 91 per cent., moderately in 9 per cent., and badly in about $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.; and that *arithmetic* is taught excellently well or fairly in $83\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., moderately in 15 per cent., and badly in $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the same schools. It must be recollected that, out of every 100 schools inspected, some 20 are not under certificated teachers, and these schools are almost invariably the worst.

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The Assistant-Commissioners are divided in their opinions. The Commissioners quote some of their statements, and it is most proper that these statements should be put prominently forward; but it is at the same time desirable that the following passages should not be allowed to remain buried in vols. ii. and iii.:—

‘As regards disinclination to bestow the proper degree of attention on the elementary branches of education, I may say that, while I have found a disposition to prefer “higher subjects,” any such disposition is held effectually in check by regard for the prosperity of the schools and the prospect of inspection.’—(*Dr. Hodgson’s Report*, vol. iii. p. 541.)

‘It is, however, certain that, so far as range of subject-matter goes, there is no tendency to aim at over-educating in the existing systems of public schools.’—(*Mr. Jenkins’s Report*, vol. ii. p. 547.)*

> It is in the light of these facts and opinions that we must interpret the now famous passage of the Commissioners: ‘The great majority of the children do not learn, or learn imperfectly, the most necessary part of what they come to learn—reading, writing, and arithmetic.’ This may mean very much or very little. What is ‘imperfectly?’ If it means that the majority of the children go away having learnt nothing or next to nothing of reading, writing, and summing, it is not true; if it means that they do not reach perfection in those arts, it is true; but it is not a ground for introducing a new system of instruction. Might not the same be said of our public schools and universities, substituting the words ‘Latin and Greek’ for reading, writing, and arithmetic?

> The fourth and last defect which the Commissioners have pointed out in the existing system, may be dismissed in a few words. Mr. Senior says that it is difficult to deal with it seriously. It is the pressure on the central office. There are such offices as the Foreign-office, the Colonial-office, the Home-office, the Post-office, the office of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society’s Office. If these offices do not break down at their centre, there is no reason why the Educational Department of the Privy Council should do so. Outsiders think that the complication of business might be readily reformed by what Mr. Arnold gently terms ‘forms less multiplied’ (*Rep.* iv., p. 74); by less ‘circumlocution,’ less red-tape, fewer questions, and some curtailment of that ‘long correspondence on the establishment of a school’ (*Ib.* i. p. 325), over which many a school-manager has sighed.

* See also *Mr. Winder’s Report*, vol. ii. p. 219, and *Mr. Hard’s Report*, vol. iii. p. 301.

We have shown the Commissioners' estimate of the excellences and defects of the existing system, as well as some of the grounds on which that estimate has been founded, and by which it must be modified. We need not now enter into the scheme which they propose, as they say, to supplement, but, as would really be the case, to supplant it. It would be slaying the slain to argue at any length against the plan which they recommend. It can hardly be said to have lived at all. As Mr. Lowe expressed it, 'It leaves us with all our imperfections on our head, without giving the means to remove any one of them.' (*Speech*, p. 19.) The essential feature of it is, as we have said, the rate in aid of schools, which was to have been raised locally and administered locally, by a County Board of Education elected by the Court of Quarter Sessions, or by a Borough Board of Education appointed by the Town Council. This was in itself enough.

To the Revised Code we must now turn our attention. After Mr. Lowe's special assurance to Parliament that they need be in no fear of a *coup-d'état*, and that the Government thought 'it would be rash and imprudent to sweep away a machinery which had been constructed with great labour, care, and dexterity—which, although it might be complicated and difficult to work, had answered many of the purposes for which it was designed—in order to substitute the new and untried plan of trusting merely to the results of examinations' (p. 27), a burst of indignant surprise was not unnatural when it appeared that the Committee had on the last day of the session cancelled the whole code of Minutes and Regulations hitherto in force, and that they had substituted for it a Code, into which there were introduced several new principles, and in which the great mass of details had been altered.

Simplification is the key-note of the Revised Code. This is carried out with regard to book-grants, by abolishing them; with regard to scientific apparatus grants, by abolishing them; with regard to grants for drawing, by abolishing them; with regard to grants for industrial work, by abolishing them; with regard to grants to infant schools, by abolishing them; with regard to grants to ragged schools, by abolishing them; with regard to special grants to evening schools, by abolishing them; with regard to retiring pensions, by abolishing them; with regard to grants to school societies, by abolishing them; with regard to small building and furnishing grants, by abolishing them. We have no fault to find with these simplifications. It is time for these grants, or most of them, to cease; but it is a more serious matter when it appears that the same sort of simplification is employed with regard to the augmentation-grant to the salaries of masters,

and with regard to the grant for pupil-teachers, which have been hitherto considered the bone and sinews of the whole system. No doubt it is contemplated that these two grants will be made up by the managers of the several schools out of the capitation grant, into which everything else is now merged; but how this will be possible has not yet been shown.

There is a question of justice and a question of expediency involved in the change. The 8000 certificated teachers, as the Commissioners say, are the creation of the Committee of Council. We have no wish to see our schoolmasters become public functionaries and servants of the State, rather than of the school-committee. We think, too, that some of them have shown symptoms of turbulence and discontent, which not only require to be summarily checked and put down, but which, if universal, would be sufficient to justify the extinction of the whole class. No doubt it tickled the vanity of 'Mr. Snell of East Coker, Yeovil,' to be described in the Report as 'an intelligent schoolmaster, stating well the feelings of many of his class;' but the poor man did not know into what a pit of destruction he was being gently led, when he was induced to send for publication such stuff as this:—'Society has not yet learned how to value them (trained teachers). This they feel with all the sensitiveness that belongs to educated and professional men.' They are 'a mere social nonentity.' 'The lawyer . . . the parson . . . the doctor,' don't know them. 'We conceive ourselves not holding that place in public estimation we may justly expect to hold. Let us be acknowledged as an educated, honourable, and important body.' (*Rep.* i. p. 159.) The unfortunate pedagogue did not know that the Commissioners were only giving him plenty of rope. He, and others like him, who have been displaying themselves, much to their own satisfaction, in a valuable educational periodical, which appears monthly, have thoroughly succeeded in hanging both themselves and their more modest brethren. Nevertheless it is not usual in England abruptly to take away from actual possessors what they have learned to regard as their own, and to disappoint the reasonable expectations of whole classes of men. We do not say that it is the duty of the State to pay the present possessors of certificates their augmentation to the end of their lives, but that it would be unjust to withdraw that payment abruptly, and until the teacher was able to make up his salary by other means.

The next question is, as to the expediency of the change. Is it wise to throw all the public grants into the form of one capitation grant? It is a recommendation of the Commissioners, borrowed by them from Dr. Temple, and now adopted by the Committee

Committee of Council. One objection is, that there neither is, nor can be, any means of checking an almost unlimited amount of cheating. The inspector may 'verify the registers,' but what shall have prevented the master from cooking the registers to any extent the evening before the arrival of the inspector, or, if he wishes to be more cautious, week by week, or day by day? He has nothing to do but to add dots instead of leaving blanks, or, still more easy, to forget to insert an *a* to denote absence; and for each dot that he adds, or each *a* that he forgets to insert, one penny will go into his own pocket out of the public purse. We say with confidence that it is impossible to devise a scheme by which the accuracy of the registers can be tested. Single-entry or double-entry, arrange it how you will, you have nothing but the honesty of the master on which to rely. In the case of masters and mistresses who have been carefully trained for two years in colleges conducted on a religious basis, and who are brought under the influence of a high-minded and energetic clergyman, we do not doubt that this honesty may be relied on. But the schoolmasters of England are a large and increasing body. At present the capitation money does not go to the teachers. It belongs to the general fund of the school, while the teachers' grant is a definite sum allowed them in the form of an augmentation of their salary. But according to the proposed scheme a penny is to be paid for every time that a child comes to school, morning, afternoon, or evening, after the first hundred attendances. Out of these pence are to be paid teachers, pupil-teachers, and all miscellaneous expenses of the school. The manager will say to the master, 'I require so much for pupil-teachers, so much for miscellaneous expenditure; I guarantee you the same sum that I pay you, at present, and you must make up your augmentation grant, which you now lose, by the extra capitation pence.' Consequently every surreptitiously added dot or forgotten *a* will be, in the master's estimation, a penny in the master's pocket. Is it right to expose him to this temptation? *

The scheme of individually examining all children who claim the capitation grant, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and of withholding one-third upon failure in any one of these subjects, is contrary to the judgment of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, and of Mr. Tufnell, nor does it meet the approval of Dr.

* The schoolmasters and schoolmistresses, rightly or wrongly, consider themselves aggrieved by their salary being cut off. We have heard of their encouraging each other with the prospect of falsifying their registers in an unlimited degree, and so revenging themselves for their loss.

Temple, who is the real author of so many of the Commissioners' and Committee's recommendations. Sir James Kay Shuttleworth says :—

'I think that the tendency of such a system would be this :—Instead of examining the general moral relations of the school, and all the phenomena which meet the eye, the attention of the inspector would be concentrated necessarily upon some two or three elements of education. I think that it would be quite impossible for him by examining those three elements of education to test the condition of a school.'—(*Report*, i. p. 231.)

In his second letter to Lord Granville, Sir James proposes a modified examination-plan of his own, which would undoubtedly be preferable to that of the Revised Code, but which still is far too complicated and cumbrous. There is, at first sight, something very attractive in the idea of payment according to results proved by separate and individual examination in elementary subjects. It is only on looking closely into it that its difficulties become apparent. In 1853 something of the sort was attempted, but it was given up as soon as tried, because the inspectors declared it to be impracticable. This was stated by Mr. Lingen; but no attention was paid to the statement. The truth is, that the migratory state of the population, the indifference and caprice of parents, the gross ignorance of immigrant children, the incapacity of naturally inapt scholars, and the irregularity of attendance at school, make it an impossibility to judge what is the real amount of work which a teacher has done throughout the year, by an examination of each child that happens to be present on one day of the year in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

'A capitation grant,' says Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, 'based upon an examination of individual children, does not pay for the work done in the school. It is impossible by examination, without arrangements too minute and expensive to be practicable, accurately to test individually the work done in the elementary schools of a great nation. To do this the following arrangements are indispensable :—An impartial examiner, on the entrance of each child (or within a short time afterwards, a week for example), must record its state of cleanliness, aptitude for school discipline and instruction, capacity, and actual acquirements. Then the inspector, having before him these facts, and the number of days which the scholar has attended in each month of the preceding year, might form an approximate opinion on the work done in the school. He would still be ignorant of the amount of hindrances in the home of the child, but he might accept irregularity of attendance as a scale with which to measure these. But it is obvious that any system so minute and delicate presents insuperable difficulties, from
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the cost of the machinery required to carry it into execution.'—(*Letter on the Revised Code*, p. 31.)

The proposal of grouping by age would by itself show that the framers of the regulations knew nothing of schools and schoolmasters. It is evident that, under such a system, the teacher would give no time or care to the dull children, or to those who attended irregularly, because they could never be made to pass the examination of their group; nor need he spend much trouble on the quick children, because they would readily pass not only their own examination, but that of the group above them. Bureaucratically this is no doubt quite wrong, but in actual life the intelligence of children will not develop according to the standard of red-tape. Again, how are the children to be ordinarily taught? In the groups determined by age? In this case the quick boys will be thwarted, baffled, checked, and kept back by their slower or more ignorant compeers in age. If, on the other hand, they are arranged in classes determined according to ability, the whole of the ordinary organisation of the school will have to be altered on the day of the inspector's visit; the children, discomposed by the change, will be unable to do as well as usual, and the inspector will be totally unable to form any satisfactory judgment with respect to the discipline and everyday state of the school.

The regulation forbidding a child to be presented for the sake of earning the capitation grant after he has reached the age of twelve, must of course be given up: the wonder is, why it was ever made, as its sole purpose seems to be to discourage the laudable efforts now made to keep children at school as long as possible. Nor can Parliament allow infant schools to be destroyed by the refusal of all aid to children under three, and to all children under five, who have not passed an examination which children under five could not pass. The requirement of sixteen attendances during the thirty-one days previous to the examination must also be of course annulled."

But there is a more serious objection than any of these to the intended examination. For the first time a line has been drawn between secular and religious instruction; and the lesson is practically taught, that the Queen or the Queen's officers care nothing for the religious knowledge of the children of the poor, provided only they can read, write, and cipher.

That this is a point which has been always jealously guarded, will be shown by the following very valuable reminiscence of what is now becoming to many a matter of history, rather than of their own experience:—

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‘The Commissioners state that, in the opinion of a majority of their number, the inquiries of the Queen’s inspectors should be confined in all cases to secular instruction. Very different were the views expressed by the Committee of the National Society when the same proposal was made by the Committee of Council in 1839. On that occasion the Committee of the National Society transmitted to their Lordships the following remonstrance:—“With respect to the object of such inspection they desire to remark that, if secular instruction, to the exclusion of religious, be made the subject of investigation by a person acting under Royal authority, and of official reports made by him to the legislature, the former will undoubtedly be encouraged, to the disparagement of the latter. The master will almost unavoidably devote his chief attention to that department in which his scholars, by a display of their proficiency, will bring him credit with the Government, and will neglect the other, which the Government passes over without notice. He will be more anxious to see his pupils exhibit their attainments in geography, arithmetic, and history, than to instil into their minds, and impress upon their hearts, that less showy, but more valuable knowledge, to which every other kind, desirable as it may be, ought to be secondary and subservient, and by which alone they can be trained to moral duty here, or prepared for happiness hereafter. The same pernicious prejudice will be apt to arise in the minds of parents, and still more of children, who will naturally undervalue lessons to which no regard is paid on the day of examination.” In another part of the same letter the Committee of the National Society declare that “they can never sanction or approve any system of inspection which does not distinctly recognise the paramount importance of religious, as compared with secular instruction.” The Committee thus conclude:—“To the maintenance of these principles they consider themselves bound by the very terms on which the Sovereign granted to the Society its Charter of Incorporation. We are satisfied that the best interest of these realms can in no way be more effectually promoted than by the encouragement of moral and religious education throughout all classes of our people.” These representations were at first ineffectual, and the Committee resolved that, instead of any longer recommending applications for aid to the Committee of Council, they would, on the contrary, advise the clergy and promoters of schools not to accept grants of public money until inspection was placed upon a more satisfactory basis. The result of this resolution was that, out of two hundred and four applicants for Government aid, only forty-four accepted it; and of that small number fourteen afterwards declined it.

‘Some months afterwards, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate, entered into negotiations with the Committee of Council for the adjustment of this difference, and prevailed upon their Lordships to issue an Order in Council, dated the 10th of August, 1840, by which it was arranged that the Archbishops, each with regard to his own province, should be at liberty to recommend any person or persons for the

the office of inspector; that without their concurrence no inspector should be appointed or retained in office; that the instructions to the inspectors with regard to religious teaching should be framed by the Archbishops; and that copies of the reports on Church schools should be sent to the Archbishop of the province and the Bishop of the diocese.

'This concordat contained all the securities that the Church could desire with reference to inspection; and accordingly at a meeting of the Committee of the National Society, held on the 15th of August, 1840, the above Order in Council having been read by the Archbishop, the following resolution was unanimously agreed upon:—"That the best thanks of the committee be conveyed to his Grace the President, for the trouble he has taken in conducting the negotiations with the Committee of Council, and for concluding an arrangement by which the National Society is enabled to resume its recommendation of cases for aid out of the sums voted by Parliament for education."* The concordat of 1840 has now been in operation above twenty years; it has given universal satisfaction; no voice has ever been raised against it; upon the faith of it millions have been expended on national education; and yet the Royal Commissioners do not hesitate to make the above-quoted gratuitous expression of opinion,—"The majority of us think that the inquiries of the inspector should be confined in all cases to the secular instruction."—(*Discouragements to Religious Teaching, &c.*, p. 1.)

The Committee of Council does not go so far as the majority of the Commissioners, but the new regulations will undoubtedly tend in the same direction, both by drawing the line of distinction, which may be readily hereafter widened, and by fixing the attention of the master (and that from the most influential of all reasons) on other subjects, to the exclusion of religious knowledge. It is thought by some that religious knowledge will take care of itself; but this has been for ever disproved, even as concerns the middle classes, by the experiment of the Oxford Middle Class Examinations. And how much less will it be the case amongst the poor; and yet, with them, school is the only place where they can be imbued with a religious spirit, or acquire religious knowledge! Others think that the managers, being mainly clergy, would take care that the religious part of the children's education was not neglected; but this implies a constant clerical supervi-

* Had Dr. Vaughan been aware of these facts, he could not have written the last few pages of his temperate but somewhat superficial pamphlet. It is assumed by him, and still more by others, that 'the clamour which greeted the introduction of our existing system' has been proved by events to have been wholly senseless. A perusal of Sir James K. Shuttlesworth's evidence before the Royal Commissioners will show that 'the clamour' in question had the effect of changing the whole character of the Government educational scheme, and of converting it from a comprehensive and non-religious to a denominational and religious system.

sion, to be exercised not in co-operation with, but in antagonism to, the master, and the working of the system will necessarily militate against any such interference. For the manager will be dependent on the success of the examination for reimbursement of the considerable sums which he has prepaid to the pupil-teachers, and for a great portion of the funds with which the school is supported. If, then, the master represents to him that time spent upon Scripture, Catechism, and Liturgy will tend to the loss of the capitation grant, it is more than probable that Scripture, Catechism, and Liturgy will be shelved for the mechanical drill of reading, writing, and arithmetic. We are happy to hear from Mr. Cory and from Mr. Lowe, that religious examination by the inspector is still to continue; but how will this be practicable? There is nothing in the Code to require it; and after having not only examined, but reported, the special merits or defects of each one of perhaps two hundred children in reading, writing, and ciphering, is it likely that public officers would be able to go through this additional and gratuitous labour?

If we pass from the machinery by which a school is to be tested to the machinery by which it is to be taught, we find that, for reasons which we cannot here state at length, the result of the Revised Code will be the abolition of pupil-teachers in all schools where the average attendance for the year is less than eighty a day, that is, in all but large town schools. The monitorial system would therefore to a very great extent once more supersede the system of pupil-teachers. Before committing ourselves to so great an extent to this change, it may be well, again, to call to mind what was formerly the state of teaching and discipline in schools conducted by monitors, and how great an amount of evidence there is to the superiority of pupil-teachers over them. Again, the cutting off of the pupil-teachers would cut off the supply of suitable students for training colleges: there would be a corresponding diminution of trained and certificated masters; and thus a stop would be put to the flow of the fountains, which by the quiet working of natural laws are now gradually and yet quickly supplying the needs of our poorer parishes, and making them recipients of the public bounty. The Commissioners emphatically declared that they 'did not recommend any reduction of aid at present given to the colleges in various forms' (*Rep.* i. p. 143). The Revised Code curtails their funds; cuts off their teachers; cuts off their scholars; and takes away from the students all motive for remaining beyond one year under training, thereby still further diminishing their income. If it be said that the certificated masters have been overtaught during their residence in the training institutions, the plea may be partially allowed, without

without these consequences being therefore admitted to be needful. It is using the knife for a disease which would readily yield to mild treatment. The subjects taught in training schools may be lowered with advantage, and we hope that a set will be made against the pernicious habit of *cramming* wherever it exists; but the masters and mistresses must be themselves educated; and it may be doubted whether that high moral character which it is so supremely necessary that they should have could be stamped upon them, considering their origin and previous opportunities, in less than two years.

If it is urged that the real argument for the Code is the financial argument, we must say that the framers of it do not bring it forward on economical grounds. They profess to give by it the same amount of assistance that was given before, although, it is true, they made their calculation so badly that they would, in fact, have cut off at a blow one-third or two-fifths of the aid now given. If economy of the grant is aimed at, let it be openly declared, and effected in the best way that can be devised, not by a side-wind. Sir James K. Shuttleworth points out how the abruptness of the present blow, instead of developing local resources to take the place of the public grant, would paralyse the efforts of managers of schools in poor districts. At the same time he indicates a plan by which a gradual withdrawal of the State aid would elicit local means, and reduce the grant from its future maximum of 1,200,000*l.* to a sum not greater than that which was voted last year.

If we wish to know the *animus* with which the change has been made, we must turn to the only official commentary upon it—Mr. Lowe's speech in moving the estimates on education. The tone of what he then said is in many respects most satisfactory. He quietly puts aside the main proposals of the Commissioners. He lays down some principles of which we heartily approve. 'So long as certain indispensable conditions are complied with,' he says, 'you ought to minimize your interference with the management of schools.' (P. 30.) That we think a sound principle; and we are glad to read the following:—'The schools will continue to be denominational, and religious teaching must be the foundation of all. The inspectors will still conduct a religious examination, where they conduct one now; in short, there is no proposal to make any change in the religious character of the schools.' We are glad to learn on such good authority that no change of this nature was intended, though such would have been the effect. So far we say Mr. Lowe's speech is most satisfactory; but there are two points to which we feel bound to call attention, as they underlie the Code, out of sight,
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but nearer to the surface than is usually supposed, and awaiting the proper time at which to emerge. One of them is a matter which Mr. Lowe has more than once brought forward in Parliament, and on which he has expressed strong personal opinions. In speaking of an increase in the number of inspectors which will be necessary to carry out the system instituted by the new Minute, he says,—

‘But let me say that if the number of inspectors should become too large, the Government and the House have the remedy in their own hands. The number of inspectors is far larger than it need be at this moment, because each denomination has its own inspectors, and it often happens that three or four gentlemen are sent to the same town to inspect the schools in it. That, of course, involves an enormous waste of time and money; and some good might be effected by making the same gentleman inspect all classes of schools, with the exception perhaps of those belonging to the Roman Catholics.’—(p. 32.)

Mr. Lowe was, of course, not aware that he was mistaken when he made this statement, but he might have been aware of it had he consulted the evidence given to the Commissioners, or applied his own mind closely to the subject. Mr. Cook points out (*Evidence*, 1022) that the denominational character of the inspectors cannot possibly make the least difference in the number of inspectors that are employed. Each inspector by his instructions necessarily visits five (or, if they are small, seven) schools a-week; and he would not visit more, whatever denominations they might belong to, or however near they might be to each other. Mr. Cook thinks, indeed, that there might possibly be a saving of one inspector in the case of the Roman Catholics; but with these Mr. Lowe is too liberal to desire to interfere. It is true that there is a slight increase in the expenses of travelling. It is difficult to learn the exact amount, but we may calculate it approximately in the following manner:—There are seven or eight British and Foreign School-inspectors, and their travelling expenses are, we believe, from 10*l.* to 15*l.* higher than those of the Church of England School-inspectors. The cost of the denominational inspection system we may consider to be the sum of the difference between the expenses of these two classes of inspectors: therefore, by doing away with this system, according to Mr. Lowe’s suggestion, there would not be saved to the country a single inspector or any public time, and not more than about 100*l.** This is a small

* This sum would be more than saved by Mr. Senior’s common-sense suggestion of subdividing the several districts now assigned to an inspector and an assistant-inspector, abolishing the specific office of assistant-inspector, and confining each

small sum to set against the advantages on the other side. By these advantages we do not merely mean the confidence that is thereby given to the Church, and to the different religious bodies, that the State is not attempting to undermine their specific religious character, nor to that general good-will of the religious bodies towards their inspector which is hereby secured; but we wish to point out two results which would follow from a change of the system; and we call the attention of the Archbishops of the two provinces to this point, as by the Order in Council of 1840 their concurrence is made necessary before any such change can be effected. Should the British and Dissenting schools be placed under the supervision of the inspector of the neighbouring Church of England schools, a cry would at once arise, that these inspectors must be laymen, because clergymen would not be admitted into Dissenting schools. If the inspectors are laymen, examination in religion must be given up; for, as Dr. Morell remarks, in a sympathising reply to Mr. Miall, 'the religious element' and 'clerical inspectors' imply each the other (*ib.*, 1469); and no doubt the practical abolition of the religious examination by the new Code tends towards the abolition of clerical inspectors. When we had got so far, another step would soon follow. At present Dissenters elect to be examined by laymen belonging to the Church of England, because Wesleyans would not have confidence in Independent inspectors, nor Independents in Wesleyan inspectors. But should there be one staff of inspectors for all the public day-schools in England, the Dissenters, as such, would naturally enough insist on having a certain proportion of Dissenting inspectors upon it, who would nevertheless be almost entirely occupied in the inspection of Church of England schools. We are constrained to add, that if the Bishop of St. David's Letter contains a just representation of the occurrences to which it relates, some shyness may well be felt with respect to lay-inspectors, although professedly belonging to the Established Church.

The other point in Mr. Lowe's speech to which we have to call attention is his advocacy of a Conscience Clause. We give credit to Mr. Lowe for choosing his positions of attack well.

each of the gentlemen now ranging indifferently over three or four counties to half or one-third of his present circuit. Can anything be more uneconomical, or more incomprehensible, than that Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, while finding employment for three Church of England inspectors, should yet belong to one district; so that an inspector living at Bath visits, perhaps, the schools in the Scilly Isles (charging his travelling-expenses to Government), and an inspector living at Penzance visits the schools in the close neighbourhood of Bath (also charging his travelling-expenses to Government)? and this when, as Mr. Senior says, 'they belong to the same rank of life, they have received the same education, and they perform the same duties.' (*Suggestions*, p. 349.)

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The conscience clause controversy is no new one, but its supporters have had new zeal given to them by the concession of the Bishops in the case of the Endowed Schools Bill.

The Education Commissioners quote the clause in which this concession is embodied:—

‘We observe that by the Act (23 Vict. c. 11) passed last session to amend the laws relating to endowed schools, the trustees or governors of every endowed school are from time to time authorised and bound “to make such orders as, whilst they shall not interfere with the religious teaching of other scholars, as now fixed by statute or other legal requirement, and shall not authorise any religious teaching other than that previously afforded in the school, shall nevertheless provide for admitting to the benefit of the school the children of parents not in communion with the church, sect, or denomination, according to the doctrines or formularies of which religious instruction is to be afforded under the endowment of the said school.”’

They proceed to comment as follows:—

‘If we are not prepared to recommend that the principle laid down by the legislature for the regulation of *endowed schools* shall be extended to all *schools aided by public funds*, it is not because we regard it as indefensible on the grounds of justice.’—(*Report*, i. p. 344.)

The Commissioners here represent the conscience clause as made applicable to all endowed schools, and argue from endowed schools to aided national schools. But the fact is, that it was not *all* endowed schools to which the clause applied, but only that class of endowed schools in which the endowment instrument made no express mention of the character of the religious teaching which was to be adopted. This overthrows the argument on which they show the wish but not the courage to make a recommendation. Between *all endowed schools* and *all national schools aided by public funds* there might seem to be an analogy; but between *those endowed schools which do not require a specific religious teaching by their endowment instrument*, and *the national schools which do require a specific religious teaching by their trust deed*, there is none. This enactment, as Mr. Senior remarks, is almost neutralised by the following proviso (which forms part of the very same section): ‘Provided always that in the instrument regulating such endowment nothing be contained expressly requiring the children educated under such endowment to learn or to be instructed according to the doctrines or formularies of such church, sect, or denomination.’

Mr. Senior and Mr. Lowe both assail the National Society as being the obstacle, by means of its 12,000 schools and its million children, to the general adoption of a conscience clause. We believe that they are right. The first term of union of the National
Society

Society is as follows:—‘The children are to be instructed in the Holy Scriptures, and in the Liturgy and Catechism of the Established Church.’ This clause once stood as follows:—‘All the children, without exception, shall be instructed in the Catechism.’ The words ‘all’ and ‘without exception’ have been omitted, with the special object of giving the clergyman in each parish a discretion as to the exemption of individual children. This discretionary power displeases Mr. Lowe. He says that the words will not bear the construction which they have borne ever since the words ‘all’ and ‘without exception’ were omitted. The true construction, he says, is that no discretion is left with regard to individual exemption; and he represents himself as being put in a position ‘hardly tolerable,’ by the want of conscientiousness displayed by the Committee of the National Society. He and the committee are frequently brought into contact with each other, as they both have to deal with the same schools, and Mr. Lowe appears before us as the young partner hurried by his hardened colleagues into ‘doing that which he always does with shame.’ Conscientious scruples are to be looked upon with respect. We hope that Mr. Henley, whose sound English sense, and unwearied attention to the subject of education, make him a better exponent of the feeling of the country than any other man in the House of Commons, satisfied these scruples of Mr. Lowe, by showing that the rule of the Society is (as the rule of any such Society must be) that the children attending its schools shall learn the formularies provided by the religious body of which it is an organ, and that it is not immoral nor anything else than an act of charitable tolerance to allow the parochial clergyman to make an exception here and there to this rule, according to his discretion. We think, however, that it would have been better to express this meaning more clearly.

The object of Mr. Lowe and of Mr. Senior is to induce the Committee of the National Society to allow the managers of schools in connexion with the Society to admit a Conscience Clause into their Trust Deeds. If this were allowable by the terms of union, the Committee of Council has an instrument of sufficient power in its hands to enforce the introduction of such a clause into the Trust Deeds of the schools of all villages and most towns. For in the 23rd article of the Codified Minutes of 1860 there appear the following words:—‘Aid is not granted to build new elementary schools, unless their Lordships are satisfied that the religious denomination of the new school is suitable to a sufficient number of the families relied upon for supplying scholars.’

We should be glad to learn what Minute it is on the authority
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of which their Lordships require to be satisfied on this head. This requirement appears for the first time in its present shape in the Code of 1860, which was designed merely to present a readable abstract of previous Minutes; but, in an abstract, limitations and conditions are often omitted, and laws are unintentionally represented as of universal, instead of limited application; and thus we believe that the regulation found its way into the Code as being an abstract of the Minute of December 3, 1839. But this Minute refers *only to schools not connected with the National or the British and Foreign School Societies*. The Minute of September 24, 1839, regulates the conditions of building grants made to schools in connexion with those two Societies, and here there is no such regulation to be found. But when it was determined, at the end of the year 1839, to give aid towards building other schools than those connected with these two Societies, the clause was introduced in order to discourage applications which, it was thought, might be made by a few fanatics. Now, as is shown in the Correspondence between the Education Committee and the National Society on the subject of schools in Wales,* their Lordships claim a right of deciding whether or no a school is suitable to the religious feelings of the neighbourhood, although such school is in connexion with one or other of the two Societies. We believe that they have no authority for doing so, except such as is conveyed by a mistake of the clerk who codified the Minutes in 1860. If this is so, Mr. Lowe will see that the 'hardly tolerable position' in which he finds himself arises from an unintentional encroachment on the part of the office which he represents, and that his work is a very simple one—to give aid to all schools connected with the National and British and Foreign School Societies, which fulfil certain monetary conditions, on their application, and only to enter into the question of religious denomination and numbers with regard to others.† The

* See 'Fiftieth Report of the National Society,' Appendix xi.

† The way in which this regulation works may be illustrated by the case of Llanbrechba, a parish of 900 inhabitants in Wales. In the spring of last year the incumbent made application for a grant towards building a school. Their Lordships required a statement of the proportion of Dissenters to the members of the Established Church. The incumbent replied that he could not 'ticket' the Dissenters, but stated that he had sixty children attending his day-school, and fifty attending his Sunday-school. Their Lordships replied, that as the school was in connexion with the National Society, they required precise information as to the number of the families of labourers belonging to the Church of England. The incumbent replied as before. Their Lordships thereupon refused help, on the grounds that the parish could only maintain one school in efficiency, and that this school therefore ought to be on a broad and liberal basis, so as to admit, under the terms of the trust-deed, the children of members of all denominations. The incumbent replied, that this decision was directly in the teeth of the denominational

The main defects of the actually existing system, as popularly alleged, are, we believe, these:—1. It gives to those who already have, and where help is therefore least needed. 2. It does not give to the poorest parishes, where help is most needed. 3. It over-educates a few boys, and leaves the junior classes and dull scholars uncared for. 4. It raises up a class of overtaught and self-conceited masters and mistresses, who are not content with doing the humble work of a teacher of poor children. What then would be the effect of the Revised Code in respect to these? It would not remedy the first. On the contrary, the only schools which would *not* suffer financially are ‘boys’ schools which have been long established, and which include farmers’ and middle-class children,* that is, the British and Foreign Schools, for which Mr. Lowe has so often expressed his predilection, and National Schools in thriving, well-to-do towns.* It would not remedy the second defect. On the contrary, the schools which would suffer *most* financially would be precisely the schools situated in poor ‘Peel’ parishes and pauperized rural districts. ‘Schools in dense and corrupt parts of old cities and large towns, schools with semi-barbarous migrant population in manufacturing towns, schools in wild moorlands with scattered population, or in pauperized rural districts where the children are employed in numerous harvests, would lose from two-fifths to two-thirds of the support which they at present receive. Schools in rural parishes, with bad roads, a scattered population, non-resident proprietors, tenantry indifferent, much harvest work, and ill-endowed benefice for clergyman, will either be closed or become adventure schools.’ These are not conjectures, but the results of carefully collected and digested returns from all parts of the country. Mr. Menet’s conclusion is ‘that the largest grants would be earned where they are least needed, and that therefore the assistance given would be in inverse proportion to the need.’ An increase of the scale of the capitation grant would of course but exaggerate these inequalities. It is impossible, therefore, to look to the Revised Code to amend

national system adopted and recognised by Parliament. Their Lordships replied, that they had no wish to interfere with the working of the denominational system; their refusal was grounded on economy alone: if they gave aid for erecting a school for eighty scholars, they might have an application from the Dissenters, which they would be unable to refuse; and so the parish would be burdened with two schools, and public money would be wasted. ‘What is really wanted,’ they volunteered, ‘is one school towards which members of all religious denominations might contribute, and the benefit of which might be open to all’—a periphrasis for a British and Foreign School, or a school with a conscience-clause. The result, we understand, is, that the parish is doing without the school, waiting till the Dissenters fulfil the expectations of their Lordships.

* ‘Letter on Revised Code,’ Appendix A.

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these two defects. Would it have a better effect in respect to the third fault? On the contrary, the direct tendency of the proposed scheme of examination must be not only to induce but to compel teachers to neglect all children attending irregularly, and to refuse admission to all who have not been trained from their infancy.

As to the fourth defect, the Revised Code would certainly free us from an over-educated class of teachers, for its effects would be to drive the present masters and mistresses into some other occupation; to cut off the raw material of new teachers; to cripple the resources of the training colleges; to discourage a second year's training in a student; to allow boys and girls of eighteen or nineteen, after completing their apprenticeship, to take charge of schools in agricultural districts without any training at all. But the question arises, whether the result, if required, might not be attained more easily and with less injurious consequences than by this plan. For, granting that the over-instruction exists, what produces it? The standard is fixed by the Christmas examination papers for students previous to their being certificated as masters and mistresses? And who supplies the examination papers? The Committee of Council. All that the Committee of Council then has to do is to lower the standard of the examination papers, which may be done with advantage, and the result is at once accomplished without discouraging a two years' residence at a training college, which has been so often acknowledged by their Lordships to be the shortest time in which a moral character can be formed in lads and girls drawn from cottages,* and without putting boys and girls of eighteen or nineteen in charge of mixed schools—a raw untrained youth in sole charge of girls nearly as old as himself, and a young girl in sole charge of great rude lads whom she cannot possibly control.

We find, then, that of the four main defects imputed to the existing system, the Revised Code will exaggerate three, and will remove the other by substituting an insupportable evil. In addition, the new system has defects of its own. Schools would on the average lose two-fifths of the support at present accorded to them, those which are in poor districts suffering most, those in rich districts suffering least. Infant-schools would be closed. Managers would be wholly uncertain on what sum they would be able to count to reimburse themselves for payments previously made; they would be at the mercy of discontented masters, impatient inspectors, capricious or ill-tempered parents. No results would be paid for except in three secular

* See Circulars, November 26, 1853, and April 10, 1858.

subjects. A yearly examination would be trusted to for testing the amount of work which had been done in the school throughout the year. Schools examined in the summer would be in much better case than those examined in winter. Schools examined just after any harvest, or during the prevalence of any childish malady, would gain next to nothing. Irregular, dull, and backward children, and children beyond eleven years of age, would be neglected. The moral and religious character of schools would be lowered. The teachers would, as a class, be demoralised by the constant temptation to refuse or neglect non-remunerative pupils, and to falsify their registers. Religious instruction would be degraded from the first place which it now holds in our national schools, to the position which it occupies in Mr. Lowe's and Earl Russell's favourite schools connected with the British and Foreign School Society. A line would be drawn by authority between secular and religious teaching. Pupil-teachers, where retained, would be less carefully taught, and more likely to abandon their profession. Training colleges would suffer great pecuniary loss. Actual teachers would be unjustly treated. Future teachers would be trained for but one year; many would be not trained at all. Expenditure would be increased by the necessity of increasing the number of inspectors.

Then where does the strong point of the Revised Code lie concealed? Is there any? We believe there is, and we believe that it will be our true wisdom to sift out the wheat before we throw away the chaff; for the New Code does strive to embody a principle which is of the utmost importance, and to give expression to a feeling which is deeply seated in the country, and which is shared by all sober-thinking men. The object of schooling is to obtain results, and the results to be desired in the schooling of the poor are a sound unambitious education, free from extravagance, and fitted for the state of life to which the poor belong. We do not quarrel with the Revised Code for aiming at results, but with the plan devised by it for testing results.

We say with confidence that such an examination as takes place at present under an inspector who knows his duty is a real test of the 'results' produced by a school. The inspector notes the tone, and order, and discipline of the school—a 'result' more valuable than a thousand long-division sums. He notes whether the children have clean faces, smooth hair, ready smiles. He notes the appliances and apparatus of the school. He notes the ability and willingness of the teachers. He notes the success or failure of every class in reading, in writing, and in arithmetic; and still more in religious knowledge; and if any go

beyond these subjects, he notes that too. Finally he notes (for he has become familiar with this recondite branch of knowledge) the progress made by the girls in plain sewing. These are all 'results' intellectual, religious, moral, physical, mechanical; and the 'results' contemplated by the Revised Code, as compared with them, are as ditch-water to the ocean. Yet a hint may be well taken from the Revised Code. The fault of the present system is, that there is not an immediate connexion between the amount of results which the test discovers, and the amount of money paid to the school. A very simple enactment will do all that requires to be done. It is this: let notice be sent to the managers of schools, that henceforth no capitation will be paid to schools in which the inspector reports that religious knowledge, reading, writing, and arithmetic are below 'fair,' and that one-fourth of the capitation will be lost in case any one of these four subjects is so reported; and further, that the augmentation grants to the masters will in like manner be withheld or curtailed. Such a regulation would secure all the good proposed to be secured by the Revised Code's examination, and would avoid its many evils. Results would then be fairly tested, and payment would be according to results.

There are yet two other points in which hints may be taken from the Revised Code. It has been remarked that the masters and mistresses who have obtained a first-class certificate are not always the best teachers. This may readily be met by placing all who successfully pass the examination for certificates on a level, so far as payment is concerned, at the commencement of their work, and giving them means of raising themselves solely by exhibiting practical success in their calling. The place which they won in the class-list might still be noted and made public, but only as an honorary distinction. Students who have left the training institution at the end of the first year might be placed a degree lower than those who have completed their course. We may also express our approval of the fourth-class certificate, which it is proposed to substitute for registration.

The other subject to which the Revised Code most properly directs our attention is the means of making night-schools more efficient. The way in which this is attempted to be done by the provisions of the Code would be found, we fear, to be impracticable; though any effort at solving a difficulty which the present system leaves in effect untouched is welcome. We do not believe it possible that a master could teach in the morning and afternoon schools, besides giving instruction to pupil-teachers, and, in addition to this, hold an evening-school, without ruining his health in the course of a few years. The permission to teach
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the pupil-teacher at the night-school is really a permission not to teach him; for what amalgamation can there be between the studies of the rough, unlettered young men who present themselves at night-schools, and of a boy capable of teaching in a day-school? A probable result would no doubt be the substitution of a night-school for an afternoon-school—a proposal of Mr. Fraser's, the adoption of which appears to have made him a warm advocate for the Code. But this is not what is wanted. It is not desirable that any young enough to attend the day-school should attend the night-school, and there shame the ignorance of their untaught but willing elders. Nor, on the other hand, is it desirable that boys and girls should attend school but once in the day. The attendants at the day-school and the attendants at the night-school must be different, as they differ in age, though they belong to the same class. Let them be regarded as separate schools, and let adequate help be given when they are under satisfactory management, according to the need of each, and not according to the relation which they bear each to the other. The Committee of Council created the masters of day-schools; by a similar machinery they may create masters of night-schools. A practical plan of this sort would soon multiply night-schools, as it has already provided day-schools; and we have sufficient confidence in the zeal of the parochial clergy to believe that the one set of schools would be under their management and control as much as the other.

ART. IV.—1. *The Story of Burnt Njal; or Life in Iceland at the end of the Tenth Century. From the Icelandic of the Njal's Saga.* By George Webbe Dasent. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1861.

2. *Iceland; its Volcanoes, Geysers, and Glaciers.* By Charles S. Forbes. London, 1860.

3. *The Oxonian in Iceland; or Notes of Travel in that Island in the Summer of 1860.* By the Rev. Frederick Metcalfe. London, 1861.

4. *Oxford Essays.* London, 1858.

AT the entrance to the Arsenal in Venice stand a pair of colossal lions, brought from Athens in 1687, when that city was taken by the Venetians under Francesco Morosini. The lions, which are of antique workmanship, and have been celebrated in verse by Goethe, stood originally in the Piræus; and on the body of one of them is carved a Runic inscription, which has recently been deciphered and explained by the learned

Northern archæologist, M. C. C. Rafn. It records the capture of the Piræus by Harald Hardrada; that famous 'King of Norse' to whom his namesake, Harold of England, promised 'seven feet of ground, or somewhat more, as he was a tall man,' when the Saxon king met and defeated him at Stamford Bridge in Yorkshire, about a month before he fell himself at Hastings. Before he became King of Norway, Harald had been Captain of the Varangian Guard at Constantinople; and after the fall of the Piræus had, no doubt, employed the hand of one of his countrymen to trace, in the mystic characters of the North, the story of his conquest on the old Greek lion.

The fiercest Viking spirit had become somewhat tamed before the days of Harald Hardrada; but this singular monument, with the strange mixture of races and countries which belongs to its history, is, perhaps, one of the most suggestive memorials of the Northern sea-rovers remaining in Europe. Full of interest as are all the details of their story, there is nothing about it which takes a firmer hold on the imagination than the wide stretch of their wanderings and conquests, the consequent jostling of the old world and the new, and the sharply-contrasted pictures thence arising, which the Sagas indicate even more frequently than they supply at full length. Far wanderings and strange adventures are at once suggested when we read of a robe of Byzantine silk, embroidered with golden palm-leaves, worn by some Kiartan or Thorolf, and glancing in the red firelight of an Icelandic drinking-hall; or when we find the same Greek word as Homer would have used, employed to designate the support of the mighty vessel of mead or of beer which cheered the hearts of Norse sea-kings on the shores of Caithness, or under the shadow of Heckla.* To meet Goliath of Gath in an Icelandic version of his story, rejoicing in the title of 'that accursed Viking,' is scarcely more startling or unexpected.†

Hoard of Byzantine and Oriental coins, with Greek and Cufic inscriptions, are still brought to light from time to time in Iceland and Norway;—tangible relics of the old sea-kings, and proofs of their distant wanderings. Traces of their ancient presence may be found, too, on shores far from their own countries,

* 'Trapeza' is the word used for the beer-table in more than one Saga. Possibly a support for the great mead-vat was itself a refinement brought from Byzantium.

† The word 'viking,' as Mr. Dasent points out, is in no way akin to 'king.' It is derived from "vik," a bay or creek, because these sea rovers lay moored in bays or creeks on the look-out for merchant ships. The "ing" is a well-known ending, meaning, in this case, occupation or calling. In later times the word is used for any robber, as in the Biblical paraphrase referred to above.—*Dasent*, vol. ii. p. 353.

in the shape of some monumental stone with its dragons and carved runes, or of such an inscription as that on the Venetian lion. But what remains of their influence on the cognate races with whom they mixed, first as conquerors and then as colonists? And how far is it possible to recognize the lingering presence of the spirit of the North, not only in the 'kirks' and 'bys' which dot the eastern and northern counties of England, and in the Scandinavian words and phrases which occur in the local dialects, but also in the dispositions and character of the people themselves? Without by any means asserting with Mr. Laing that we derive little or nothing from our Saxon ancestors, and that we are indebted to the infusion of Scandinavian blood for every free institution and good gift we possess, we may at least admit that the Northman has had his full share, both through the settlements of the Danelagh and the great conquest at Hastings, in the gradual formation of

'This happy breed of men—this earth—this England.'

Hence, besides the picturesque character of the narratives which show us the Northman in his own land—besides their strongly-contrasted colours, and their wild lights and shades—they have for us an especial interest as presenting us with full-length portraits of our own ancestors—on one side at all events—drawn with the minutest accuracy of detail, and as full of life and character as the most speaking canvases of Titian or Giorgione. It is not a little interesting to compare the features of such remote kinsmen with those of their later descendants, and to trace the Iclander of the tenth century in the hospitable English Franklin of Chaucer's time, and, still more clearly, in the Condottieri captains—such as Hawkwood and Sir John Fastolfe—of the fifteenth century, or in the adventurous searovers—such as Drake and Cavendish—of the sixteenth and seventeenth.

For the best aid toward such a comparison the English reader is under the deepest obligation to Mr. Dasent. The Northman is nowhere more completely shown to us than in the Sagas of ancient Iceland; and of these none is more important or more valuable, from the variety and minuteness of its details, than the Njal's Saga—the 'Story of Burnt Njal'—of which we are now presented with a most admirable translation. Only those who are acquainted, however imperfectly, with this grand old story in its original language, can fully appreciate the beauty and fidelity of Mr. Dasent's version. Not only is the clear and simple English such as modern writers—to their own infinite loss—seldom care to employ, but, without any affectation of antiquity, the

the words most nearly related to the original Icelandic have been chosen wherever it was possible; and the result is that the translation retains not only the substance, but the colour and character of the original more completely than any version from a foreign language with which we are acquainted. Mr. Dasent has had his predecessors in the wide field of Northern literature; but his sketch of the 'Northmen in Iceland,' contained in the volume of 'Oxford Essays' for 1858, and the Introduction and Appendices to the present translation of the *Njal's Saga*, are beyond all doubt the most valuable aids to a real knowledge of the ancient North which the English reader has hitherto received.

Of all the Icelandic Sagas, the *Njala*, according to Mr. Dasent, whose judgment will be confirmed by every competent scholar, 'bears away the palm for truthfulness and beauty. To use the words of one well qualified to judge, it is, as compared with all similar compositions, "as gold to brass."' Like all its brethren, or at least like all those which relate to the same period, the *Njal's Saga* was not committed to writing until about one hundred years after the events which it records. It was handed down orally, told at the Althings, 'at all great gatherings of the people, and over many a fireside; on sea-strand and river-bank, or up among the dales and hills;' until at last, certainly before the year 1200, it was moulded into its present form. Of its general truth there can be no doubt. 'It was,' says Mr. Dasent, 'considered a grave offence to public morality to tell a story untruthfully; and besides internal evidence, the genuineness of *Njala* is confirmed by other Sagas, and by songs and annals, the latter of which are the earliest written records which belong to the history of Iceland.' 'Much,' says the translator, 'passes for history in other lands on far slighter grounds; and many a story in Thucydides or Tacitus, or even in Clarendon or Hume, is believed on evidence not one-tenth part so trustworthy as that which supports the narratives of these Icelandic story-tellers of the eleventh century.' We may, therefore, safely trust to them for what no other country perhaps in the world—certainly no other in Europe—can supply; minute pictures of life at one of the most important periods of national history—that of the introduction of Christianity. It is this which gives an especial interest to the *Njala*, the story of which extends from the middle of the tenth to the first years of the eleventh century; thus embracing a period of pure heathenism—the first attempts at conversion—and the final reception of the new faith in the Althing of the year 1000. We shall give our readers a sufficient idea of the Saga, and introduce them to some of its most picturesque passages, if we sketch as clearly as possible the history of this change in Iceland, avail-

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ing ourselves largely of the stores collected by Mr. Dasent, but drawing also from such other authorities as are within our reach.

The Norwegian Jarls and freemen who fled from the novel rule of Harald Fairhair (A.D. 860-933) established themselves for the most part on the coasts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and on the neighbouring islands—especially Orkney and Shetland. Some few—the first of whom was Ingolf, in the year 874—found their way across the Northern Sea to Iceland; but that country did not receive its most important colonists for some years after. Harald, who succeeded in consolidating the royal power in Norway after the fashion of Charlemagne on the Rhine and in the Gauls, and of Athelstane in England, had rendered himself especially hateful to the freemen of Norway by his attacks on their ancient rights; and after they had withdrawn from the struggle, besides ravaging the chief shores of Western Europe, they revenged themselves on their former king by incessant pillages on those of Norway itself. Harald determined to attack them in their new settlements:—

‘He called,’ says Mr. Dasent, ‘on his chiefs to follow him, levied a mighty force, and, sailing suddenly with a mighty fleet which must have seemed an armada in those days, he fell upon the Vikings in Orkney and Shetland, in the Hebrides and Western Isles, in Man and Anglesey, in the Lewes and Faroe—wherever he could find them he followed them up with fire and sword. Not once but twice he crossed the sea after them, and tore them out so thoroughly, root and branch, that we hear no more of these lands as a lair of Vikings, but as the abode of Norse Jarls and their Udallers, who look upon the new state of things at home as right and just, and acknowledge the authority of Harald and his successors by an allegiance more or less dutiful at different times, but which was never afterwards entirely thrown off.’—(vol. i. pp. xi., xii.)

Great numbers of the Vikings thus driven from the British Isles took refuge in Iceland. More than half the names recorded in the *Landnåma-bók*—the ‘Land-taking’ or Doomsday-book of Iceland, which contains the names and genealogies of the first settlers—are those of freemen who had before been settled on the coasts of Great Britain.

For ample descriptions of the manners, the institutions, and the religion brought from Norway to Iceland by the first colonists, we refer our readers to Mr. Dasent’s Introduction. We are here more immediately concerned with them in so far as they influenced the character of the Icelanders before conversion, and thereby affected the change of faith itself, and the nature of the Christianity which was then introduced. Two great points
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are especially to be noticed: the reverence for law and for legal forms which the Icelanders possessed in common with all the Scandinavian and Teutonic races; and the duty of revenge for bloodshedding—also a common heritage, but one which nowhere receives such ample illustration as in the pages of the *Njal's Saga* itself. The right or duty of revenge arose out of the right of property which every head of a family was supposed to have in all his kinsmen and descendants. A system of compensations for wounds or loss of life was gradually introduced; and the person who did the wrong might, in the words of the Saxon law, either 'buy off the spear or bear it,' but one or the other he must do; and the relatives of the injured man were bound to carry out the feud to the last extremities, if the injurer refused to pay the legal fine or 'blood-wite.' An almost identical system yet prevails among the aboriginal races of India, and the various Arab tribes; but, according to Captain Burton, the duty of revenge has with the latter, at any rate in Arabia itself, the effect of rendering infrequent such tribal or family meetings, at which, as at the Icelandic *Althings* or home festivals, fights and loss of life would most probably occur. Such is the Arab dread of the bloodshed which a feud would draw out in its progress, or of the money fine which must otherwise close it. Very different was the feeling of the old Icelanders. Odin, with them, was especially regarded as 'Valfader,' the 'father of battle;' an appeal to arms, in any shape, was an appeal to heaven:—

'Victory,' says Mr. Dasent, 'was indeed the sign of a rightful cause, and he that won the day remained behind to enjoy the rights which he had won in fair fight; but he that lost it, if he fell bravely and like a man, if he truly believed his quarrel just, and brought it, without guile, to the issue of the sword, went, by the very manner of his death, to a better place.'—(vol. i. p. xxvii.)

Valhalla was ready for him. Hence the indifference to life among the Icelanders; who believed, moreover, that an inexorable fate hung over each man's life, against which it was in vain to strive. To avoid a feud was thus not only unmanly, but useless. In following up the 'duty of revenge,' all that was essential was to act openly, like a man, and to show no shame for what had been done. 'To kill a man, and say that you had killed him, was manslaughter; to kill him, and not to take it on your hand, was murder.'—(vol. i. p. xxxiii.)

In what manner this leading principle of the heathen Ice-lander was affected by Christianity we shall presently see. The reverence for law and for legal forms, thoroughly illustrated in the history and constitution of the *Althing*, of which Mr. Dasent gives us an admirable account (vol. i. p. cxxiii.), supplied the
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direct method by which the change of faith was finally brought about.

Iceland continued heathen in its social life and in its courts of law for more than one hundred years before the first definite attempt at the conversion of the island. But it would probably be wrong to imagine that Christianity was entirely without influence, from the very first, on the national character. Among the earliest settlers, the first who took possession of the Western Dales at the head of Hvammsfirth was Aud the 'deeply-wealthy,' mother of Thorstein the Red, who had been king over a portion of Caithness in Scotland, where he was slain. On his death in the year 892, Aud removed to Iceland, with all her wealth and her 'following.' She was a Christian—the first woman of that faith who set foot on the shore of the island, and the first to raise upon it the great Christian symbol. The lofty craig in the Dale country, on the top of which Aud set up the cross, is still known as 'Krossholar,' the Cross-hills; and although the shadow which it flung over the valley was only the earnest of a better time—for after Aud's death the cross was replaced by a heathen temple—it is difficult to believe that the faith introduced by so powerful a colonist, whose own character was marked by some of the highest qualities of her race, should have disappeared without leaving at least some recollection behind it. At any rate, her last resting-place is still pointed out. She would not lie in unconsecrated earth, and was buried, according to her own desire, on the sands, below high-water mark, underneath a great stone, 'covered with mussel-shells.*' More than one of the first settlers from Norway also were 'half-Christians,' and were not unfavourably disposed toward the new faith, without as yet abandoning the old. Those who plundered and traded with foreign lands—and every Icelandic Viking was at the same time a 'chapman'—were sometimes brought into closer relations with the Christian religion. A ceremony called 'primsignaz,' ('prima signatio,') which seems in effect to have been a form of receiving a catechumen,† was frequently submitted to by chapmen and others who frequented Christian countries; 'for,' says the Saga of Egil Skallagrimson, 'they who had received the primsignaz might enter into any commerce with either Christians or heathens; but in religion they held whatever seemed best to them.‡' Thus Athelstane of England required that Thorolf and his brother, a pair of famous

* 'Oxonian in Iceland,' p. 281.

† Perhaps resembling the 'Ordo ad faciendum Catechumenum' in the Sarum Manual. See Proctor's 'Hist. of the Prayer Book,' p. 361.

‡ Egil's Saga, p. 265.

Northern champions whom he was about to receive among his followers, should first undergo the 'primsignaz.' The ceremony was no doubt insisted on from a dread of the magical influences and other mysterious evils which might result from the unrestrained communications of Christians with the heathen worshippers of Thor and Odin. It may have been as purely formal as the Saga intimates; but at any rate it brought the Northman into peaceful contact with the Christian Church and its ministers, although he may have gazed with some unhallowed longing upon the golden crucifix and embroidered vestments of the priests who received him at the door of the Minster. Thus the services of the 'bell-ringers,' as the Christian priests were called, were not altogether novelties when they came to be introduced in Iceland. In the character of the noblest Icelanders we may perhaps trace something of a general Christian influence which seems to have made itself felt over the whole North before the actual establishment of the Church. Take, for example, that of Thorwald Kodranson, called the 'far-farer,' who, while still a heathen, took service, toward the close of the tenth century, with Sweyn Forkbeard, King of Denmark:—

'Thorwald,' says the Saga, 'had not been long with King Sweyn ere the king set more store by him than by all his other men and friends; for Thorwald was a great man for good counsel, manifesting to every man his worth and foresight, strong in body and bold of heart, keen in combat and quick in battle, mild in temper and bountiful of money, and proved for trustiness and gentleness; beloved and befriended by all the king's followers, and not unworthily; for even then, as a heathen, he showed his justice before that of other heathens, insomuch that all his share of plunder which he got on their cruises he bestowed on the needy and in ransoming captives; and thus he helped many who were in bad case. . . . Now, inasmuch as he was bolder in battle than others of the king's band, so they passed a law that he was to have the first choice of all their spoil; but he made this use of that honour, that he chose the sons of great men, or those things else which those who had lost them set most store by, but which his messmates cared least to give up, and sent them afterwards to those to whom they had belonged. . . . By that means . . . he set free King Sweyn himself. It so fell out that once on a time King Sweyn harried in Wales . . . and was there taken captive and cast into a dungeon, and Thorwald Kodranson along with him, and many other men of worth and rank. Next day came a mighty leader to the dark dungeon with a great company to take Thorwald out of prison, for a little while before he had set free the sons of this very leader, who had been taken captive, and sent them home free to their father. The leader bade Thorwald to come out and go away a free man; but Thorwald swore that he would never go thence alive unless King Sweyn were loosed and set free with all his men. The leader did this

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at once for his sake, as King Sweyn himself bore witness afterwards when he sat at a splendid feast with two other kings. And when the meat was set on the board, then one lord said that there would never again be a board so nobly filled as that, when three such mighty kings ate out of one dish. Then answers King Sweyn, with a smile, "I will find that stranger yeoman's son who alone has in himself, if right worth be set on it, not one whit less glory and true honour than all we three kings." Now there was much mirth at that in the hall; and all asked, with a laugh, where or what sort of man this might be of whom he tells such mighty fame? He answers, "This man of whom I speak is as wise as it befits a prudent king to be; as strong and stout-hearted as the most dauntless Baresark; and as good and gentle-hearted as the most virtuous sage." After that he told them of Thorwald that story which was written above, and how he set the king free for the sake of his friendship and for the sake of many other praiseworthy deeds.*

Such is the character claimed by Mr. Dasent as that of the better class of Vikings. Without, however, in any way depreciating the noble qualities inherent in the race, we cannot but think that another and a higher influence is to be traced here. Thorwald—whom we shall presently meet as the first preacher of Christianity in Iceland—reminds us, while yet a heathen, of Sir Lancelot in the *Morte d'Arthur*; the gentlest and most courteous of knights in hall—the sternest and bravest in 'press of battle.'

But the most complete picture of the better Icelfander during the heathen period is found in the pages of the *Njal's Saga* itself; the first portion of which is mainly occupied with the fortunes of Gunnar of Lithend, whose story, with that of *Njal* of Bergthorsknoll, has rendered the district of the Landeyar, backed as it is with the grand 'Three-corner' Mountain, as completely romantic ground as the country about another 'triple height'—

'Where fair Tweed flows round holy Melrose,
And Eildon slopes to the plain.'

Gunnar is thus introduced :—

'He was a tall man in growth, and a strong man—best skilled in arms of all men. He could cut, or thrust, or shoot, if he chose, as well with his left as with his right hand; and he smote so swiftly with his sword that three seemed to flash through the air at once. He was the best shot with the bow of all men, and never missed his mark. He could leap more than his own height with all his war-gear, and as far backwards as forwards. He could swim like a seal, and there was no game in which it was any good for any one to strive with him; and so it has been said that no man was his match. He was handsome of feature, and fair-skinned. His nose was straight, and a

* Dasent, ii., pp. 356-57, from the *Biskupa Sögur*.

little turned up at the end. He was blue-eyed, and bright-eyed, and ruddy cheeked. His hair thick, and of good hue, and hanging down in comely curls. The most courteous of men was he, of sturdy frame and strong will, bountiful and gentle, a fast friend, but hard to please when making them. He was wealthy in goods.'—(vol. i. p. 60.)

We must not dwell at any length on the events of Gunnar's life, in spite of the wonderful reality with which they are brought before us in the Saga. There our readers will learn how he 'fared abroad' as a sea-rover, and won his famous war-bill in a fight with pirates off the coast of Esthonia—the bill that was made by 'seething' spells, and that foretold a coming fight by a loud ringing sound as it hung on the wall, and by breaking forth into a 'rain of blood-drops'—how, too, at the Althing, he wooed the fair Hallgerda in a brief and bold fashion well fitting the lady, who had already disposed of two husbands who did not suit her:—

'She spoke up boldly to him, and bade him tell her of his voyages; but he said he would not gainsay her a talk. . . . So they talked long out loud, and at last it came about that he asked whether she were unmarried. She said so it was; "and there were not many who would run the risk of that."

' "Thinkest thou none good enough for thee?"

' "Not that," she says; "but I am said to be hard to please in husbands."

' "How wouldst thou answer were I to ask for thee?"

' "That cannot be in thy mind," she says.

' "It is though," says he.

' "If thou hast any mind that way, go and see my father."

' After that they broke off their talk. — (vol. i. p. 66.)

From this marriage sprang the feud which is carried through the whole Saga and which at last brought about the burning of Njal with his wife and sons. The evil nature of Hallgerda, and the mischief that would arise from her, had been 'overspoken' when she was still a child; and after her marriage with Gunnar, Njal, who was possessed of a mysterious knowledge, frequently noticed in the Sagas and which seems greatly to have resembled the second sight of the Gael, declared that she 'would cause very near' to spoil the friendship between himself and Gunnar, who, he added, 'would have always to make amends for her.' Death after death, murder after murder, resulted from the quarrel which soon fell out between Hallgerda and Bergthora, the wife of Njal; but the friendship was not broken. 'I will hold so my righteousness to thee,' said Njal, when the feud had long been raging, 'and my brother-in-law; and both he and Gunnar, who might have chosen to receive compensation for the frequent slaying of kinsmen and house-fellows, generally settled the blood-tie between themselves,

themselves, until Gunnar, hard beset and injured, took to avenge his own wrongs, though unwillingly. 'I would like to know,' he asked, 'whether I am by so much the less brisk and bold than other men, because I think more of killing men than they?'—(i. 177.)

At last a great fight took place on the Rangriver, at which Gunnar and his brothers killed many of their enemies. At the following Althing atonement for this loss of life was decreed; and Gunnar was ordered into exile for three years. But his heart yearned to his home, and he disobeyed the sentence.

Njal, the 'far-seer,' had predicted that if Gunnar broke his atonement he would be slain 'here in the land; and that is ill-knowing for those who are thy friends.' Njal was a true prophet. During the next summer's 'Thing,' Gizur the White summoned all Gunnar's foes to meet in the 'Almannagya,' the great volcanic rift which bounds the plain of the Althing on its eastern side. At that meeting an onslaught was planned against Gunnar. Njal warned him of it in vain; and in the autumn Gizur the White and his company rode to Lithend and attacked the house by night. There, after Aunund of Witchwood had killed Sam, Gunnar's Irish hound, who gave 'such a great howl that they thought it passing strange'—

'Gunnar woke up in his hall, and said—

' "Thou hast been sorely treated, Sam, my fosterling; and this warning is so meant that our deaths will not be far apart. . . ."

'Gunnar slept in a loft above the hall, and so did Hallgerda and his mother. . . .

'Thorgrim the Easterling went and began to climb up on the hall. Gunnar sees that a red kirtle passed before the window-slit, and thrusts out the bill, and smote him on the middle. Thorgrim's feet slipped from under him, and he dropped his shield, and down he toppled from the roof.

'Then he goes to Gizur and his band, as they sat on the ground.

'Gizur looked at him, and said—

' "Well, is Gunnar at home?"

' "Find out that for yourselves," said Thorgrim; "but this I am sure of, that his bill is at home."

'And with that he fell down dead.'—(vol. i. p. 242.)

The foes attacked the house, and at last pulled off the roof of the hall with ropes. Gunnar wounded eight men and killed two, and got himself two wounds; 'and all men said that he never once winced either at wounds or death.' His life might yet have been saved but for the malice of the wicked Hallgerda. His bow-string had been cut in two by Thorbrand, who in return had been cleft asunder by the famous bill:—

'Then

‘Then Gunnar said to Hallgerda, “Give me two locks of thy hair, and ye two, my mother and thou, twist them together into a bowstring for me.”

‘“Does aught lie on it?” she says.

‘“My life lies on it,” he said; “for they will never come to close quarters with me if I can help them off with my bow.”

‘“Well,” she says, “now I will call to mind that slap on the face which thou gavest me; and I care never a whit whether thou holdest out a long while or a short.”’—(vol. i. p. 245.)

In spite of Hallgerda’s refusal, Gunnar kept his foes all off until he fell worn out with toil:—

‘Then they wounded him with many and great wounds, but still he got away out of their hands, and held his own against them a while longer, but at last it came about that they slew him.

‘Then Gizur spoke and said, “We have now laid low on earth a mighty chief, and hard work it has been, and the fame of this defence of his shall last as long as men live in this land.”

‘After that he went to see Rannveig (Gunnar’s mother), and said, “Wilt thou grant us earth here for two of our men who are dead, that they may lie in a cairn here?”

‘“All the more willingly for two,” she says, “because I wish with all my heart I had to grant it all of you.”

‘“It must be forgiven thee,” he says, “to speak thus, for thou hast had a great loss.”

‘Then he gave orders that no man should spoil or rob anything there.

‘After that they went away.’—(vol. i. pp. 246, 247.)

Will not Mr. Maclise, who some time since showed us so admirably the deeds of Gunnar’s brethren at Hastings, trace the line a little higher up, and show us the death of Gunnar himself at Lithend?*

Gunnar fell in the year 990. There is no indication in the Saga of his having been brought more directly under Christian influence than appears in his noble character; yet, nearly ten years before his death, the first definite attempt at the conversion of the island had been made. We must return to Thorwald Kodranson, the ‘far-farer,’ whom we have already encountered as one of the best of heathen Vikings. In one of his many wanderings Thorwald visited the country of the Saxons, and was there converted and baptized by a priest named Frederick. Neither

* Mr. Metcalfe, who gives (*‘Oxonian in Iceland,’* p. 364) a very interesting account of the present state of Lithend, tells us that the cairn in which the hero was buried sitting upright, and in which he was heard singing after his burial (Saga, ch. 77), is still pointed out, near the traditional site of his skáli, or hall. ‘To the right of the path which leads thither, a little mound marks the resting-place of the faithful Sam, his big Irish hound.’

country nor priest can be distinctly recognised from the brief notice of the Saga; but, although we should gladly believe that the 'country of the Saxons' was England, and that Frederick was an Englishman, it is more probable that the Saxon country is to be sought on the borders of the Elbe, and that the priest belonged to the Archiepiscopal Church of Hamburg—the outpost which Charlemagne had founded, and which had long served as a great missionary station for the conversion of the North. A bull of Pope Gregory IV. appointed the first Archbishop, St. Anschar, and his successors, 'legates' and missionaries over the whole of Northern Europe; and it was possibly with the permission of Adeldag, then Archbishop of Hamburg, that Frederick, after consecration as 'chorepiscopus,' set out with his new convert Thorwald for Iceland in the spring of the year 981.

Thorwald's home was at Gilia in Vatnsdal, in the northern division of the island; and although, from the bishop's ignorance of Norse, Thorwald was obliged to act as interpreter, a considerable effect was at once produced throughout the district. Three of the most wealthy landowners were baptized; another consented to receive the 'primsignaz;' and during the following winter, Kodran, the father of Thorwald, who had been a Viking of no small reputation, changed his faith and was baptized with all his household, one son, Örm, alone excepted. According to the Sagas, the conversion of the old Viking was the result of a struggle between the Christian bishop and a household spirit (*fylgia*?) especially honoured by Kodran. The home of the spirit, who protected the household and the flocks of Kodran, and who predicted future events for him, was a great block of stone in the Vatnsdal. Bishop Frederick, wearing his episcopal robes, went to it in solemn procession, and, after chanting over the stone, sprinkled it with holy water. On the following night the spirit, who seems to have been a true Northern elf, presented himself to Kodran, all sad and trembling, and reproached him with the wrong he had permitted. 'The men thou hast brought here,' he complained, 'have poured hot water on my house, and my children have been scalded by the drops which fell through the roof. It has not hurt me much; but it is hard to bear the crying of the bairns.' Twice again the bishop sprinkled the stone; and twice again the spirit appeared to Kodran, each time with sadder looks, and with dress more stained and tattered. 'This Christian bishop,' he said, 'has spoilt my house and my clothes, and has scalded me and my children, so that we can never be cured. Now we must go far into the mountains.*' The stone itself

* Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, ch. 131.

split into fragments ;* and Kodran, who recognised the superior power of the bishop, was immediately baptized.

For four succeeding winters the head-quarters of Thorwald and Bishop Frederick were at Lækiamot in Vididal. During the summers they passed far and wide throughout the island ; but the results of their teaching were most evident in the Northern quarter, where it had commenced. Many idols had been destroyed, and the temple offerings were beginning to fail, and Thorwald Spakbodvarson had built the first Christian church at As, on the bank of the Hialtadal river, where its site is still pointed out. It was served by one of the priests of Bishop Frederick's following. This church, built, like their own temples, of drift wood, and roofed with turf, was a perpetual eyesore to the heathens of the district ; and Klaufi, one of the chief men of the quarter, made two attempts to destroy it, both of which were, according to the Saga, miraculously averted. The church had probably been watched by Thorwald ; and, with the exception of a few fresh sods now and then added to the roof, this first rude resting-place of the faith in Iceland remained as Thorwald had built it for some centuries after the conversion of the whole country.† A relic of Bishop Frederick's time may still be seen at Hvamm, the settlement of Aud the wealthy. On the church-door is fastened a ring, which is said to have belonged to the old heathen temple, in which Fridgerda, wife of the then lord of Hvamm, was heard loudly invoking the ancient deities, whilst the Saxon bishop was preaching close without.‡

It was after their success in the northern quarter that Bishop Frederick and Thorwald appeared at the Althing, and that Thorwald, with the bishop at his side, addressed the people from that famous 'Logberg'—the hill of the law—which still rises, in the midst of its lava rifts, at the head of the lake of Thingvalla. As before, Thorwald acted as interpreter ; and the heathen party, with a certain Hedinn as their chief, assailed him so bitterly with mocking rhymes—a favourite Icelandic weapon—that the old Viking spirit was roused once more in the breast of the Christian Thorwald, who killed two men before the close of the Althing. Little seems to have been effected by the bishop's appearance on the Law-Mount. The heathens were as yet in full strength ; and

* Kristni-Saga, ch. 2. The story is remarkable for its close resemblance to later folk-lore.

† Thorwald Spakbodvarson, the builder of this church, is generally said to have been converted by Bishop Frederick. Others, however (and apparently with reason), assert that he was converted in England, and that he brought from this country the materials for the first Christian church in Iceland (Olaf's Saga, ch. 226).

‡ Kristni-Saga ; Metcalfe, 'Oxonian in Iceland,' p. 279.

although

although a certain fear of the Christians—probably from an idea of their skill as magicians—seems to have prevailed, they were unable to appear again at the Althing. Thorwald and the bishop were declared legally guilty of the two deaths; and at the next year's Althing a company of the chief men set out for Lækiamot to burn the bishop, which they would have done had they not been 'thrown into confusion' by the way. Bishop Frederick, however, seems to have perceived that his further labours at this time would be in vain. After passing four years in Iceland, he crossed to Norway with Thorwald. There, as their ship was still in the haven, Thorwald was told that Hedinn, the Icelander who had taunted him at the Althing, was on shore and close at hand. The spirit of revenge leaped again to life; and, accompanied by a single thrall, Thorwald laid wait for Hedinn and killed him. Seeing him 'so greedy of revenge,' the bishop broke up the brotherhood and returned south to 'Saxland,' where he died, says the Saga, 'truly a saint-like man.' The end of Thorwald the 'far-farer,' the best of Vikings, if but an imperfect Christian, is not so certain. The *Kristni-Saga* asserts that, after long wanderings in the Holy Land and elsewhere, he 'received Christ's quiet' in Russia, and was buried in a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist on the top of a mountain, near which he had built a monastery. There he was himself reckoned among the saints.* Others assert that he served for some time in the Varangian Guard at Byzantium, and that he built there a monastery, in which he became a monk.†

Ten years passed away after the departure of Bishop Frederick, before a second attempt was made to convert the island. In the mean time Olaf Tryggvason, the royal 'Apostle' of Norway, had been converted and baptized in one of the Scilly Islands (A.D. 993).‡ Two years later (995) Olaf became King of Norway, and commenced at once the introduction of Christianity throughout his dominions at the point of the sword. Before his return Olaf had received among his followers an Icelander named Stefner, who had been converted in Denmark, where he had fallen in with Thorwald the 'far-farer,' after his separation from Bishop Frederick. With him Stefner had made a pilgrimage to the

* *Kristni-Saga*, ch. 12. 'He was honoured by all bishops and abbots throughout the Greek empire, and throughout Syria.' *Olaf Tryggvason's Saga*, ch. 138.

† F. Johannæus, *Hist. Eccles. Islandiæ*, i. p. 47.

‡ *Olaf's Saga*, ch. 78, 79. According to the Saga, Olaf was persuaded to embrace Christianity by a hermit on another of the islands, who was also a 'spaeman,' and foretold much of his future life. He was baptized by the abbot of a rich monastery. The only monastic establishment in Scilly of which any record survives was a cell of Tavistock Abbey, that certainly existed on the island of Iniscaw before the Conquest.

East, and to the 'holy places.' At Olaf's request he now proceeded to Iceland as a Christian missionary. But Stefner's Christianity was scarcely more advanced than that of the royal Viking; and after a bad reception from the inhabitants, and after preaching in vain along the northern and southern coasts, he attempted stronger measures, and proceeded to burn the temples and to destroy the images of the gods. This violent argument, which Olaf managed with tolerable success in Norway, was not duly appreciated in Iceland. Stefner was set upon by the fierce worshippers of Odin and of Thor, and escaped with difficulty to Kialarnes, where he lay hid for some time among his own kinsmen. During the winter his ship, which had been laid up at the mouth of the Gufa river, was driven out to sea. The god Freyr—'all-rikr Freyr'—Freyr the 'all rich' or all-powerful—thus avenged himself, according to the verse-makers, for the insult which had been offered his dominions. The ship, however, was thrown back on the coast, shattered, but capable of repair; and in the following summer Stefner, from her deck, looked for the last time on the snowy peaks of the Icelandic Jökulls. At the previous Althing a law had been passed forbidding 'fire and water' to all those who should preach or embrace the new faith, and ordering the kinsmen of the offender to take up the action against him at the Law-Mount. In this manner Stefner had been accused and exiled.

Up to this time the heathen party was by far the most powerful. In the old religion of the Northmen there was a certain recognition of its own imperfection;* but there was a strong feeling that the teaching of the 'White Christ' would weaken the arm of those who listened to it; and it has been suggested that the systematic descents of the Northmen on the coasts of Western Europe were undertaken, not from love of plunder only, but from a strong feeling of the opposition of the Christian faith to the fierce, death-despising spirit of the true son of Odin.† Besides this general hatred of Christianity, there was in Iceland a distrust of any change introduced from Norway; and the threatened loss of the temple-offerings no doubt influenced the 'hofmen' or priests, always the chief personages of the district.

In spite of all this, however, the year after Stefner had been driven from Iceland, Olaf despatched thither a second missionary, whose Christianity was at least as fiercely muscular as that of his predecessor. This was a priest named Thangbrand,

* Dasent, 'Burnt Njal,' i. p. xvi.

† See Mr. Dasent's 'Norsemens in Iceland,' in the *Oxford Essays for 1858*, p. 166.

son of Wilibald Count of Bremen, and a 'clerk' of Adalbert, Bishop of Aros in Jutland. Bishop Adalbert, attended by a large 'following,' in which Thangbrand was included, once, it is said, visited his brother Hubert, Bishop of 'Kantaraborg,' or Canterbury.* Hubert distributed rich gifts to his guests on their departure; and when he came to Thangbrand, he said, 'Thou followest the fashions of a knight, although thou art a clerk; therefore I give thee this shield, on which is marked the holy cross, with the likeness of Our Lord Christ. It will remind thee of thine office.' It afterwards fell out that Olaf Tryggvason, during one of his forays in 'Saxland,' encountered Thangbrand, bearing this very shield. Struck with its device, he asked 'Who it was that Christian men thus revered?' 'Our Lord Jesus Christ,' answered Thangbrand. 'And what had he done,' asked Olaf, 'that he was thus tormented?' Then Thangbrand, says the Saga, 'explained to him with great care the passion of Our Lord, and all the marvels of the Cross;' and Olaf, before leaving him, bought his shield for a great heap of silver, bidding Thangbrand come to him if he were ever in need of a protector. Afterwards Olaf was baptized in Scilly; and Thangbrand, whose priesthood sat but lightly on him, bought with the Viking's silver a goodly Irish damsel, whom he took to his home. For a manslaughter committed on account of this fair 'mey,' Thangbrand was obliged to leave Denmark. He sought and found Olaf Tryggvason, then on the English coast, and, returning with him to Norway, was made priest of a little church on the island of Mostr, on the north coast—the first Christian church in Norway.†

As priest of Mostr, Thangbrand's piratical instincts were soon brought into full play. Olaf, to whom the inhabitants complained, sent for him, and, as a punishment, imposed on him the preaching of Christianity in Iceland, whence Stefner had just returned. A good ship was provided for the new missionary, who set out for Iceland in 997 with many companions, priests and laymen, among whom was an Icelander named Gudleif, 'a great manslayer, and one of the strongest of men, and hardy and forward in everything.'‡ 'Thangbrand was a tall man,' says the Saga, 'and strong, skilful of speech, a good clerk, and a good warrior; able for all manly sports, and firm of mind, albeit a teacher of the faith. Not provoking others; but once angered, and he would yield to no man in deeds or in words.'§

* The name is so given in the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, and in the Kristni-Saga. Hubert cannot be identified with any Archbishop of Canterbury, nor can he have been a suffragan bishop of St. Martin's, as the editor of the Kristni-Saga suggests.

† Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, ch. 99.

‡ 'Burnt Njal,' ii. p. 64.

§ Olaf's Saga, ch. 188.

We are now brought again into the company of the Njala, which records the arrival and the deeds of Thangbrand. His ship came to land at Berufirth, on the eastern coast. Two brothers, who dwelt there, forbade the people of the district to have any dealings with the new comers. But Hall of the Side, who was then at Thvattwater, not far south of Berufirth, and who was evidently not unfavourable to the new faith, received them kindly, and was baptized with all his household.

The following spring Thangbrand set out to preach Christianity, accompanied by Hall:—

‘When they came west across Lonsheath to Staffell, there they found a man dwelling named Thorkell. He spoke most against the faith, and challenged Thangbrand to single combat. Then Thangbrand bore a rood-cross before his shield, and the end of their combat was that Thangbrand won the day and slew Thorkell.’*

Many households were baptized; and the heathen party were not a little disturbed at the success of the new missionary:—

‘There was a man named Sorcerer Hedinn, who dwelt in Carlinedale. There heathen men made a bargain with him that he should put Thangbrand to death with all his company. He fared upon Arnstacks-Heath, and there made a great sacrifice when Thangbrand was riding from the east. Then the earth burst asunder under his horse, but he sprang off his horse, and saved himself on the brink of the gulf; but the earth swallowed up the horse and all his harness, and they never saw him more.

‘Then Thangbrand praised God.

‘Gudleif now searches for Sorcerer Hedinn, and finds him on the heath, and chases him down into Carlinedale, and got within spear-shot of him, and shoots a spear at him and through him.’†

Others, who ‘spoke against the faith,’ were killed by Thangbrand and the fierce ‘manslayer’ Gudleif; and in the south they made one convert of great importance. This was Njal, the hero of the Saga which bears his name; the gentlest and the wisest man in all the island. Long before, when men had said in Njal’s hearing that it was ‘a strange and wicked thing to throw off the old faith,’ he had answered them, ‘It seems to me as though this new faith must be much better, and he will be happy who follows this rather than the other; and if those men come out hither who preach this faith, then I will back them well.’ ‘He went often alone away from other men, and muttered to himself.’‡

Now, Njal ‘took the faith, and all his house,’ and was of great service at the ensuing Althing, when Thangbrand ‘spoke

* ii. p. 66.

† ii. p. 67-8.

‡ ii. p. 63.

boldly' for Christianity, and the heathens would have fallen on him had not Njal and the 'Eastfirthers' stood by him. At this Althing Hjalldi, Skeggi's son, sang a mocking rhyme on the Hill of Laws—

'Ever will I gods blaspheme;
Freyja, methinks, a dog doth seem;
Freyja a dog? Ay! let them be
Both dogs together, Odin and she.'

—An allusion, it has been suggested, to some mythological legend which has not come down to us. For this outrage he was exiled, and 'fared abroad' that summer, accompanied by Gizur the White.

In the mean time Thangbrand's ship, like Stefner's before him, 'was wrecked away east, at Bulandsness, and the ship's name was Bison.' Thangbrand himself passed through the western and northern quarters, in both of which he baptized many households. Here, however, he attacked and killed, whilst cutting turf with his house-carles, Veturlid the Scald, who had made rhymes on him.

He was in effect compelled to leave Iceland, since he had been exiled at the Althing on account of his many manslaughters. Although Thangbrand's Christianity was evidently of the rudest, and his mode of proceeding by no means conciliatory, he seems to have advanced the cause of the new faith more than a step, and his name still figures in Icelandic folk-lore.

Thangbrand returned at once to Norway; Hjalldi and Gizur the White also reached Nidaros, the harbour of Tronjheim, in the autumn of 999. There they fell in with many Icelanders, among whom was Kiartan, son of Olaf the Peacock; and there they found Olaf Tryggvason himself. Thangbrand had reported his ill success to the king, adding, that it seemed impossible to make Christianity the law of Iceland. Olaf, seized with a true Viking's frenzy, ordered all the Icelanders in the harbour to be imprisoned, and threatened them with loss of limbs and with death. But Gizur and Hjalldi, accompanied by other Icelanders who had embraced Christianity, presented themselves before the king, and reminded him of his promise, made long before, that any man, whatever his crime might be, should receive 'peace' and go free if he would only consent to become a Christian. Thangbrand, they said, had lived as turbulently in Iceland as he had done in Norway. He had killed men instead of persuading them. With time and good management the king might yet see his desire fulfilled. Olaf finally consented to admit the Icelanders to his 'peace' provided Gizur and Hjalldi would undertake a third mission to the island. Four of the noblest Icelanders, one of whom

whom was Kiartan, were to remain with Olaf as hostages. Gizur consented; and after remaining at Tronjheim in great honour as the king's guests all that winter, during which many of the Icelanders in Norway were baptized, he and Hjalalti set out for Iceland in the spring of the year 1000. A priest named Thormod, and many other ecclesiastics, went with them; and the king gave them timber for building a church on the spot where they should first land. After a ten-weeks' voyage they arrived at the Westmann Islands—those tall, dark, basaltic masses which lie off the southern coast of Iceland, and are within sight of the principal places celebrated in the Njala. On the northern point of Hörgaeyre, where the heathen stone of sacrifice had hitherto stood, they laid the foundations of King Olaf's church, and, after a stay of two days on the Westmannaeyar, crossed to the mainland.

Before reaching the Westmann Islands, however, as their ship rounded the cliffs of Dyrholm, it had been seen by Flosi 'the burner'—so called from the share which he afterwards had in the burning of Njal, who was riding across Arnstacks-Heath on his way to the Althing. From men whom he sent off to the ship, Flosi learnt the cause of its arrival, as well as all that had passed in Norway. One of the hostages retained by Olaf was his own brother Kolbein; and Flosi, who had received the 'primsignaz' from Thangbrand, but had not yet declared himself a Christian, rode on to the Thing and spread the news.

Hjalalti and Gizur, with a company of thirty men, crossed from the islands on the very day that men from all that part of the country were journeying to the Althing. There they determined to proceed at once; but that strip of the southern coast was under the rule of Runolf the priest, who had been Hjalalti's accuser for his attack on Odin and Freya, and no one would supply the newcomers with horses, or would even set them across the Rang-river. They went on foot, therefore, to the house of the next proprietor, who mounted them. At Laugardal, the Geyser valley which lies in the direct road, they persuaded Hjalalti, who, having been legally exiled, had something to fear from Runolf and his personal enemies, to remain, with a following of twelve men, until Gizur should get the 'peace' of the Thing for him. The rest rode on to the hot spring called the 'Boiling Kettle,' close above the Raven-rift, the great volcanic 'cleft' which bounds the Thingfield on the south. Thence they sent word to the Christians, and to those of their friends who were already at the Thing, to come to meet them; for the heathen party had been greatly enraged at Flosi's news, and threatened to prevent by force the appearance of Gizur at the Law-Mount. Hjalalti him-
self

self came up at the same moment, declaring that he would run all risks; and the whole company, now of considerable strength, with spears in warlike array, and with much glancing of gold and red kirtles, descended together the steep side of the Raven-rift.

The scene which opened to them at the top of the rift has been little changed, and is familiar to us from the descriptions of recent tourists.* Immediately below spread the green plain of the Thingfield, dotted with birch coppice, and extending southward to the broad lake of Thingvalla. At the back of the plain a mass of rugged lava stretches upward to the snowy cone of the Skjaldbreid mountain, from which all the lava of the district has flowed, and to which is owing the singular depression of the Thingfield itself. Spiral columns of steam ascend from the cones and craters which fringe the lake; and at a distance of about three miles across the plain Hjalldi could see the Law-Mount, the scene of his coming struggle, the booths of the Thingmen stretching along the banks of the Oxara river, and the black walls of the Almannagya—the ‘All-men’s Rift’—closing in the Thingfield on the north. Between the birch wood and along the shore of the lake the new comers rode until they reached the booth of Asgrim, sister’s son of Gizur. The heathen party, fully armed, gathered in knots, and looked threateningly; but the night passed over without a skirmish.

On the following morning the priest Thormod sang mass in the Westfirding’s booth, above the Oxara river; and thence the Christians proceeded, in solemn procession, to the Hill of Laws. Seven ecclesiastics, duly vested, led the way, two of whom carried a pair of great crosses, the height of one measuring that of King Olaf Tryggvason—of the other, that of Hjalldi himself. Clouds of incense-smoke, the scent of which spread far in the clear sharp air, rose from their swinging thuribles.† The whole Thing was collected about the Law-Mount; and no attempt was made to prevent the entrance of Hjalldi and his companions by the narrow tongue of land which alone gives access to the Logberg, separated from the plain on all other sides by deep volcanic fissures. On the Mount Hjalldi and Gizur both spoke ‘well and boldly’—so well and so boldly, that, according to the Saga, their

* By far the best and most minute ‘topography of the Thingfield’ is given, with excellent plans, by Mr. Dasent, in the Introduction to ‘Burnt Njal’ (vol. i.). Both Captain Forbes and Mr. Metcalfe supply some interesting details; but better than either of their descriptions is that of Lord Dufferin, in his ‘Letters from High Latitudes.’

† It is especially said that the perfume spread against the wind as well as with it (Kristni-Saga, ch. xi.).

enemies had not a word of reply, and were reduced to loud shouting and tumult, both Christians and heathens declaring that they would no longer submit to the same general laws. In the midst of the confusion 'came a man running in' with the news that 'earth-fire'—a lava-stream—had just broken out in the district of Ölfus, and was threatening to destroy the homestead of Thorodd the priest. 'What marvel,' shouted the heathens, 'if the gods are angry when such words as we have heard are spoken on the Law-Mount?' But Snorri, the priest—'the wisest and shrewdest of all those men in Iceland who had not the gift of foresight,' says the *Njal's Saga*—answered: 'With whom were the gods angry when this very rock on which we are standing was in flames?'—a question to which the others seem to have found no reply.

It is clear from the whole story of Hjalld's reception that Christianity had already well leavened the island. Probably more than half the chief proprietors had either been baptized or had received the *primsignaz*. After the stormy scene at the Mount, therefore, when all had returned to the booths, the Christians entreated Hall of Side, one of the most powerful of their number, to demand for them a body of laws 'such as Christian men might follow.' The system of ancient law, upon which all Icelandic life and society depended, would no longer hold good for both parties, especially since the direct prohibition of Christianity at the Althing. Hall accordingly, with a 'half-hundred of silver' in his hand, sought Thorgeir, the priest of Lightwater, at this time the 'Speaker of the Law,' and still unbaptized, though evidently not indisposed toward the new faith, and persuaded him for that sum (which was apparently his lawful fee) to devise a system of laws which should bear equally on Christians and heathens.* Thorgeir retired to his booth, where he lay stretched on his bed, with his head covered, for two days and a night—a method of self-concentration which, up to a late period, according to Martin, was usual in Skye and the Western Islands.

In the mean time the heathens, reduced almost to despair, determined to make a great sacrifice to the gods, and to offer two human victims from each of the four quarters of Iceland, in the

* The Speaker of the Law was in effect the President of the Althing. 'To him all who were in need of a legal opinion, or of information as to what was and was not law, had a right to turn during the meeting of the Althing.' He was expressly excluded from all share in the executive, but 'had the whole control of the law of the land during the annual fortnight to which the legal existence of the commonwealth was limited.'—*Dasent*, I. lvii, lviii. Hence his great influence on this occasion.

hope that Odin and Thor would then interfere, and prevent Christianity from 'going over all the land.' Gizur and Hjalldi immediately assembled the Christians, and declared that they too would make as solemn a sacrifice, and one with an equal number of victims. The heathens, they said, sacrificed the worst of men, and flung them from rocks and precipices; they would choose the very best and noblest, who should in truth be offerings to Christ—'gifts of victory'—and bind themselves, not indeed to die, but to lead better and worthier lives. Gizur and Hjalldi offered themselves for their own quarter; Hall of the Side and Thorleif of Krossavik for the eastern; and of the others, one was Orm, Kodran's son, brother of Thorwald the 'far-farer,' who, when the rest of his father's household were baptized by Bishop Frederick, had refused to accept the new faith, and had withdrawn from the district: he was now baptized at his own request, and was numbered among the Christian 'victims.'

The offerings to Thor and Odin, however, were never made. Thorgeir, the Speaker of the Law, rose at last from his bed, and summoned all who were present at the Thing to assemble about the Law-Mount. There he spoke to them at length, and told them what great troubles hung over the land if men would not bind themselves to obey the same laws. There would be ceaseless feuds and manslaughters, and the island would at last become desolate. The only way to avoid these troubles was to frame such new rules as should bear equally on all, and as both parties would agree to observe. 'The Divine Grace,' says the monk of the Olaf's Saga, 'gave so mighty an effect to the words of Thorgeir,' that both heathens and Christians consented to receive as law whatever he should decree; and Thorgeir accordingly pronounced from the summit of the Logberg the ordinances which—as far as outward forms were concerned—made Iceland a Christian country. All, without exception, throughout the island, were to be baptized, and to 'believe in one God.' Heathen temples were everywhere to be destroyed. Whoever was found publicly sacrificing to the ancient deities was to be exiled; but it was allowable for any one to do so in private. The old laws concerning the exposition of infants and the eating of horse-flesh were to remain in force; together with such other customs as were not openly opposed to Christianity.* 'Thorgeir,' says the Njal's

* Thorgeir's ordinances are thus given in both the Kristni and the Olaf Sagas, which are followed by Finn Jonsson in his *Historia Eccles. Islandicæ*. The Njal's Saga asserts that the exposition of children and the eating of horseflesh were also forbidden, 'unless done by stealth, when they should be blameless' (ch. ci.). The exposition of children—which arose from the legal right of the father,

Njal's Saga, 'then uttered the law as to keeping the Lord's-day and fast-days, Yule-tide and Easter, and all the greatest high days and holidays.'

Such was the new faith to which the Icelanders bound themselves at the persuasion of Thorgeir, Speaker of the Law. It was confessedly a compromise: Thorgeir, it must be remembered, was himself a heathen; and the greater part of those who now received baptism regarded it, in all probability, much as the 'primsignaz' had hitherto been looked upon, only as a ceremony which prevented the breaking up of the commonwealth. But heathenism now received a fatal blow; although it was, no doubt, long before its traces ceased to be distinctly recognizable—

'Ere, from Bethabara northward, heavenly Truth,
With even steps winning her difficult way,
Transferred their rude faith perfected and pure.'*

'Through the grace and mercy of the Lord,' says the Olaf's Saga, those heathen practices which were now permitted—the secret worship of the old gods, the exposition of infants, and the use of horse-flesh—disappeared within a few winters. But it was not so easy to displace the inner spirit of the old creed of the Northmen. Most of the heathens present at the Althing were baptized in the lake of Thingvalla; but the plunge into cold water was in general so greatly dreaded, that permission was given to use the hot springs of Reykiadal and Laugardal as baptismal 'fonts.' It was on the 24th of June, the festival of St. John the Baptist—when, according to the belief of the heathen North, the hosts of the unseen world were especially powerful—in the year 1000, that Christianity was thus 'brought into the law;' and within a very short time afterwards nearly all the inhabitants of the island had been baptized. King Olaf Trygvason received the news of the conversion of Iceland just as he was leaving Nidaros in his famous ship the 'Long Worm,' on the expedition which ended in the great battle of Svoldr, during which, on the 9th of September in the same year, Olaf, like the Arthur of romance, disappeared mysteriously from the sight of men. During the five years for which he had been King of Norway, he had succeeded in introducing Christianity—rudely, but efficiently as a beginning—throughout his own country, in the Orkneys, in the Faroe Islands, in Iceland, and among the Scandinavian colonists in Greenland.

father, and from the difficulty of supporting a numerous family—prevailed in full force down to the change of faith. The horseflesh forbidden to be eaten was that of sacred horses sacrificed before the heathen altars.

* Coleridge.

For

For the character of the Christianity now adopted in Iceland we have no better witness than the *Njal's Saga*. The first part of the story ends, as we have seen, with the death of Gunnar. The Change of Faith is then briefly recorded; and the *Saga* proceeds to detail the events which brought about the burning of *Njal*—the burning itself—and the ends of the several burners. Hence the sharply-drawn characters in this second part appear under the influence of the new faith, the varying effect of which on their different natures is distinctly marked.

Skarphedinn and the other sons of *Njal* were led on, through the cunning slander of Mord, the Iago of the *Njal's Saga*, to the murder of Hauskuld, *Njal's* foster son—the 'sweetest light of his eyes'—and one to whom, as to *Njal* himself, Christianity seems to have come as something more than a form. Hauskuld, the priest of Whiteness (the title and the influence still remained, although the temples had been destroyed), was attacked in the early morning, as with his corn-sieve in one hand, and his sword in the other, he was 'sowing the corn as he went':—

" . . . Skarphedinn and his band had agreed that they would all give him a wound. Skarphedinn sprang up from behind the fence; but when Hauskuld saw him he wanted to turn away. Then Skarphedinn ran up to him and said—

"Don't try to turn on thy heel, Whiteness Priest," and hews at him; and the blow came on his head and he fell on his knees. Hauskuld said these words when he fell,—

"God help me, and forgive you!" * *

This murder sealed the fate of *Njal* and of all his family. Hauskuld had been killed in a cloak which had been given him by Flosi, the uncle of Hauskuld's wife Hildegunna. When Flosi came to her house after the murder, Hildegunna took this cloak out of her chest, where she had kept it, and

" . . . threw the cloak over Flosi, and the gore rattled down all over him.

"Then she spoke and said,

"This cloak, Flosi, thou gavest to Hauskuld, and now I will give it back to thee: he was slain in it, and I call God and all good men to witness that I adjure thee, by all the might of thy Christ, and by thy manhood and bravery, to take vengeance for all those wounds which he had on his dead body, or else to be called every man's dastard." †

Against his will, Flosi was thus drawn into the plot against *Njal*; the award for the murder was set aside at the Thing; and at a great meeting of friends and followers, summoned by Flosi

* ii. 110.

† ii. 123.

in the 'Almannagya'—the Great Rift—it was determined to make an attack on the house of Bergthorsknoll, and to kill all who were in it.

Flosi, when the appointed time had come (on a Sunday in August, 1011), 'assembled at Swinefell 'all his men who had promised him help and company,' and

'made them say prayers betimes on the Lord's day, and afterwards they sat down to meat. He spoke to his household and told them what work each was to do while he was away. After that he went to his horses. . . . They rode west to Woodcombe and came to Kirkby. Flosi then bade all men to come into the church and pray to God, and men did so.'*

Flosi's Christianity was at least not behind that of certain Northern pirates in the sixteenth century, who captured a priest in order that they might have service duly said on board their vessel every Sunday. Throughout, however, he seems to have been acting half-unwillingly. The whole band of 'burners,' one hundred and twenty in number, assembled at the 'ridge of the Three-corner,' and thence came down upon Bergthorsknoll, where grave portents had appeared, ominous of coming trouble, and where Njal, the 'foresighted man,' had long before predicted the manner of his death. On the approach of the band, Njal, his nine sons, Kari his son-in-law, and all the serving-men, who at first stood 'in array to meet them in the yard,' retired into the house and barricaded it. Many of Flosi's men were killed by spears flung from the window-slits; and at last he said,—

"We have already gotten great manscathe. . . . It is now clear that we shall never master them with weapons. . . . There are but two choices left, and neither of them good. One is to turn away, and that is our death; the other, to set fire to the house and burn them inside it; and that is a deed which we shall have to answer for heavily before God, since we are Christian men ourselves; but still we must take to that counsel."

"Now they took fire and made a great pile before the doors. Then Skarphedinn said,

"What, lads! are ye lighting a fire, or are ye taking to cooking?"

"So shall it be," answered Grani Gunnar's son, "and thou shalt not need to be better done."

* * * * *

"Then the women threw whey on the fire, and quenched it as fast as they lit it . . . and then . . . they took a vetch-stack that stood above the house, and set fire to it, and they who were inside were not aware of it till the whole hall was ablaze over their heads.

"Then Flosi and his men made a great pile before each of the

doors, and then the women-folk who were inside began to weep and to wail.

‘Njal spoke to them and said, “Keep up your hearts, nor utter shrieks, for this is but a passing storm, and it will be long before ye have another such; and put your faith in God, and believe that he is so merciful that he will not let us burn both in this world and the next.”

‘Such words of comfort had he for them all, and others still more strong.

‘Now the whole house began to blaze. Then Njal went to the door and said,

“Is Flosi so near that he can hear my voice?”

‘Flosi said that he could hear it.

“Wilt thou,” said Njal, “take an atonement from my sons, or allow any men to go out?”

“I will not,” answers Flosi, “take any atonement from thy sons, and now our dealings shall come to an end once for all, and I will not stir from this spot till they are all dead; but I will allow the women and children and house-carles to go out.”*

The women accordingly—all except Bergthora, the aged wife of Njal—went out; and with them went Helgi, Njal’s son, wrapped in a woman’s cloak. He was recognised, however, and killed by Flosi:—

‘Then Flosi went to the door and called out to Njal, and said he would speak with him and Bergthora.

‘Now Njal does so, and Flosi said,

“I will offer thee, Master Njal, leave to go out, for it is unworthy that thou shouldst burn indoors.”

“I will not go out,” said Njal, “for I am an old man, and little fitted to avenge my sons; but I will not live in shame.”†

The great duty of revenge was still a principle of life, even with so gentle-minded and thoughtful a convert as Njal.

‘Then Flosi said to Bergthora,

“Come thou out, housewife, for I will for no sake burn thee indoors.”

“I was given away to Njal young,” said Bergthora, “and I have promised him this, that we would both share the same fate.”

‘After that they both went back into the house.

“What counsel shall we now take?” said Bergthora.

“We will go to our bed,” says Njal, “and lay us down. I have long been eager for rest.”

‘Then she said to the boy Thord, Kari’s son,

“Thee will I take out, and thou shalt not burn in here.”

“Thou hast promised me this, grandmother,” says the boy, “that we should never part so long as I wished to be with thee; but methinks it is much better to die with thee and Njal than to live after you.”

* ii. 172-174.

† ii. 175.

‘ “Then

“Then she bore the boy to her bed, and Njal spoke to his steward and said,

“Now shalt thou see where we lay us down, and how I lay us out; for I mean not to stir an inch hence, whether reek or burning smart me, and so thou wilt be able to guess where to look for our bones.”

He said he would do so.

There had been an ox slaughtered, and the hide lay there. Njal told the steward to spread the hide over them, and he did so.

So there they lay down both of them in their bed, and put the boy between them. Then they signed themselves and the boy with the cross, and gave over their souls into God's hand, and that was the last word that men heard them utter.

Then the steward took the hide, and spread it over them, and went out afterwards.*

Meanwhile the house burnt, and all perished who were still within it, with the exception of Kari, who, with his clothes and his hair all a-blaze, sprang down from the roof, and ‘so crept along with the smoke.’ He ran till he came to a stream, into which he threw himself, and so ‘quenched the fire on him.’ Mr. Metcalfe tells us that the place, now a small pit in the swamp below Bergthorsknoll, is still pointed out as ‘Kari-tiörn,’ the tarn of Kari. Flosi and his band stayed by the fire until it was broad daylight. Then they rode off together. ‘Flosi never spoke about the deed, but no fear was found in him, and he was at home the whole winter till Yule was over.’

Meanwhile Kari, who had escaped, sought Hjalldi, Skeggi's son—the same whom we already know as the successful champion of the new faith at the Althing.

Kari bade Hjalldi to go and search for Njal's bones, “for all will believe in what thou sayest and thinkest about them.”

Hjalldi said he would be most willing to bear Njal's bones to church; so they rode thence fifteen men. . . . At last . . . they had one hundred men, reckoning Njal's neighbours.

They came to Bergthorsknoll at midday. Hjalldi asked Kari under what part of the house Njal might be lying, but Kari showed them to the spot, and there there was a great heap of ashes to dig away. There they found the hide underneath, and it was as though it were shrivelled with the fire. They raised up the hide, and, lo! they were unburnt under it. All praised God for that, and thought it was a great token.

Njal was borne out, and so was Bergthora; and then all men went to see their bodies.

Then Hjalldi said, “What like look to you these bodies?”

They answered, “We will wait for thy utterance.”

Then Hjalldi said, “I shall speak what I say with all freedom of speech. The body of Bergthora looks as it was likely she would

* ii. 176, 177.

look, and still fair; but Njal's body and visage seem to me so bright that I have never seen any dead man's body so bright as this."

'They all said they thought so too.' *

In all, the 'bones of nine souls' were discovered; all of which were solemnly conveyed to the churchyard and interred. During the heathen period interments had been made in cairns, not far from the dwelling. But, immediately after the reception of Christianity, churches, with the consecrated enclosure about them, were built in different parts of the island, and in spite of the difficulty of conveying the dead across flooded rivers, and over wild mountain ridges, they were now carefully laid to rest under the shadow of the holy walls. These, as they still are for the most part throughout Iceland, were of wood, either from the drift-logs brought to the coast by the Gulf-stream, or of pine and oak sent for this express purpose from Norway and Great Britain. They were roofed with turf. The churches were nowhere large—although the great landowners, no doubt, did their best for them, since they believed that as many souls would be saved by their means as the church they built could contain. In form they were probably long parallelograms, resembling the stone church of which the ruins have been found on the coast of Greenland. For a certain time after consecration these first churches were said to be 'in albis,' like men after baptism. An early Icelandic name for the altar, 'Paxspialld'—the 'table of peace'—is not apparently found elsewhere. It is eminently suggestive of what appeared to the first converts one of the greatest distinctions between the old faith and the new—the duty of abandoning revenge. Even Njal, as we have just seen, chose to die rather than to live without the power of avenging the loss of his sons. A truer Christian spirit appears in Hall of the Side, Thangbrand's earliest convert, who, when his son Ljot had been killed in a fight at the Althing, would demand no 'blood-wite' for him. 'I will put no price on my son,' he said, 'and yet will come forward and grant both pledges and peace to those who are my adversaries.' A great 'hum in his favour followed,' we are told, 'and all praised his gentleness and good will,' which few, however, were as yet found ready to imitate. But the 'peace of the Church' made a great step under Gizur, the second Bishop of Skalholt, who persuaded the Icelanders to appear without their weapons at the Althing.

On the fate of the burners, all of whom were exiled at the next Althing, we cannot dwell. Flosi himself was banished for three years, and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. Many of his followers sailed from Iceland with him. Their ship was wrecked

* ii. p. 193.

on the Orkneys, where Flosi was made Earl Sigurd's henchman, 'and soon won his way to great love with the Earl.' At Yuletide, Sigtrygg 'of the silken beard,' King of the Northmen settled in Ireland, came to seek Earl Sigurd's help in a struggle with the famous Over-king of Ireland, Brian Boromhe—'Brian of the Tribute.' Sigurd consented to assist him, and Flosi offered to join the expedition, but the Earl would not permit him, since he 'had his pilgrimage to fulfil.' Flosi then offered fifteen men of his band, whom the Earl accepted. In this manner the first race of Icelandic converts were represented in 'Brian's Battle,' where, in Mr. Dasent's words, 'the old and new faith met in the lists, face to face, for their last struggle.'

'King Sigtrygg's stronghold was the fort at Dublin, near the bridge, and thither by Palm Sunday the whole heathen host had met; but Brian, warned in time by Ospak, was not only ready to meet them, should they fall upon him, but ready to march against and fall upon them. He, too, on Palm Sunday had gathered the Christian host in his leaguer at Clontarf, and so the two armies lay watching one another through Passion week. Brodir, skilled in sorcery, betook himself to his black arts, and from the first got little comfort either for himself or his brothers in arms. If the battle were fought before Good Friday, the heathen host would be utterly routed and lose its chiefs; but if the struggle were delayed till Good Friday, then King Brian would fall, but still win the day. On Good Friday, then, which fell in 1014 on the 18th of April, the heathen made up their minds to fight; and that nothing might be wanting to stamp the struggle with the seal of the ancient faith, Odin himself, as the legend darkly hints, rode up, as we are told in many like stories, on an apple-grey horse, holding a halbert in his hand, and held a council of war with Kornlada, King Sigtrygg, and the other chiefs;—one of the last appearances of the god of battles struggling with the fate which now at last had overtaken him, and helping his own on the very eve of battle with his comfort and advice. Nor were other tokens wanting. In Iceland itself, at Swinefell, where Flosi and the burners had so long stayed, blood burst out on the priest's vestments on Good Friday; and at Thvattwater, Hall's abode, on the same day, the priest saw an abyss open hard by the altar as he sang mass, in which were strange and awful things. The Northern mind plainly long looked on Brian's battle as a blow that went home to the heart of many a household. In Caithness, and in other parts of the west, the Valkyries, Odin's corse-choosing maidens, were seen, twelve of them riding together, dismounting, entering a bower, setting up their mystic loom, and there weaving out of the entrails of men, with swords for their shuttles, that grim Woof of War, which is at once one of the last, as it is one of the grandest flights of the Scandinavian Swan-maiden, ere she wing her way for ever from the world, together with the faith to which she and that wild strain of melody belonged.'*

* Vol. i., *Introd.* cxciv-vi.

This is the famous Ode which was translated by Gray from Bartholin's Latin version. As given in the *Njal's Saga*, the 'Woof' has been admirably rendered by Mr. Dasent.

The issue of the battle was as Brodir had foreseen. He himself killed King Brian, but was taken and tortured to death in revenge. One passage from the description of the fight in the *Saga* we must quote. The account was probably brought back to Iceland by Thorstein, Hall of the Side's son, who figures in it:—

"Then Earl Sigurd called on Thorstein, the son of Hall of the Side, to bear his banner [the famous raven banner, wrought by his mother with mighty skill]; and Thorstein was just about to lift the banner, but then Asmund the White said—

"Don't bear the banner; for all they who bear it get their death."

"Hrafn the Red!" called out Earl Sigurd; "bear thou the banner."

"Bear thine own devil thyself," answered Hrafn.

"Then the Earl said—

"'Tis fittest that the beggar should bear the bag;" and with that he took the banner from the staff and put it under his cloak.

"A little after Asmund the White was slain, and then the Earl was pierced through with a spear.

"Then flight broke out throughout all the host.

"Thorstein, Hall of the Side's son, stood still while all the others fled, and tied his shoe-string. Then Kerthialfad asked why he ran not as the others.

"Because," said Thorstein, "I can't get home to-night, since I am at home out in Iceland."

"Kerthialfad gave him peace.

"Hrafn the Red was chased out into a certain river; he thought he saw there the pains of hell down below him, and he thought the devils wanted to drag him to them.

"Then Hrafn said—

"Thy dog, Apostle Peter, hath run twice to Rome, and he would run the third time if thou gavest him leave."

"Then the devils let him loose, and Hrafn got across the river."*

The result of Brian's battle was thus complete victory for neither side. Christianity had still a long course to run before its teaching could shine out in its true purity; and in Iceland, as elsewhere throughout the North, the old faith underlay the new, chequering it strangely.

The first Icelandic bishop was Isleif, son of Gizur the White, Hjalldi's companion on the Law-Mount. He had been educated

* 'Oxonian in Iceland,' p. 74.

for the priesthood at Erfurth, in Thuringia, one of the great schools of the time, and brought back to his own country a wide reputation for learning. John, the first bishop of Holar, who was brought up by him, used to say, 'whenever he heard of those who were goodly to look upon, or of great skill in any way, "Such was Isleif the bishop, my foster-father, the goodliest and most skilful of men."' His son Gizur succeeded him, and established the see at Skalholt. A second Icelandic bishopric, for the northern division of the island, was soon afterwards established at Holar, with a great-grandson of Hall of the Side for its first bishop.

Ecclesiology is by no means a strong point with the most recent Icelandic tourists, and their descriptions give us but vague ideas of the present state of the churches throughout the island, or of their antiquity and architectural character. According to Mr. Metcalfe, indeed, there is but little to say about them. They are almost all new, and of wood; 'they don't look like churches. They might be so many wooden warehouses, with their square-headed windows and utter want of architecture.' Such, he tells us, is the present church of Thingvalla, which occupies the site of the old heathen temple, near the mouth of the Oxara river. The materials for the first church here, together with a great bell, were sent from Norway by St. Olaf. This building was destroyed by a tempest; and a second, the timber for which was the offering of the Norwegian King Harald Sigurdson, shared the same fate.

Another site on the Thingfield has a still higher interest than that of the church. The two great crosses brought to Iceland by Gizur and Hjalldi, and borne before them on the Law-Mount, were afterwards fixed in the rock, where they remained for some centuries. The place of that which measured the height of Olaf Tryggvason is still pointed out as the 'Cleft of the Cross.'

The two ancient cathedrals of Iceland have altogether fallen from their high estate.

'Skalholt, that is the single farm-house now representing the place, stands on an eminence just in the fork formed by the junction of the Bruará and Hvítá, and overshadowed on the south by the tall Vordufell. As may at once be perceived, the site of the episcopal residence was chosen with great tact and forethought. In the first place, there was abundance of grass in the fertile Biskupstunga to fatten the bees and palfreys of the bishops. And as for fish, there were waters enough around to supply the extensive demand, and hot springs to cook them when caught, or, if requisite, to wash the ecclesiastics. But what was of great importance, Skalholt was secure against hostile surprise on every side but the north-east in consequence of the river-barriers about it. . . . Very little now remains to show the former importance of the place. The present little church is merely a chapel
of

of ease. Grass-grown mounds to the south-west of this edifice indicate the site of extensive ecclesiastical buildings. Yonder, an enclosure marks the large episcopal garden. There are also the foundations of a prayer-house to the east of the church, measuring twelve paces long and six wide.*

We must not conclude without a special word of thanks to Mr. Metcalfe for one of the pleasantest volumes of Icelandic travel that have come to our hands. It covers wider ground than has been attempted by most recent tourists, and is especially valuable for the local legends and 'folk-lore' which its author has industriously collected from all quarters. With such excellent claims to attention it is much to be regretted that Mr. Metcalfe, in this book as well as in his former descriptions of adventure in the North, should think it necessary to imitate the German baron who insisted on performing a series of elaborate leaps over chairs and tables, 'pour apprendre d'être vif.' Mr. Metcalfe's caprioles are not quite so heavy, but they are quite as uncalled for, and quite as much out of place. Here and there, indeed, they verge on irreverence—a fault which we scarcely expect to find in the book of an 'Oxonian.'

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- ART. V.—1. *Anuario Estadístico de España correspondiente al Año de 1859.* Madrid, 1860.
 2. *Geschichte Spaniens zur Zeit Französischen Revolution.* Von Herman Baumgarten. Berlin, 1861.
 3. *Spain, her Institutions, Politics, and Public Men.* By S. T. Wallis, Author of 'Glimpses of Spain.'
 4. *Espagne en 1860.* Par M. Vidal. Paris, 1860.
 5. *Situation Economique et Industrielle de l'Espagne en 1860.* By M. Lestgarrens. Paris, 1861.
 6. *L'Espagne et son Avenir Commercial.* Par Ch. de Hardy de Beaulieu. Paris, 1861.
 7. *Papers relating to the Annexation of Eastern Santo Domingo to Spain.* 1861.
 8. *Letters from Spain.* By John Leycester Adolphus, M.A. London, 1858.
 9. *The Handbook of Spain.* London, 1855.

FEW countries have undergone so remarkable a series of mutations as Spain. Strength and debility, splendour and poverty, glory and shame, have been there exhibited in a manner so surprising, as to have afforded inexhaustible materials for the

* 'Oxonian in Iceland,' 335, 336.

pen of the historian and the speculations of the political philosopher.* The division of Spain into numerous small states originated in the wars by which the Christians slowly won back from the Moors the territories they had lost. The districts wrested from time to time from the dominion of the infidels were generally appropriated by the chiefs of the several expeditions, and Spain was thus divided into as many separate kingdoms as it contained provinces. In the progress of time—by intermarriages, succession, or conquest—all the minor sovereignties were annexed to or became dependent on the two powerful kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. Soon after the union of these crowns by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1481 the last of the Moorish provinces was conquered, and Spain regained its unity as a great Christian state. The feudal constitution, however, was a great obstacle to the formation of a centralised power, and a contest between the Crown and the nobility was carried on in Spain as in the other kingdoms of Europe. In England the struggle terminated in favour of the Nobility and the Commons; in Spain in the ascendancy of the Crown. The privileges of a powerful and numerous aristocracy had reduced the power of the sovereigns of the Spanish kingdoms almost to a nullity, and the people possessed considerable weight in their councils. Aragon, although monarchical in its form, was democratical in its spirit and its institutions; and the attachment of the Aragonese to their form of government was so great, that in a preamble to one of their statutes they declared that such was the barrenness and poverty of their country, that were it not for the freedom by which it was distinguished, they would certainly abandon it and seek a settlement in some more favoured land.† In Castile the prerogative was extremely limited, and its Cortes were composed of the nobles, the dignified ecclesiastics, and the representatives of the cities. To constitute Spain a powerful kingdom, it was necessary to extend the prerogative. The Cortes had been turbulent and troublesome, but the nobility, by reason of their independent jurisdictions and their armed levies, had come more frequently into collision with the Crown. The object of the first sovereigns of united Spain was first to cripple the power of the nobility, then to humble the commonalty. The nobles were deprived of their seats in the great council of the nation on the principle that since they paid no taxes they had no right to assist in imposing them; and they cared little for the subsequent suppression

* The Gothic monarchy subsisted in its integrity for nearly three centuries. Although a Christian power, it was rude and barbarous.

† Robertson's 'Charles V.,' Introduction.

of popular liberties which they did not share. The royal authority was then exalted on the ruin of the *grandees*, and the Cortes were reduced to a name, their meeting to a formality, and their power to a shadow. Freedom, however, was not entirely suppressed without a struggle. At the commencement of the reign of the Emperor Charles V., Spain was on the verge of a great rebellion. Several of the cities of Castile and Aragon took up arms, and there were risings in various parts of the country; but the nobility and the commons did not act in concert, provincial jealousies prevented combined action, and gave the Sovereign an easy victory.

To annihilate liberty a more potent instrument was required than any that even a despotic government possessed. The introduction of the Inquisition has been attributed to the religious zeal of Ferdinand and Isabella, but it is certain that political far more than religious views led to the naturalization of the Holy Office in Spain. It was intimately connected with the government, and was dependent upon the civil power for the means of executing its decrees. Professing to root out heresy, it effectually eradicated liberty. The Pope at first hesitated to sanction its introduction, and consented only after a prolonged negotiation. The Aragonese were the first to comprehend the purpose of the new ecclesiastical tribunal. They took up arms against it, murdered the chief inquisitor, and prevented its establishment in their country, alleging that its mode of trial was secret, and therefore incompatible with liberty. It soon, however, covered as with a network the whole of Spain, and entangled in its meshes the reason and the conscience of the inhabitants. The Inquisition wrought upon the imagination of a susceptible people with such effect that it completely fascinated and subdued them. They even became vehemently attached to it, and transferred to the most hateful tribunal ever erected in the world the affection they had formerly entertained for their own municipal institutions and parliaments. A theocratical despotism thus became the permanent form of government; its portentous shadow gradually fell upon the whole of Spain; the intellectual light of the rest of Europe was then effectually shut out, and bigotry became inseparably blended with patriotism.*

Religious wars developed both the military virtues and the

* 'To the Inquisition the worst parts of the Spanish character may undoubtedly be traced.'—Southey's '*Letters from Spain*,' p. 182.

'That the Inquisition was in fact a political engine quite as much as a religious institution, there is now, I believe, no doubt; and much of the odium which it has thrown upon the Church will one of these days, I am sure, be transferred to the State which deserves it.'—Wallis's '*Spain*,' p. 271.

fanaticism of the Spanish people to an extraordinary degree. At the conclusion of the Moorish contest the country was filled with bold, energetic, fiery spirits, inured to hardship and privation, and an irrepressible desire for war took possession of all classes. There was an universal wish to break through the mountain barriers that had hitherto separated them from the rest of Europe. It was not long before the national ambition found an impersonation in the Emperor Charles V., who made Spain the most powerful monarchy in Europe, and entered upon a career of conquest such as had not been projected since the days of Charlemagne. The objects of Spanish ambition were territorial aggrandisement and Catholic unity. The fanaticism of the Moorish people seemed to have been transfused into the Spanish race, and they were as eager to impose their creed on other nations as the most enthusiastic disciples of Mahomet had been to convert and subjugate the world. The military profession came to be held in the highest repute. Every one aspired to serve under a sovereign who was as great in war as in council, and to contribute to the glory of Spain. Even men of peace, hitherto devoted to literature and art, became soldiers; and if they could not be officers, they were content to be privates. Cervantes and Lope de Vega served in the ranks. As there must necessarily be a limit to the largest army, those who could not be admitted into it, disdaining labour, became vagabonds and freebooters. The serious derangement of life and industry which pervaded Spain during this period is noted and deplored by all contemporary historians.

The mode in which the Transatlantic dominions of Spain were acquired was as marvellous as any of the wonders they contained. The colonial empire was founded by men who carried with them from the Old World no commission or authority beyond a general permission to make settlements, and to plant the standard of their country and the Cross. Successful adventurers returned, with unheard-of productions and fabulous wealth, having, with a mere handful of men, conquered kingdoms as remarkable for their ancient civilization as for the boundless treasures which they contained. Half frenzied with excitement, multitudes quitted their native land for the marvellous regions beyond the seas. The decline of Spain has been sometimes attributed to the loss of population which this event entailed, and doubtless of the many thousands who left their native shores a large proportion never returned, but sank under the influence of new and pestilential climates; but colonization does not permanently impair the energy of any country that contains within itself the elements of a healthy reproduction.

England

England has suffered no exhaustion in the process of peopling her colonies.

It never entered into the thoughts of the rulers of Spain, after they had taken possession of nearly one-half of America, that it could not be always retained as a dependency. Of what use, they doubtless said, were distant possessions unless they could be turned to profitable account, and governed for the benefit of the mother country? That regions embracing nearly a quarter of the known globe could not for ever be held in subjection to an European state, and made subservient to its commercial interests, was certainly the last idea that would have occurred to the statesmen in the sixteenth century. Their only object was to obtain from colonies as much as they could extort, and give them as little as possible in return. It passed into a political maxim that colonies should buy everything they wanted very dear, and sell everything they possessed very cheap. But the most singular effect of the colonial system of Spain was to give an impulse to the industry of all other countries rather than her own. It had long been a principle of Spanish economy to base the prosperity of the kingdom on the wealth of towns rather than on agriculture. Barcelona, in 1491, was considered equal to Naples in splendour, to Florence in elegance, and to Venice in wealth. In the fifteenth century, at Toledo, Segovia, and in the district of La Mancha, the number of hands employed in the manufacture of woollens and silks was 127,823; in the city of Seville alone they numbered 30,000; and Granada and Valencia were rivals in their varied productions. Manufactures were not produced for home consumption alone, but formed the basis of an export trade almost co-extensive with the world. Commerce was held in the highest repute; the merchants of Barcelona were the honourable of the earth, and its chief magistrates ranked as *grandees of the kingdom*.*

Notwithstanding this manufacturing development, the trade with America fell into the hands of foreigners. In 1542 the Cortes of Valladolid complained that strangers possessed so alarming a monopoly that they had the supreme control over the public wealth. The immense importations of the precious metals necessarily had an immediate effect on the value of money, which fell below that of other countries, and not

* The first effect of the American trade was to give a great impetus to the manufactures of Spain. In the year 1545, while Spain contrived to depend upon its own industry for the supply of the colonies, so much work was bespoken that it was supposed it would hardly be furnished in less than six years; yet in a short time not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spanish growth or fabric.—Robertson's '*History of America*,' book viii.

only raised the price of food and labour, but enabled many foreign goods to be imported cheaper than similar articles could be manufactured in Spain. The fiscal system of the Government, moreover, loaded with the heaviest duties all native productions, but allowed foreign produce and manufactures to be imported almost free. Thus foreign silk was admitted at a duty of five per cent., while native silk was taxed a hundred per cent.; and other products were treated much in the same manner. Manufacturing production must have soon altogether ceased in Spain, for a writer of the sixteenth century states that in his day one-half of his countrymen wore no shirts because they had no money to buy them; and those of the other half were made of fabrics imported from abroad.* The commodities for carrying on the American trade were chiefly supplied from abroad; and the greater part of the treasure which flowed into Spain from the Indies was consigned to aliens, and found its way ultimately into German, Dutch, and Italian banks. Agriculture was unfairly treated. If there was a scarcity, corn was admitted at a low duty; but if there was an abundant harvest, the farmer could reap no benefit, for exportation was subject to an enormous duty. Districts that had once teemed with abundance were consequently thrown out of cultivation; and the scarcity of grain was sometimes so great that in remote provinces many died of starvation. Such was the deficiency of labour that it was long customary for large numbers of the French peasantry to enter Spain to gather in the harvests. The precious metals flowed in an apparently exhaustless stream into Spain; but the true sources of prosperity and revenue had dried up; and while the treasure-ships of the Indies were discharging their golden freights on the quays of Cadiz and Seville, the Government was in absolute want of money to pay the troops, and to meet the current expenses of the royal household. The public treasury was empty, but the vaults of the foreign merchants who traded to the Indies were filled with gold. The Emperor Charles V., impatient at the contrast between the wealth of these alien traders and the poverty of his own beggarly exchequer, devised a notable expedient for obtaining the command of a portion of this American gold. He ordered that all the bullion imported from the Indies should be deposited in the Casa de Contractation, or Board of Trade, and there registered in the names of its owners; and he claimed a right, in virtue of his prerogative, to help him-

* Moncada, quoted by Baumgarten, '*Geschichte Spaniens*,' p. 8.

† Burke's Works, vol. vii. p. 95.

self to so much of it as his necessities required, giving bonds to the consignees for its repayment. The great traders of Seville, to whom this arrangement was, of course, highly unsatisfactory, ventured, on the accession of Philip II., to transfer their bullion from the public vaults to their own counting-houses. Philip had recourse to his father for advice. The Emperor, who was generally supposed to have discarded all thoughts of mundane affairs, and to be wholly occupied with religious exercises, was thereupon moved to such an excess of wrath, that he recommended that the culprits should be immediately arrested, loaded with irons, imprisoned in the fortress of Simancas, and there put to the torture, and their property confiscated; 'and such,' wrote his secretary, 'is His Majesty's indignation, and such the blood-thirsty expressions he commands me to use, that you will pardon me if my language is not so temperate as it might be.'* Such an arbitrary appropriation by the Sovereign of the property of his subjects was alone sufficient to ruin trade and to drive merchants out of the country.†

The circuitous trade which Spain compelled her colonies to submit to, not only grievously injured them, but affected in the most mischievous manner all her own industrial interests. Not a single article of European produce or manufacture could reach America unless it came direct from the ports of Spain, while on the other hand the gold and silver and all the other costly and coveted productions of the New World were shipped direct to the mother-country. The wines of Italy, the corn of Sicily, the fine fabrics of the Netherlands, the woollens and hardware of England, the silks and velvets of France, and all the rare and precious productions of the tropics filled to repletion the warehouses of Seville and Cadiz. But, in point of fact, these goods were merely intended for transshipment; the Spanish merchants only lent their names to cover the trade of foreigners, who reaped all the benefit of it; while the vineyards of Spain were thrown out of cultivation, arable lands converted into sheep-walks, manu-

* See Appendix to Prescott's 'History of Charles V.'

† It is instructive to observe how rapidly the ruinous policy pursued both by the Emperor and his son Philip II. told upon the finances of Spain. Weighed down by care, the latter had recourse to Garnica, a man of great political experience, and addressed to him the most singular letter that ever was written by a sovereign in distress. 'See,' he says, 'what I suffer, finding myself at the age of forty-eight with a prince three years old, and leaving him an exchequer so much out of condition. And besides this, what will be the wants of old age, for they appear already commencing, if I live much longer without seeing on one day how I am to live the next? Debts and exchanges consume everything, even life itself, and weigh so heavily upon me, that I do not know how I am able to breathe.'—De Castro's 'Spanish Protestants.' The letter is quoted in Davila, p. 255.

factories closed, and mines abandoned. It seemed as if both worlds had become tributary to Spain and were pouring their riches into the lap of the most favoured people on the earth, while a gangrene was slowly consuming the life of the nation. Great numbers of the peasantry and artisans were thrown out of employment, and became either beggars, or robbers, or monks. The productive classes of the community diminished year by year, and native capitalists almost disappeared.*

The decline of Spain now proceeded with an accelerated pace. The monarchy was soon brought to the verge of ruin. All classes were steeped in a common poverty. The monarchs of the house of Hapsburg had reigned over Spain for two hundred years, and when Charles II. died the national prostration was complete. The proudest and most ambitious power on the earth had become indifferent to disgrace and sank into the apathy of despair. The whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint. The population, which in the first half of the sixteenth century was ten millions, had fallen to less than six millions, and a revenue which had amounted to 280,000,000 reals had dwindled to 30,000,000. The minister, to prevent a total dissolution of government, was obliged to address begging letters to the nobility, and even to appropriate money and plate which had been placed in the churches for safe custody. So completely changed was the spirit of the nation that even the passion for war became extinct. The army was almost wholly composed of Germans, Walloons, and Italians; the few Spaniards that could be induced to enlist were recruited from the beggars that had multiplied like the vermin of the land. The people cursed the foreign possessions that were continually calling for reinforcements. In the Neapolitan territories there were not six companies of infantry fit for duty. Sicily was defended by 500 men. There were scarcely 200 in the island of Sardinia; fewer still in Minorca, and none at all in America. The only sea-going ships were the traders to the Indies. Six old men-of-war lay rotting at their moorings before Carthagena. The fisheries were abandoned to interlopers, and the remains of a once magnificent commerce were helplessly yielded up a prey to pirates. In the great Transatlantic colonies serious disturbances were reported, and corsairs from all parts of the globe spread terror along their shores. The punishment of Spain for her savage bigotry and tyranny had come in a form the most damaging to her honour and self-respect. The United

* In Seville the number of rich manufacturers is said to have fallen to one-twentieth, and the population to less than one-half, at the close of the reign of Charles II.

Provinces, that country of obstinate and irreclaimable heretics, had risen rapidly in prosperity and importance until it became the commercial emporium of the world. It amassed enormous wealth, created a great navy, seized the galleons as they returned with the treasures of the New World, insulted the great colonies by maritime expeditions, and precipitated its old oppressor into bankruptcy and ruin.

The nobility had, as a body, fallen into a state of moral and physical degradation. They were equally incapable of military exertion and of the performance of the civil duties which were inseparable from their position and their rank. The professions were deserted, and even the humblest members of society refused to work. Spain contained 180,000 monks, nuns, and priests. The Jesuits had given a false direction to the education of the higher classes, and indisposed them for active service of the State.* The influence of the order was second only to that of the Inquisition, and it was mischievously active throughout every department of social life. For two hundred years it continued to sap the power and strength of the nation. The banishment of the whole Society was effected by Aranda, the minister of Charles III. Its views and interests must have clashed with those of the Church, for it appears that 6 archbishops and 26 bishops cordially approved of the decree of banishment and sequestration; and when an attempt was made in 1815 to procure a restoration of the order, only 2 archbishops and 6 bishops were favourable to the project.†

The enormous quantity of land held in mortmain was one conspicuous cause of the national decay. In the sixteenth century there were frequent complaints of the enormous wealth of the Church. The secular clergy, a valuable class, suffered from the extension of the possessions of the Church, for as monasteries multiplied tithes fell off, and labourers decreased, and the land was left uncultivated. Six-tenths of the province of Toledo belonged to the Church, and one-fifth of all the land in Spain was held in mortmain. The evil at length attained such gigantic proportions that resolute efforts were made to check it, and in several of the provinces laymen simultaneously suggested remedies for an evil which was eating away the heart of the nation. During the reign of the Emperor Charles V. there were not wanting advisers who hinted to him the expe-

* Juan de Regla, the confessor of the Emperor Charles V., commenting on the principles of this religious order, says, 'All the gentlemen whom they take in hand, instead of making them lions, they make them hens.'—*The Spanish Protestants*, by De Castro.

† *Geschichte Spaniens*, by Baumgarten, p. 89.

diency of relieving the royal wants from this tempting source. The Duke of Alva, bigot as he was, proposed a root-and-branch reform in the temporalities of the Church. He is known to have often intimated to his Sovereign that the clergy possessed revenues greatly exceeding those of the State. 'Let these churchmen,' he once boldly said, 'be deprived of their fiefs and baronies, and there will be in your Majesty's hands an ample fund, not merely to oppose, but to annihilate the enemies of the Church.' He complained—probably with even greater energy—that such was the monopoly of the soil by churchmen, that the Emperor scarcely possessed an inch of land wherewith to reward the services of his faithful captains. All the reformers who attacked the abuses of the Church in Spain contended that a stringent law of mortmain would be only a return to the principles and practice of their ancestors; and, at a later period, Campomanes and Jovellanos, the great economical authorities of the country, proved in the clearest manner that the accumulation of property by clerical corporations was expressly forbidden by the laws of the ancient kingdoms of Spain.

The expulsion of the Moors after the conquest of Granada might perhaps be excused as an act of policy. It probably presented the only effectual security against the revival of religious wars; but the Moriscos, or Spaniards of Moorish descent, were too inconsiderable in number to cause any serious apprehension, and their banishment was as impolitic as it was unjust. The country suffered greatly in its material interests by the removal of 100,000 of the most skilful and industrious of its inhabitants. The expulsion of the Jews was still more unjustifiable: at least 400,000 of these people were driven from the country. The clergy had succeeded in exciting the most malignant enmity towards this unfortunate race. To witness the burning of a Jew was always an exquisite gratification; but this popular entertainment was put an end to by a general proscription.

The true causes of the decline of Spain were a depressing superstition which poisoned the springs of national life, vast wars of ambition which drained the country of its population and wealth, the enormous possessions of the Church, a ruinous colonial policy, unsound principles of taxation, and a corrupt and partial administration of justice.

There are three well defined epochs in Spanish history. 1st. The constitution of its nationality and political unity under Ferdinand and Isabella, to the period of its highest grandeur, under the Emperor Charles V. and Philip II. 2nd. Its gradual decline from the reign of Philip II. to the commencement of that of Philip V. 3rd. Its progressive advancement, frequently interrupted,

rupted, from the accession of Philip V. to the present day. Ferdinand VI. and Charles III. were great regenerators of Spain. They diminished taxation, restored order to the finances, and encouraged agriculture and manufactures. Charles III. first departed from the traditionary commercial policy of Spain, and opened the ports of the American colonies to the ships of all nations. The commercial policy has varied at different periods according to the views more or less enlightened of the minister of the day. The importation of foreign manufactures, having long been encouraged, was afterwards rendered as difficult as possible; and the exportation of the precious metals, once free, was in a subsequent age altogether prohibited. The exportation was equally forbidden of all raw materials that could be wrought up into manufactured articles in Spain. The wisest and ablest native statesman that Spain probably ever possessed, Ensenada, the finance minister of Ferdinand VI., substituted a moderate duty for the prohibition on the export of gold and silver. The deficiency of the revenue had become a chronic malady, but Ensenada for the first time obtained a surplus. The period between the years 1748 and 1754 was remarkable for the restoration of Spain to considerable power and influence. The American possessions during that period had paid the enormous sum of 3077 millions of reals, or 513 millions annually, into the public treasury. In 1751 Spain had 20 ships of the line building. In 1758 she possessed 44 ships of the line, 19 frigates, and 22 sloops of war. Ensenada was enabled to declare with pardonable exultation that, with a fleet of 60 sail of the line, an army of 90,000 men, and a surplus of 600 millions of reals in the treasury, all of which he confidently hoped to possess, Spain might venture to disregard the power of England and to defy the arms of France.

The influence of the French Revolution upon Spain was at first to attach her more firmly to her own absolutism, and she took up arms against France, as a holy war against infidelity and regicide. Drawn afterwards by the irresistible course of events into a close connexion with the republic, the alliance was fatal to her independence; and the destruction of her navy, which had become considerable, was the result. Her subsequent alliance with England against the oppressor of Europe drew the two nations into the closest relations; and in fighting the battle of liberation together upon Spanish soil they ought to have laid the foundation of a permanent friendship. Abortive constitutions, tyrannical misgovernment, violent changes, the loss of colonies, pernicious foreign interference, mark the melancholy

choly history of the period which followed the close of the Peninsular war.

The era of recent regeneration dates from the year 1830, in which constitutional government was fairly inaugurated. In 1836 a veto was given to the Crown, together with a power to convoke and dissolve the Cortes. The active part taken by the monks in the Carlist war extinguished all scruples on the part of the Constitutionalists in dealing decisively with the enormous masses of land that had been locked up for centuries in mortmain. In 1836, accordingly, a royal decree appeared by which all colleges, convents, and communities of monks were suppressed, and a prohibition of religious vows for the future insured the gradual extinction of the monastic orders. That the public mind was thoroughly ripe for this reform admits of no doubt. 'The bitter hatred,' says a traveller who visited Spain in 1850, rather prepossessed in favour of monasticism, 'of monks and friars is quite astonishing, and I have no doubt that if one now made his appearance in his monastic dress he would be torn to pieces.'* The number of convents of both sexes in Spain in 1834, was 3027. The number of monks receiving support from the state was, in 1837, 23,935, and in 1858, 6822. The suppression of monastic institutions has doubtless been attended with some individual suffering, but the monks had completely lost the public respect and with it their usefulness. The moral and economical results of the measure are now fully appreciated. It has liberated vast masses of land from the fetters of mortmain, and greatly increased the number of landed proprietors.

'The distribution of the monastic property,' says Mr. Wallis, 'which has destroyed the beauty of the convent lands, has no doubt doubled the productiveness of their soil. The alms which supported the monastery, and kept its architecture and ornaments from decay, have remained in the peasant's hands for the comfort of his family, or the improvement of the little spot he cultivates. The spiritual instruction of the young and ignorant has become the care of the secular clergy, whose education and higher gifts, intellectual and moral, make the change a national blessing. The impoverished industry and neglected agriculture of the land have received an accession of vigorous labour no longer tempted into sloth by a privileged and sensual life. In the cities and larger towns the convent buildings have been displaced to make room for private dwellings of more or less convenience and elegance, or have been appropriated as public offices or repositories of works of art. The extensive grounds which were monopolized by

* 'The Practical Working of the Church in Spain,' by Rev. Frederick Meyrick, 1850.

some of the orders in the crowded midst of populous quarters have been converted into walks or squares dedicated to the public health and recreation. In a word, what was intended as the object of monastic endowments has been to some extent realised. What was meant for the good of all, though entrusted to a few, has been taken from the few, who used it as their own, and distributed, rudely it may be, but yet effectually, among the many, who were entitled to and needed it.*

In addition to the suppression of the monastic orders, the Government has assumed a direct control over the revenues of the Church. The number of ecclesiastics was considerably reduced by the Concordat of 1851. The number of bishops remains as before; but the Church dignitaries and superior clergy have been reduced from 4382 to 1923. The policy of the Government, in dealing with the property of the Church, has fluctuated with the state of parties. By a decree of the Cortes, in 1836, all future acquisitions of land in mortmain under any pretext were forbidden; and the property of churches, chapters, brotherhoods, and other spiritual denominations, was secularised. Tithes and all other ecclesiastical revenues were abolished, and the clergy were deprived of all direct reliance on the people for their support. The State thus became the owner of all the property of the Church, and imposed a special tax instead for its support.† By the Concordat of 1851 all titles acquired under previous sales of church property were confirmed; but the portions remaining unsold were restored to the Church. A compromise was effected between the Papacy and the Crown with respect to presentation to certain dignified offices; but the right of the Church to acquire landed property was revived, and certain orders of nuns were re-established. The suppression of monasticism was finally acquiesced in. The revenue of the primate-archbishop of Toledo was fixed at 1600*l.* a-year; that of the eight other archbishops at from 1500*l.* to 1300*l.* a-year, and of the bishops at from 1100*l.* to 800*l.* a-year—certainly moderate stipends compared with the princely revenues enjoyed by the dignitaries of the Spanish Church in the days of its grandeur. The salaries of curates in town parishes vary from 30*l.* to 100*l.* a-year, and the minimum in rural parishes is fixed at 22*l.* a-year. In 1855 the Government introduced, and the Cortes passed, a law of *amortization*, under which all land held by the State, the Church, and lay corporations, was directed to be sold, and 80 per cent. of the proceeds to be applied in works of public utility. The operation of this law was suspended in consequence of the opposition it met with from the clergy: it is, however, we believe, now again in force; but no

* Wallis's 'Spain.'

† The Clero et Culto Tax.

further

further sales of church property are to be made without the consent of the bishops. A recent convention between the Pope and the Queen of Spain (1859) restores to the Spanish clergy the right of acquiring both landed and other property in addition to their fixed incomes paid by the State; and Her Majesty pledges herself to maintain, to the utmost of her power, the temporal and spiritual authority of the Holy See.

It is certain that the Church in Spain has not, at the present time, any commanding influence over the public mind. In the rural districts, and among the ignorant and uneducated, the power of the priesthood is doubtless considerable, but we are not aware that it is oppressively exercised. In the towns there is an absolute independence of all clerical domination, as is attested by all who have possessed opportunities of personal observation; nor is the press at all scrupulous in its mode of handling ecclesiastical subjects. A writer whom we have previously quoted asserts that he constantly heard the most extreme Protestant opinions from the lips of the middle classes; and that, before his own countrymen, the best resource of a priest is silence.* The intolerance which exists is the effect of a traditionary system, which has made unity in religion the basis of government, and punishes dissent as a species of treason. Uniformity of faith is still considered the true foundation of the throne. By the 137th Article of the Penal Code of 1848 it is declared that a Spaniard who publicly apostatizes from the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion is punishable with transportation, and becomes for ever afterwards unqualified for the exercise of any profession. This theocratic demand of religious as well as civil allegiance was common to all European states in the sixteenth century. England only cast off her constitutional intolerance after a long struggle of opinion, and our nonconformists were, three centuries ago, liable to penalties for the public exercise of their religion little short of those which are now in force in Spain. Opinion is of slow growth in the Peninsula, and her public men have not yet discovered how to reconcile toleration with the ancient principles of the monarchy. One of the most eminent of Spanish statesmen, however, freely admitted the decline of ecclesiastical power. 'All government,' he said, 'depends for its security on one of two things—the influence of the clergy, or the military power. Clerical influence, the support of absolute government in Spain, has been destroyed: it exists no longer; and there is nothing left in its absence to protect society, to maintain order, and to support Government, but the military arm.† The

* 'The Practical Working of the Church in Spain,' p. 197.

† Speech of Sr. Bravo Murillo in the Cortes in 1851.

intolerance with which Spain is justly charged (and which has lately manifested itself so offensively on the subject of Protestant burial) is embodied in her laws and institutions rather than displayed in private life. 'Although,' says a writer already quoted, 'the Constitution does not tolerate, the people certainly do in the most important sense of the word. A stranger might pass a year in any part of Spain without hearing a single inquiry as to his religious opinions, or being troubled by one impertinent interference with the entire freedom of his religious action. By some this would be set down to indifference, but it certainly is not bigotry; and I was well satisfied to take it for enlightened religious toleration.*' As an indication of increasing liberality, it is impossible not to refer to a recent bold expression of opinion by one of the royal chaplains in the presence of the Queen. The preacher, one of the most eminent of his order, took occasion in the Chapel Royal to state his conviction that the Pope ought to be relieved of his temporal kingdom, in order that he might devote himself to his spiritual duties and to the ecclesiastical superintendence of Christendom. The full significance of this sentiment can only be understood when the intimate relations between the Papacy and the Crown of Spain are taken into consideration.

Spain owes much of her late improvement to the increased strength of the Government, and to the cessation of those military revolts which kept the country in a state of chronic anarchy and made material progress impossible. Free institutions were of little avail in the absence of order. Constitutional Spain is still, however, ruled somewhat on the maxims of her old despotism. The Cortes between the years 1835 and 1858 have been dissolved fourteen times. The traditions of centuries are not to be obliterated by the institutions of a day. It has been well said that what Spain needed most was not a Constitution, but a Government; and her leading modern statesmen, with one eminent exception, have seldom scrupled, when they found they could not rule vigorously within the limits of the Constitution, to overrule it. Constitutional government is in truth not yet practicable, in the sense at least in which it has been accepted in England; the country does not at present possess all the elements which enter into the composition of our parliamentary system, where the informed will of the nation is embodied in the Legislature, and finds its expression in the Cabinet. The number of persons possessed of the elective franchise is 157,931, being one for every 98 inhabitants; of deputies

* Wallis's '*Spain*,' p. 289.

the number is 349, being one for every 4431 inhabitants and 452 electors. In the election of 1857, 109,503 electors voted, and 48,248 abstained from voting. The want is felt of a sufficiently extensive intelligent, independent, and wealthy middle class, as well as of a resident landed aristocracy to give importance to the provinces and to lead the public mind. Centralisation is at present the essence of Spanish rule. A responsible ministry means, practically, a ministry responsible to the Sovereign. The executive really governs, and the favour of the Court is therefore of the first importance to a minister, who may find his career suddenly cut short by its displeasure. A disgraced minister would in vain rally his parliamentary supporters and put his rival in a minority; the new minister would immediately dissolve the assembly that opposed him, and soon find himself surrounded by a body of steady supporters. The practical ascendancy of the executive over the legislature is not perhaps to be regarded in the present transition state of the country as an unmixed evil. In the assurance of protection and order, industry is thriving, agriculture has awakened, and commerce has started into new life. Notwithstanding the real subordination of the legislative to the executive power, the Cortes are sometimes the theatre of animated debate, and the noble language of Spain is heard in oratory which would do credit to the greatest political assembly of the world.

It is much more satisfactory to note the recent rapid renovation of Spain than to trace its former melancholy decline. With regard to education, the progress in half a century has been most remarkable. In 1803, out of a population of 10,250,000, the number of scholars in all the educational establishments of the kingdom did not exceed 30,000, or one to every 340 inhabitants. In 1855 the number of children attending the schools of primary instruction was 1,004,974, or, taking the population from the last census at rather more than 15,000,000, one to every fifteen inhabitants.* The number of normal schools or training colleges in the kingdom during that year was 1485. This is a great change, showing the profound darkness in which long adversity had plunged the people, and the wonderfully rapid spread of modern education. In 1827 the total number of students attending the public universities and seminaries was 13,677. In 1833 the number had increased to 18,000; and the total number attending universities and all other schools was nearly 500,000, while in 1859 the number receiving elementary education had again very greatly increased. By a law of 1812 the Government was

* 'Anuario Estadístico de España,' 1858.

charged with the education of the people, and it was expressly enacted that the Constitution should be taught and expounded in every establishment opened for public instruction. We are not aware whether this provision has been retained in the amended Constitution, but it was a praiseworthy attempt to give the people a certain amount of political instruction, and well adapted to preserve them from ignorant delusions and from the designs of demagogues. Public education is strictly gratuitous where the parents are poor. The progress which Spain has made in popular education is the more to be commended, when we remember the calamities with which the country has been visited during the period in which the change has principally taken place. The cost of the schools of primary instruction amounted in the year 1855 to 32,273,479 reals.

The natural resources of Spain are equal to those of any country on the globe. A great improvement in agriculture has taken place since the masses of land long held in mortmain have been broken up into small estates, which are cultivated chiefly by their proprietors. It is stated as a most hopeful symptom of progress, that, notwithstanding the immense amount of land thrown upon the market, the value of agricultural property, and of real estate generally, has been steadily increasing throughout the kingdom, and that the Church property has commanded an average of nearly double the price at which it had been estimated. The subdivision of the soil amongst a great number of small proprietors is certainly not favourable to the highest development of agriculture. In Galicia alone there are 152,000 proprietors, who pay a contribution to the State of from 1 to 10 reals a-year. The hope of Spain lies nevertheless in her agriculture, which is now indeed the sole element of importance in her exports, as will appear from the following table:—

<i>Exportations.</i>				Per cent.
Agricultural produce	..	..	..	62·89
Fisheries	..	..	..	·14
Minerals	..	..	..	15·99
Textile manufactures	..	..	..	1·57

Spain can scarcely be said to be at present a great corn-producing country; but at the existing rate of progress its character will be completely changed in half a century, and it may become the greatest wheat exporting country in the world. The extreme dryness of the climate, which produces barrenness over immense areas, is owing to the destruction of the forests which formerly clothed the sides of the great mountain ranges. These were either cut down or destroyed by fire during the Moorish wars. The

perpetual serenity and transparent brilliancy of the atmosphere are owing to the absence of that humidity which extensive woods supply. To reclothe the country with the forests of which it has been denuded may seem a gigantic undertaking, but it would work an astonishing change in the climate, and contribute greatly to the national prosperity. The territorial wealth of Spain was estimated, in 1849, in the '*Guia del Forastero*,' published at Madrid, at 74,000,000*l.*, being nearly 24,000,000*l.* more than it amounted to in 1803; while the quantity of land in cultivation, which then scarcely amounted to one-ninth of the soil, had risen to more than two-sevenths.* Agricultural societies are beginning to obtain support, and the scientific discoveries and mechanical appliances of other countries are readily accepted and brought into speedy use. Several agricultural journals are published in Madrid, diffusing a knowledge of the latest improvements; and in other cities similar publications meet with a ready sale. The most passive people on the earth have at length been roused to exertion by the stimulus of self-interest, and a healthy competition will soon, it is to be hoped, complete the transformation of Spain.

The Government expended in the promotion of agriculture in the year 1859, 2,137,880 reals, and it supports two Agricultural Colleges. The wheat of the Peninsula is among the finest in the world. Aragon, Estremadura, parts of Castile and Leon, the greater part of Catalonia, Upper Andalusia, and portions of Navarre, are regions where it can be produced of a quality unrivalled; and nothing but an application of modern science and the opening of good roads—a work now gradually but energetically carried on—is needed to augment its quantity to any conceivable extent. 'The agricultural products of Spain,' says Loudon, 'include all those of the rest of Europe, and most of those of the West Indies, besides all the grains for the production of which some provinces are more celebrated than others, and most of them are known to produce the best wheat in Europe.'† The immense central plateau of the Castiles is more than 2000 feet above the level of the sea, and many extensive tracts are only adapted for grazing. The prevalence of sheep-farming is not the result of any deliberate preference for an idle and roving life, but necessity. 'People,' says Southey, 'are apt to attribute to the indolence of the Spaniards that neglect of cultivation which is generally the effect of natural causes. The plains of Castile and Leon, for example, though containing in many parts a soil naturally rich, are scarcely capable of culti-

* Wallis's '*Spain*,' p. 320.

† '*Encyclopædia of Agriculture*,'
vation,

vation, being from continued rains a perfect slough in winter, and from want of springs entirely parched up in summer.*

The revival of commerce has been most conspicuous. The '*Anuario Estadístico de España*' affords full information on this important subject for 1859; but the subsequent advance will, we believe, be found even more remarkable. The imports and exports of Spain for the year 1850 were valued at 1,166,624,389 reals; in 1858 they amounted to 2,475,917,879 reals.† France and England are the two principal customers of Spain; and it may be interesting to compare the amount of their respective transactions. The imports from France had risen from 212,438,525 reals in 1850 to 538,806,433 reals in 1857, and the exports to France from 133,040,079 reals in 1850 to 342,663,931 reals in 1857; while the imports from England were of the value of 117,194,263 reals in 1850 and 325,060,550 reals in 1857, and the exports to England, which in 1850 amounted to 141,312,261 reals, were in 1855 419,669,943 reals, but fell in 1857 to 252,377,308 reals. The commercial intercourse of Spain thus appears to be more active with her immediate neighbour than with ourselves; although we have lately exported to Spain an increased quantity of iron for her railways, and of coal; and have imported in 1861, whether in consequence of the diminished duty or of a recent superior vintage, an increased quantity of wine. The tonnage of native ships which entered the Spanish ports increased from 303,402 in 1850 to 429,069 in 1857; and of foreign vessels the tonnage increased from 270,232 in 1850 to 790,337 in 1857; while the coasting-ships which left Spanish ports amounted in 1850 to 250,507 tons, and in 1857 to 446,955 tons, and of foreign ships to 304,362 tons and 527,945 tons respectively.

Catalonia has hitherto been the principal seat of Spanish manufactures, but it has been forced by high protective duties into an importance not merited by any natural advantages. The Asturias and Galicia are, by reason of their beds of abundant and excellent coal, and their water-power, much more adapted for manufacturing purposes than Catalonia. If we are to credit a writer whose statements we have found no reason to doubt, a large proportion of the cotton fabrics sold in Catalonia is manufactured in England, and smuggled into Barcelona with the names of the ostensible makers on the bales.‡ The article of the greatest

* '*Letters from Spain*,' p. 177.

† '*Situation Economique et Industrielle de l'Espagne*.'

‡ Wallis's '*Spain*,' p. 339.

importance to Spain, in her present state, is iron; and of this mineral she possesses abundance, and of the finest quality. In 1832 the iron manufacture could scarcely be said to exist. There are now foundries of great extent, which will soon fully supply the wants of the country. The iron required for ship-building and other purposes in the royal dockyards is at present entirely obtained from the mines of the country.*

The tariff being the most restrictive in Europe, of course encourages contraband traffic. We are informed that smuggling is so completely systematised that a French joint-stock company undertakes to deliver prohibited goods in Spain for a remuneration of sixteen per cent. on their value. The number of articles charged with duty by the tariff exceeds 1300, and the system is beset with the most arbitrary and vexatious formalities. Nothing more is needed to prove the elasticity of Spanish resources than the simple statement that, notwithstanding this obsolete and oppressive fiscal system, the revenue has more than doubled itself in fifteen years without the imposition of new taxes or any increase of existing ones. We believe that the Government only requires the support of public opinion to enter upon a course of complete commercial reform. An association for this purpose has been formed at Madrid, composed of senators, deputies, and men eminent in various professions; it invites discussion on questions of economical science, and diffuses sound information through the medium of pamphlets and journals.

The true sources of the future prosperity of Spain are the teeming fertility of her soil, and her inexhaustible mineral wealth. There are numerous districts in which the vine, if cultivated

* The productive resources of Spain may be collected by a glance at the following Table of Exports for the years 1856 and 1857, and their value:—

ARTICLES.	1856.	1857.
	Reals.	Reals.
Wine and grapes	406,315,654	460,237,985
Cereal produce	161,919,234	104,264,443
Olive oil	50,904,850	63,041,510
Fruits	54,829,933	36,538,811
Other produce of the soil	25,638,045	29,060,973
Cattle	52,505,695	70,634,974
Forests	33,504,730	38,328,306
Fisheries	2,276,584	5,168,345
Minerals	118,655,244	139,977,667
Textile productions.. .. .	16,093,757	15,485,477
Articles of re-exportation	15,898,592	123,548,237
Productions of different species of industry	128,067,794	82,290,403

with

with care, will produce pure and generous wines of many varieties, and adapted to all tastes; and when roads are opened to the coast, there will be scarcely any limit to the consumption at the moderate prices for which they can be exported. The marbles of Spain are of great variety and beauty. Lead is found in the greatest quantity. Copper, although its mines are not much developed, is known to exist in abundance. The oxides of iron are so rich as to produce 75 per cent. of metal. Tin is found in the granite formations, both in veins and among the alluvial detritus, although the sterility of the tracts in which it exists is so great that they are destitute of population, and have been hitherto little explored. It is well known that the Romans derived a large portion of their supply of gold from Spain; and there are remains on a large scale of their extensive workings among the alluvial sands of Galicia.* 'Spain, by a very singular fatality,' says Gibbon, 'was the Peru and Mexico of the old world. The discovery of the rich western continent by the Phœnicians, and the oppression of the simple natives, who were compelled to labour in their own mines for the benefit of strangers, form an exact type of the more recent history of Spanish America.'† It is probable, considering the imperfect means possessed by the Romans for extracting the metal, that much gold may yet exist in these ancient workings.

The commercial intercourse between Spain and her old province of the Netherlands is now considerable, and all remembrance of former injuries appears to be effaced. A remarkable proof of this is to be found in one of the publications which we have prefixed to this article. A Belgian economist of eminence, desiring to draw closer the commercial relations between the two countries, has proposed an exposition of their industrial products—those of Belgium to be exhibited at Madrid, and those of Spain at Brussels, in the hope that it will be seen to be the mutual interest of both to exchange freely their respective productions. That Spain will always be a great consumer of the fabrics of the loom, whether produced at home or imported, there can be no doubt. The love of ornament and of dress is universal. To glitter for a few hours in a gay costume, under his blue sky and brilliant sun, on some saint's day, is a passion of the Spanish peasant for the gratification of which he will half starve himself, and be content with a crust of bread and an onion.

The present imports of Spain indicate her real wants, and also

* The mineral produce of Spain, which was in 1839 of the value of 150,000,000 reals, had increased in 1857 to 395,564,100 reals.

† 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' vol. i. p. 258.

her inability to supply them herself. They are classed as follows, in reference to the duties which they pay:—

	Per cent.
Manufactured articles	68·30
Colonial produce	29·50

The tariff, moreover, is practically prohibitive of a great number of foreign products. It is earnestly to be desired that these impolitic commercial restrictions will before long entirely disappear.

The still imperfect state of the communications is sufficiently attested by the fact that, notwithstanding the existence of 665 coal-mines, there is a large importation of coal both from England and Belgium. Only a few years since, the Queen and her escort, on their way to Burgos, were obliged to turn back, in consequence of the bad condition of the road. The Government expended on roads from 1800 to 1854, 860 millions of reals, of which 580 millions were appropriated during the last two years of the period. It is surprising that so much has been already effected in a country sparsely peopled, long vexed by civil discord, distracted by invasions and foreign interventions, with an impoverished agriculture, a shattered industry, and an almost bankrupt exchequer. In 1848 a section of the first railway constructed in Spain was opened from Barcelona to Mataró. The impulse thus given to railway undertakings was arrested for a time by insuperable obstacles. In 1854 these grand agents in the work of national regeneration were resumed, and they have since been prosecuted with unabated energy and success. At the commencement of 1861 there were 1500 miles of railway in actual operation, 800 in the course of construction, and concessions had been granted for as many more.* The movement, unless it should be checked by unforeseen causes, will increase from year to year, until Spain is provided with as many lines of iron road as she can need. They may reasonably be expected to modify the national character, by destroying that isolation to which some of its peculiarities are attributable; and by bringing foreign visitors into the country, and enabling native Spaniards to extend the range of their travels and ideas, they will probably break down those moral and material

* The railways now open in Spain are the following:—From Barcelona to Saragossa, 226 miles; Barcelona to Tordera, 41 miles; Barcelona to Pamplona, 111 miles; Barcelona to Hostalrich, 44 miles; Barcelona to Martorell, 17½ miles; Alicante to Madrid, 282 miles; Valencia to Almanza, connected with the line to Madrid, 72 miles; Cordova to Seville, 80 miles; Madrid to Jadrisque, 65 miles; Santander to Barcena, 34 miles; Alar del Rey to San Chidrian, 139 miles; Cadix to Seville, 94 miles; besides several short branch lines.

barriers which have hitherto so completely separated Spain from other nations. The eagerness with which the rail is resorted to for purposes of business and pleasure is shown by the returns. In the year 1859 five millions of passengers, or a number equivalent to one-third of the population, availed themselves of railway accommodation, and the receipts amounted to seventy-four millions of reals.* The present year is likely to produce still more remarkable results. The telegraphic wire is now established over eight chief and twenty branch lines. The increased intellectual and commercial activity is proved by the number of letters conveyed by post. In 1846 they amounted to 18,851,555; in 1858 to 42,394,755, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ letters per inhabitant per year.

The further commercial progress of Spain will much depend upon the freedom with which she throws open her ports to the ships of other nations. No part of Europe has superior facilities for the development of a mercantile marine. She possesses 560 leagues of Mediterranean coast, with 64 ports; and 300 leagues of ocean coast, with 56 ports; while France has only 160 leagues of Mediterranean coast, although she has 470 on the ocean, or fewer by one-quarter on the whole than Spain. The mercantile marine recently consisted of 6878 vessels of all sizes, to which may be added 9971 fishing-boats; capable conjointly of supplying the country with a numerous body of hardy and effective seamen.

The great object to which Spain now aspires seems to be the reconstruction of her navy, and it is upon that she chiefly relies for the recognition of her right to resume her place among the great powers of Europe. In 1859 a financial scheme was adopted for raising a sum of 2,000,000,000 reals, or about 20,000,000*l.* sterling, for the prosecution of public works, of which sum one-half is appropriated to railways and roads, and the other half is divided between fortifications and ship-building, the whole expenditure to be spread over a period of eight years, thus enabling the country to spend between 600,000*l.* and 700,000*l.* annually in shipbuilding. Several fine 60-gun frigates are now in course of construction, and two iron-plated frigates of the first class are about to be contracted for, to be ready with the least possible delay. The existing naval power of Spain, although but the shadow of its former greatness, is respectable. Inclusive of packets and guarda-costas, and other small vessels such as gunboats, it numbers 256 vessels, with 942 guns. Among the larger class of ships are 2 of 84 guns, 4 sailing frigates mounting 156 guns, and 4 steam-frigates carrying 147 guns, and 26

* 'Situation Economique et Industrielle de l'Espagne en 1860.'

smaller steamers carrying 142 guns, besides 4 heavily-armed corvettes carrying 100 guns; and numerous ships of smaller armament, all well equipped and provided with disciplined crews.

The prominent part taken by the Spanish army in all the *pronunciamientos* of the last twenty years is well known. In the face of such frequent interpositions of the military in politics, true constitutional government cannot be said to have existed. The energetic and, we admit, frequently patriotic, men whose influence over the army gave them a commanding position have generally, after some brief conflict with another portion of the national force, concluded their enterprise by seizing the helm of the State. There can be no doubt that civil wisdom and administrative ability of a high order often have been found united in men whose antecedents had been exclusively military, and that they have conferred benefits upon their country which probably no ordinary statesman could have bestowed. They have repressed faction by the force of their character, and restored order to a distracted state. The present peace and prosperity of Spain are undoubtedly owing to the firm and vigorous administration of more than one military chief, but especially to the eminent person who now presides over the councils of the nation. The regular Spanish army, according to the latest accounts, consists of 159,666 men of all ranks and arms, including 44,000 provincial militia. The infantry includes 20 battalions of *chasseurs*, recruited from the mountain districts, and supplied with *armes de précision*, which proved extremely formidable in the late war with Morocco. All the equipments of this force are supplied entirely from the great arsenal of Seville.

The military enterprise recently undertaken by Spain against Morocco is understood to have been forced upon the Government by public opinion. It seemed as if Spanish ambition and fanaticism had kindled into new life. The army was anxious to show to Europe that it possessed the military virtues for which it had once been respected. It has acquired confidence and reputation in its short and decisive campaign; and Spain has proved both her ability and inclination to take the field for any cause in which her honour and interests are believed to be involved. We must, however, state our opinion that the harsh and onerous terms she imposed upon a brave but unmilitary enemy were unworthy of her generosity; and the desire evinced to acquire additional territory in Morocco is as much opposed to her true interests as it is inconsistent with the declarations made before the commencement of the war.

The revenue of Spain has of late years greatly increased. In 1851 it amounted to about 12,493,033*l.*, and it was considerably exceeded

exceeded by the expenditure. In the year 1858 it amounted to 20,833,633*l.*, the expenditure still being somewhat in excess of the receipts. The revenue of 1860 shows a further increase; but the Spanish Government, desirous of urging on the public works on which the further progress of the country greatly depends, has felt itself justified from year to year in proposing supplementary estimates of considerable amount. The interest on the public debt amounts to about one-fourth of the revenue; the ordinary expenses of the army are about 3,000,000*l.*; of the navy a little over 1,000,000*l.*

It is natural that Spain should, in her renovated strength, turn her thoughts towards those vast countries, once her colonies, the misgovernment of which was one of the causes of her decline. Certainly these republics have hitherto found little in their freedom to compensate them for the loss of Imperial government, tainted as it was with grievous oppression and wrong. The hopeless condition of one of these countries has impelled Europe to intervene, ostensibly for the purpose of obtaining compensation for a long series of injuries, but substantially to rescue from anarchy a nation in which the very elements of society seem to be dissolved. We know not what the hopes of Spain may be of acquiring such an influence in Mexico as may lead to an acquiescence in, or a desire for, the resumption of her ancient dominion. After the recent annexation of half of San Domingo, the earliest acquisition of Spain in the New World, the object may appear to be within her grasp. We do not believe in the possibility of forming any stable government out of the degenerate race which has reduced the finest territory on the globe to a state of utter barbarism. The experiment has been proceeding for nearly half a century, and has resulted only in a spectacle which is a scandal to civilization. The rule of military dictators has passed away, leaving no traces but of desolation and blood; democracy has run its short career, but only to exhibit its own inconceivable corruption. To be governed Mexico must be occupied, probably for a lengthened period, by a foreign force, and such an intervention will be probably welcomed as the only possible escape from the most intolerable of evils. What the ultimate position of the Spaniard may be in Mexico, or what the position of Mexico may be in relation to its neighbours, time alone can determine. Even while we write, important events are probably occurring, upon the consequences of which we forbear to speculate. Spain may be assured that she cannot serve her own interests better than by acting with all loyalty towards the allies with whom she is associated.

The recent annexation of one-half of the island of San Domingo
to

to the Crown of Spain is one of the most remarkable events of an age full of startling changes and surprises. On the 21st of March, 1861, the Dominican Republic ceased to exist, and the country became a portion of the dominions of the Queen of Spain. The island of San Domingo, or Hispaniola, as it was named by its Spanish discoverers, is unsurpassed in beauty and natural productiveness by any in the Antilles, but its history has been a series of destructive revolutions. It was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and was soon filled with adventurers, but was abandoned for the superior attractions which the great discoveries on the continent held out, and, instead of yielding a revenue, it became a burthen to Spain. The eastern half of the island was ceded to France by the Treaty of Ryswick, and, all commercial restrictions having been removed, that portion of the country became extremely flourishing, and continued so until the outbreak of the French Revolution. The contest for ascendancy which raged between the whites supported by France, and the revolted black population, forms one of the most thrilling episodes of modern history. A desperate struggle for independence was terminated by the overwhelming force with which France supported her colonists. The whole of Hispaniola became again subject to Spanish sway in 1814; but Spain being unable to keep an effective garrison in the colony, a revolution broke out, which terminated in the expulsion of the Spanish troops, and the island declared its independence under the title of the Republic of Hayti. Then succeeded one of the most grotesque imitations of an European *coup d'état* that it is possible to conceive. An adventurer, who rose from the position of a menial servant to a black general to a command in the native army, overthrew the 'liberties' of his country and proclaimed himself emperor. This man, better known as Solouque, founded a 'dynasty' under the title of Faustin I. One of his first acts was to create an order of nobility, composed of dukes, marquises, counts, and barons, and an escaped galley-slave was made a prince of the empire. The Spanish part of the island revolted from this contemptible domination, and remained nominally under the protection of Spain until 1844, when it threw off the allegiance of the old country and proclaimed the Dominican Republic. Solouque endeavoured to recover the revolted portion of the island in 1849, but was repulsed in his attempt by a small force of 400 men. There is no reason to doubt that the offer to Spain of the resumption of her dominion over her old colony was a free and spontaneous act of the President and people of San Domingo; for in truth the condition of this fine country had become extremely deplorable. Forty consecutive years of war and revolution had destroyed even the
germs

germs of prosperity, and reduced one of the most fertile islands in the world to the necessity of importing the productions in which it was once eminently rich, and even much of the food required for the subsistence of its inhabitants. Marshal O'Donnell has assured Mr. Edwardes, our Chargé d'Affaires, that the Dominican Republic had made repeated overtures to be taken under the protection of Spain, or to be annexed, but that he had invariably rejected them, saying he did not consider such a step to be for the interest of either of the two countries; and that at the time the Spanish dominion was proclaimed in San Domingo, there was not a Spanish vessel in any of the harbours, or even off the coast, and that the intelligence had to be conveyed to Cuba in a small coasting vessel. 'In the course of the last month,' wrote Mr. Edwardes from Madrid, 'the Spanish Consul at Santo Domingo presented himself to the Governor-General of Cuba, and stated that the Dominican Republic had decided upon annexing itself to Spain, requesting his Excellency to accept this spontaneous offer, and to send officers and troops to incorporate it with the Spanish dominions. Shortly afterwards an envoy of the President of the Republic appeared and repeated the offer in the same terms. Marshal Serrano declined taking any decision until he should be fully convinced that such was the free and express desire of the whole of the Dominican population; and the envoy having assured him that such was the irrevocable determination of the Republic, he consented to send to Santo Domingo the ships and troops that they asked for; but upon condition that not a single Spanish soldier should put foot on shore until, by means of the municipalities, by universal suffrage, or by some other clear and distinct manner, a "plébiscite," or something equivalent, decreeing the annexation, should have been voted; and that even in that case he would not accept it otherwise than *ad interim* and *ad referendum* to the decision of Her Catholic Majesty. After this declaration he despatched the ships with 3000 men on board to lie off the coast of Santo Domingo.'* The Dominicans are described in a despatch from the Captain-General of Cuba to the Spanish Government as raising the flag of Castile from one end of the country to the other with the enthusiasm of a people which, after long suffering and with a gloomy future before it, resolutely sought for relief, tranquillity, and security in a long cherished measure. It appears that not only all the towns of Santo Domingo spontaneously declared their renewed allegiance to Spain, but some places on the frontier of the Republic of Hayti followed the example.

* Despatch of Mr. Edwardes to Lord J. Russell, April 17, 1861.

Every interest in San Domingo had, on the testimony of the British consul, fallen into complete decay; and on the acceptance by Spain of the proffered allegiance of the settlement, its paper money immediately rose in value 30 per cent. The Spanish Government has given the most satisfactory pledges that slavery shall not be reintroduced. Indeed, the reintroduction of slavery into the recent acquisition of the Spanish Crown is morally impossible. A special enactment of the Cortes would be necessary to legalise it, and opinion in Spain would not sanction the act. The Prime Minister emphatically declared on a recent occasion that the public opinion of his country had been pronounced decidedly against the slave trade, and that his Government was using its best endeavours to put an end to it; but that its total suppression could not be effected in a day, or before measures for substituting other labour were matured.* It will be for the Spanish Government now to prove the sincerity of its pledges, and to develop the riches of this noble island. A great experiment will soon be in progress in the attempt to raise tropical produce by free labour. We believe it will be a successful one. It must, should it so prove, effect an entire revolution in the present colonial economy of Spain. There will no longer be even a pretext for conniving at the slave trade, and the gradual extinction of slavery within the Spanish dominions will be assured. No one can desire a sudden emancipation of the Negro race in Cuba, Porto Rico, or in any other portion of the world, but a policy of progressive amelioration and ultimate freedom must and will be the necessary result. We believe such a consummation to be the sincere wish of the Spanish people.

Spain, while retaining her originality of character, is far from being so much in the rear of modern nations as is sometimes supposed.† Much that may yet be objectionable in her government she owes to the principles on which she was long ruled. From the time of the Arab invasion down to the conquest of Granada this high-minded people had scarcely any political intercourse with the rest of Europe. They had little knowledge of anything beyond their mountain barrier; and their isolation, combined with their strong religious temperament, made them the willing victims of ecclesiastical ambition. Spain long tried to impose her yoke and her faith upon Europe. It was a rash and hopeless struggle against the laws of society; and, baffled in the enterprise, she sank into profound and apparently hopeless exhaustion. 'It is but a corpse that I have reanimated,'

* Despatch of Mr. Edwardes to Lord J. Russell, July 7, 1861.

† Such, at least, is the opinion of a recent French writer of great intelligence. See '*L'Espagne en 1860*,' par Vidal.

said Alberoni, the minister of Philip V., when contemplating the results of the temporary energy he had infused into the State; 'and when I die, it will again quietly lay itself down in its tomb.' But the nation never lost its vitality, and the national character survived the national humiliation. The royal authority has stood unshaken amidst all the political tempests that have desolated the Spanish peninsula. Indeed the people can appreciate no government of which monarchy is not the presiding principle, and they are but too prone to consider it as the only substantial power of the State. Loyalty is an inextinguishable passion, and the throne is based on ancient traditions, although surrounded and supported by modern institutions.

The feeling of the Spanish people on the return of prosperity, and their just confidence in the future, found a suitable expression in the address of the Queen's ministers to their Sovereign on the restoration of San Domingo to the Crown. 'God,' they say, 'who during a period the memory of which is imperishable exalted this monarchy, and who has preserved the purity of its reputation in the midst of long and terrible trials, has permitted it to recover from its past weakness, and to be able to embrace a people who were separated from its bosom in days of perturbation and debility which will never return.' The revival of Spain can excite in this country no feeling but one of unqualified satisfaction. 'Great Britain and Spain,' in the words of Lord Russell, 'have for long periods of time, and in circumstances of high moment to each, been faithful and active allies, and their alliance has been greatly useful and highly honourable to both. It is a fundamental maxim of British policy to wish well to Spain, and earnestly to desire her welfare and prosperity.'* While endeavouring to bring prominently forward the very strong grounds which exist for believing that she is at length arousing herself and taking the right course of industry and enterprise, we have left ourselves no room to notice the many attractions of the country which are pleasantly set forth in the 'Letters from Spain,' the work of a very accomplished man. Neither have we entered at length upon the history of the court or the conduct of the political leaders of Spain; and in particular we have with some difficulty abstained from adverting at present to certain financial shortcomings of the Spanish Government, because we are persuaded that the time cannot be far distant when it will proudly redeem the honour of the country, and efface from its escutcheon a great and lamentable blot.

* Despatch from Lord J. Russell to Mr. Edwardes, May 14, 1861.

ART. VI.—1. *Addresses delivered on different Public Occasions by His Royal Highness the Prince Albert.* 1857.

2. *Prince Albert's Speeches.* People's Edition.

THERE are events—the paralyzing nature of which seems to arrest the hand of Time himself, causing a recoil, equally from the Past and the Future, in which the mind of an individual or of a nation stands for awhile giddily still, like a ship struck between two seas.

Of this character is the event under which the country is still stunned—the death of the Prince Consort. We were all at the busy work or idle play of life, adding house to house and field to field, preparing for a great mart of the inventions and productions of the civilized world, and seeing no cloud, except one, which we made equally sure to repel or disperse; when suddenly, and to many without the slightest preparation, there appeared a handwriting on the wall, and the millions of the land gazed upon it with sorrowful anxiety. The metaphor goes no further. For whom did that writing concern? Not the tyrant swelling with pride, or the Sybarite revelling in excess; not one who, in any sense, was using the sacred things of the Lord's temple for unhallowed purposes, but a Prince, gentle, pure, and upright, wise and good. Let us not, however, act or speak as if the death of the righteous, even in the vigour of his days and the zenith of his usefulness, were a strange, or, in every sense, an evil thing, in this imperfect world. Much mercy has been shown by the Dispenser of events. He has been cut off by no accident harrowing the soul with second causes—by no assassin sullyng our resignation with feelings of resentment. He has died with his own beloved ones about him, cared for and tended by the highest skill in the land; with the prayers of multitudes of the subjects of that agonized Lady besieging Heaven, all importunate for his life, and the wail of a great nation rising muffled about his couch. It is sufficient that in the hands of the Lord are the issues of life and death, and that without His knowledge not a sparrow falls to the ground.

Nor let it either ungratefully and untruly be said that we have utterly lost him whom we so deeply lament. A life spent among us for above twenty years in one ceaseless stream of good and wise works, no death of the body can be said to sweep away. In the light of a glorious example, long watched by the good with ever-increasing admiration, that life is ours still. Let us, therefore, endeavour, in all humility, to trace something of the character and habits of a mind which has left as a legacy a standard of conduct so far raised above all former precedent; enlisting the help

help of his own honoured words in our task, by referring, as we proceed, to that small volume of his 'Speeches' on various public occasions, wherein the mind may be said to have traced an unassailable record of itself.

There are two classes of character to which the term greatness is applied. The one possessing gorgeous powers, unsustained by any corresponding elevation of the whole man, which crosses our path in this world like a meteor, attracting notice as much by its irregularity as its light. The other, endowed with that perfect balance of mental powers and moral qualities—the *totus teres*—which needs to be known as a whole before it can be appreciated in its parts; appealing not to our love of the marvellous, or thirst for excitement, but to our deeper sympathies and nobler aspirations, and therefore slow to find favour in a world more quickly caught by dazzling eccentricities than by the steady light of a general superiority of being. Of this last class of character, and from the station he occupied and the opportunities he enjoyed, one of the most perfect examples which history will, perhaps, ever record, was that illustrious man whose career is thus early closed.

Looking back now at the time when the Prince first came to this country, a young and untried foreigner, to whom we gave so much, and from whom we expected so little, the nation seems to have been strangely blind to the promise which we now feel always beamed from that firm and serene brow. There was no outburst of congratulation that a lot so brilliant should have fallen, to all appearances, so auspiciously. We waited and watched, with no very eager interest, prepared rather to discover those errors and shortcomings known to be inseparable from youth—and not youth only—and royalty, than to hail any dawning signs of a great and exceptional career. Nor was our blindness intentional or malicious. Behind the constitutional restraints imposed on all English monarchs, to which the other Self of a reigning Queen was necessarily subject,—restraints imposed purposely to neutralize the personal propensities of the individual, and to level each in succession to the same safe and just medium,—from behind these limits royalty assumes but a colourless, however imposing, character to the great mass of the people. If the private life be outwardly decorous, little is said, and that little often not true.

But to say nothing of this incapacity of judging, what right had we to raise any hopes beyond that same measure of respectability and decorum? What precedent had we for a Prince leading a life, setting an example, and creating for himself a career, for the good of a country, such as we now proudly,

fondly, and sadly look back upon? If any one had ventured to prophesy that this untried youth and foreigner was to be foremost in the ranks of every form of intelligence, foremost in plans of active philanthropy, foremost in diligence, order, and judgment, in purity of morals, and the practice of every domestic virtue, he would have been scouted as a dreamer of dreams. A youth just twenty years of age, and yet fully furnished in every scholarly department of learning and taste; a modern German Prince, and yet the worshipper of constitutional laws and the friend of progress; inexperienced in the art of life, exalted in station, and suddenly exalted in fortune; possessing great personal advantages, and ushered into a gay and luxurious court, and yet not one blot on his moral escutcheon; royal, yet disdaining every royal road to attainment and every traditional royal right to self-indulgence. Surely we may be pardoned for not readily believing in a character which the history of princes and of mankind had doubly proved to be fabulous!

The country had had no opportunity of knowing anything of Prince Albert before he became a suitor for our young Queen; nor scarcely more between the 16th November, 1839, when Her Majesty announced him to the Privy Council as the object of her choice in words of trust now made touching by their subsequent fulfilment, and the 10th February, 1840, when this most auspicious marriage took place. A few days before the wedding ceremonial the Duke of Wellington said in the House of Lords, with his customary plainness, 'It appears to me that the public ought to know something beyond the name of Prince Albert;' and truly it does appear strange now that there should have been so little curiosity shown on the subject. Books appeared, ephemeral in their character, giving a history of the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, where, if ancestry goes for anything, every possible guarantee might have been found for some at least of the sterling qualities we have since learned to revere in their descendant. No men of straw—no mere royal images—those progenitors equally of the young Bride and Bridegroom: Frederick the Wise, John the Constant, John Frederick the Magnanimous, Prince Electors of Saxony, who toiled, and bled, and suffered bonds and imprisonment, and sentence of ignominious death, and loss of state and realm, for the Protestant cause at the Reformation. But loyalty, then-a-days, was accustomed to dispense with very earnest convictions. These facts, therefore, went little beyond the surface, and perhaps went not so far. Even the character of the Prince's uncle, Leopold of the Belgians, did not stand then where it does now. A silly rumour
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that Prince Albert was a Roman Catholic, founded ostensibly on the marriage of his cousin to the Queen of Portugal, and on our Queen's not having declared the form of religion to which he belonged, obtained a worthless belief; but otherwise he arrived in England with a reputation, for better and for worse, still to make.

The first distinct sentiments he may be said to have inspired were those of commiseration at the supposed thanklessness of his position. But Pity here was not akin to Love, and it was by no very complimentary logic that a man precluded from the stir of politics was concluded, by the national ignorance and vanity, to have no sphere at all. Here, again, no human prescience could have guessed how far higher was the ambition of this unknown young man than anything which the coarse strife of politics could have satisfied. It was well, however, that even these nobler aims were not impatient of realisation. At every point a jealous insular nation, visiting upon the stranger all the mistrust which previous generations of Princes had inspired, confronted him—ready to do all loyal and courteous homage, but sternly requiring to be slowly and really convinced before they would more than nominally trust. Never had a nation less cause to fear! That mind which in its unswerving homage to the laws which govern men and Nature we have learned to revere as unique among Princes and conspicuous among men, recognised immediately the laws which governed its own individual and peculiar position, and trod at once firmly in them. From the first day of his marriage the young and royal Husband sought that one thing, most creditable to his judgment and honourable to his heart, through which alone all other things could be safely added to him. That one object to which every other ambition yielded, and for which even his remarkable powers were for a while kept from the public knowledge, was simply and solely the good and the happiness of our Queen. This was the secret of that discretion which not even the most lukewarm could deny to him—no negative virtue, the offspring of cold calculation unnatural in the young, but the fruit of an entireness of self-devotion of which man is seldom found capable.

Happy for both that he was met by a kindred spirit! Every advantage that the nation has derived from the Prince's career is owing to the perfect harmony of the two individuals thus loftily placed. Had the Royal Lady who bestowed her hand been less royally noble in nature—had there been the slightest jealousy of his influence, or of his personal participation in scenes and duties denied to the Crown, it is not too much to say that the world would have known but little of the Prince's powers for

those great departments of public utility which he has made so peculiarly his own, and that he would have hidden them contentedly under the cloak of a learned retirement.

A touching passage in one of his speeches shows, with the interest which he felt at once even for our most quaint and bygone institutions, the principle on which he abstained, in small things as in great, from all that could compromise the young and generous Sovereign at his side. This speech was uttered at a dinner at the Merchant Taylors' Company, when, thanking them for his admission as a freeman, the Prince added, 'I remember well with what regret, when, shortly after I came of age, the Companies of the Goldsmiths and Fishmongers offered me their freedom, I found myself compelled to decline this honour; being informed that, identified as they were by historical traditions with two opposite parties, and still representing these parties, I could make a choice only of one of them; and being fully sensible that, like the Sovereign to whom I had just been united, and to devote my whole existence to whom it had become my privilege, I could belong only to the nation at large—free from the trammels and above the dissensions of political parties.'

But if it was right and wise to forbear all exercise of personal influence, until convinced of its compatibility with that Dignity and that Pleasure which alone he studied, it was as difficult, most would have supposed, to know how to apply it within the limits of his position, when convinced that he might do so with propriety. And here the intellectual superiority of the mind at once asserts itself. As Raphael compelled the unfavouring spaces of the Farnesina to minister to the inspiration of some of his finest compositions, so it has ever been the test of true greatness to convert untoward conditions into occasions of the highest success. We find one chief clue to the Prince's unparalleled career in one of those pregnant sentences—we shall later quote it with its context—addressed to a large and cultivated assembly, which startled his hearers into the recognition of a new and remarkable individuality. 'Gentlemen, I conceive it to be the duty of every educated person closely to watch the time in which he lives, and, as far as in him lies, to add his humble mite of individual exertion for the accomplishment of what he conceives Providence to have ordained.' These are the words of a man, who, under the modest profession of studying his own time, was ever reaching forward to convictions far in advance of it; and who, while supposed to be denied the field of politics, quietly instructed the world in that truest science of the politician, which prevents evil by anticipating the coming need.

In a country where scarcely a day passes without examples of
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the oratory of the most gifted and practised of her children, it was no small test of a Prince, foreign in birth and education, to enter the lists of public speaking, and measure himself against a standard no less peculiar to ourselves than high in mark. But here again the lofty tone of the mind, in all its parts, ensured his success. Casting aside all ambition of personal display, he sought simply and grandly to fathom the principles of whatever subject he had in hand, bringing to bear upon it a profoundness of thought and unstudied nobility of language, which, for all the national self-complacency, will ever remain the newest thing an English public can hear. And the truth was mighty and always prevailed, and the most eloquent of his hearers acknowledged that a new grace, beyond the reach of art, had been won in their own national accomplishment. The man who sees clearly, thinks correctly, reasons profoundly, and knows largely, has power over all subjects fitted for the human mind to investigate. Wonder therefore ceases as admiration and respect rise, as we view the varied topics over which this gifted individual showed equal power.

These speeches have a further and incidental interest as the record of the characteristic Associations which have grown in this country during these last fastest and fullest years; marking nothing more strikingly than the decline of that sphere of party for which it was the Prince's gain, not loss, to be ineligible.

It may be observed that Prince Albert had, from an early period, been solicited to become the President of such philanthropic Societies as were supposed not to commit him on any political topics; a chary compliment which he turned in the end nobly against us.

The first occasion on which His Royal Highness took part in a public meeting was one which the 'Speeches' do not record. It was held on the 1st June, 1840, when, as President of the 'Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade,' he took the chair at Exeter Hall. Here he spoke a few words upon the object of the meeting, which, there is no reason to doubt, were in every sense his own; showing, as they do, a simplicity and fitness which link them naturally with his maturer expressions. But his extreme youth (he was then not twenty-one) caused little importance to be attached to this appearance. He was thought a great catch for a benevolent party, but the very allusions made in his presence to the necessity for banishing politics for that day, the merit claimed for the intention, and the obvious difficulty of adhering to it, betrayed the total absence of that larger spirit which was mainly to be fostered by that then little known youthful President.

A second occasion, also unnoticed in the collection of 'Speeches,'
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occurred on the 11th May, 1842, when Prince Albert filled the chair at the Anniversary Dinner of the Literary Fund Society, supported by the Duke of Cleveland and the Marquis of Lansdowne. Here, in addition to the necessary forms of proposing the Queen's health, and the prosperity of the Institution, he addressed the assembly in a short speech, expressing sentiments of appreciation for 'those who pursue the grand career of the cultivation of the human mind,'—taken for words of form at the time, but since recognised as words of earnest truth. Here the Prince listened to the voices of Moore and Campbell, probably for the first and last time.

It is possible that one so intelligent felt that, in presiding over such dinners for charitable purposes, he was only filling a place for which an Englishman of note would never be found wanting, and thus contributing no additional advantage to his adopted country; for this was the first and last time that we find him, as we now feel it, so inappropriately employed. Nor are we aware that he appeared on any public occasion requiring an address, until May 18, 1848, when he presided at a Meeting of the 'Society for Improving the Condition of the Labouring Classes.' The object of this Society is to build model houses for the dwellings of the Poor, to establish the field-garden and allotment system, and loan societies on sound principles. Here the lapse of time, which had converted him from a youth into a man, is perceived at once. His speech is a canon of true principles on that subject,—namely, how best to assist our poorer fellow creatures,—which history proves to have been the most puzzling in this world; while the pure philosophy on which he took his ground, emanated with startling force from royal lips:

'Depend upon it, the interests of classes too often contrasted are identical, and it is only ignorance which prevents their uniting for each other's advantage. To dispel that ignorance, to show how man can help man, notwithstanding the complicated state of civilized society, ought to be the aim of every philanthropic person; but it is more peculiarly the duty of those who, under the blessing of Divine Providence, enjoy station, wealth, and education.

'Let them be careful, however, to avoid any dictatorial interference with labour and employment, which frightens away capital, destroys that freedom of thought and independence of action which must remain to every one if he is to work out his own happiness, and impairs that confidence under which alone engagements for mutual benefit are possible.

'God has created man imperfect, and left him with many wants, as it were to stimulate each to individual exertion, and to make all feel that it is only by united exertions and combined action that these imperfections

perfections can be supplied and these wants satisfied. This presupposes self-reliance and confidence in each other. To show the way how these individual exertions can be directed with the greatest benefit, and to foster that confidence upon which the readiness to assist each other depends, this Society deems its most sacred duty.

‘There has been no ostentatious display of charity or munificence, nor the pretension of becoming the arbiter of the fate of thousands, but the quiet working out of particular schemes of social improvement; for which, however, as I said before, the Society has only established examples for the community at large to follow.’

The next occasion was the meeting of the Royal Agricultural Society, held at York, July 13, 1848. This Society, formerly called ‘The Board of Agriculture,’ had been dissolved a quarter of a century before, in consequence of such inveterate party feeling as frustrated its very object; whereupon it was reconstituted with a particular statute curiously forbidding ‘*reference to any matter to be brought forward or pending in either House of Parliament.*’ The Prince’s attendance at the tenth annual Meeting further endorsed this veto. The admirable working of the farms at Balmoral, and of the model farm at Windsor, have proved to the world that the Prince was no mere theoretical tiller of the earth; so that his ever leading doctrine of Progress, so hard to dibble into the brains of the old-fashioned English farmer, comes with perfect justice from the man who had made his doctrine, even in this department, pay. ‘Science and mechanical improvement,’ he says, ‘have in these days changed the mere practice of cultivating the soil into an industrial pursuit, requiring capital, industry, machinery, and skill and perseverance in the struggle of competition. This, while a great change, we must also consider as a great *progress*, as it demands higher efforts, and a higher intelligence.’

The laying the first stone of the Great Grimsby Docks follows, April 18, 1849, the Prince’s presence being appropriately given for an object partaking both of a national and state character. Here the speech is the more interesting as exhibiting the view an intelligent foreigner would take of an occasion so purely English in character.

‘We have been laying the foundation not only of a Dock as a place of refuge, safety, and refitment for mercantile shipping, and calculated even to receive the largest steamers in Her Majesty’s Navy, but, it may be, and I hope it will be, the foundation of a great commercial Port, destined in after times—when we shall long have quitted this scene, and when our names even may be forgotten—to form another centre of life to the vast and ever-increasing commerce of the World, and an important link in the connection of the East and the West. Nay, if I contemplate the extraordinary rapidity of development which characterizes

characterizes the undertakings of this age, it may not even be too much to expect that some of us may live yet to see this prospect in part realized.

‘This work has been undertaken, like almost all the national enterprises of this great country, by *private* exertion, with *private* capital, and at *private* risk; and it shares with them likewise that other feature so peculiar to the enterprises of Englishmen, that, strongly attached as they are to the institutions of their country, and gratefully acknowledging the protection of those laws under which their enterprises are undertaken and flourish, they love to connect them in some manner directly with the authority of the Crown and the person of their Sovereign; and it is the appreciation of this circumstance which has impelled me at once to respond to your call as the readiest mode of testifying to you how strongly Her Majesty the Queen values and reciprocates this feeling.’

The humane attention of His Royal Highness to the conduct and welfare of the servants of the Royal household—an attention paid in like measure by very few private gentlemen—has been since partially known. It is therefore now no matter of wonder that he should have expressed himself as only fulfilling a duty to the country in taking the chair at a meeting of the Servants’ Benevolent Society. It was strange, however, then to hear this young, stately, and royal man—to many invested with a kind of mystery as standing in so intimate a relation with the Head of the State—entering into careful details regarding small incomes, deposits, and 30*l.* annuities. Yet it was natural that this very speech, abounding in practical sense, and teeming with affectionate interest for a question which came so closely home to every worthy household in the land, should have attracted greater wonder and attention than any previous one.

From a subject so peculiarly connected with the study of his own time, we find him, a month later, June 11th, 1849, dining with the Merchant Taylors’ Company, an ancient institution the original intention and need of which time had long reduced to nought, though its forms have remained, like others, wedged too tight among the living things of subsequent generations to be swept away. Here again he takes advantage of his foreign point of view to compliment the country of his adoption:—‘Anybody may indeed feel proud to be enrolled a member of a Company which can boast of uninterrupted usefulness and beneficence during four centuries, and holds to this day the same honourable position in the estimation of the country which it did in the time of its first formation, though the progress of civilisation and wealth has vastly raised the community around it; exemplifying the possibility in this happy country of combining the general progress of mankind with a due reverence for the institutions and
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even forms which have been bequeathed to us by the piety and wisdom of our forefathers.'

The next occasion, like the last, though equally English in character, was in no way connected with any progress of ideas. The presentation of new colours to the 23rd Regiment of Royal Welsh Fusiliers drew forth a plain, soldierlike speech, terse and strong, adapted to his audience, and coming with perfect grace from one whose knowledge of military science has taken many a veteran by surprise.

We now approach the period when the Prince began to show his power to guide as well as his readiness to concur in the ideas of the present generation—and to guide them through obstacles of no common difficulty. The feelings which succeeded the announced plan of the Exhibition of all Nations,—the prejudices, evil prophecies, and discouragements it endured,—are fresh in the minds of our readers. The most formidable difficulties were opposed by the Government itself, startled out of all its proprieties by a scheme its philosophy had never dreamt of. Here, for the first time, the Prince, though nominally sustained by high names, may be said to have thrown himself on the intelligence of the country. Still, it was difficult to get at this intelligence, or to put himself into a position calculated to communicate his views to the thinking classes. An opportunity was offered at a Mansion House dinner, given expressly by the Lord Mayor for the purpose of furthering the scheme, at which, besides the usual array of rank and note, 180 Mayors were assembled from the provinces. The gathering together of such numbers, however, was no pledge of cordial concurrence, or even of comprehension of his views. It was rather that all were flattered in being nominally associated in a scheme for the failure of which few in their hearts thought they should be held responsible. It was well they came, for the Prince had girded himself up to do battle for Peace and Industry with weapons none could oppose. Here he at once assumed that high ground to which his mind ever instinctively gravitated, taking for his guiding idea the policy, not of any party, class, interest, or expedience, but that which he interpreted as the policy of the Supreme Ruler of nations:—

'Gentlemen, I conceive it to be the duty of every educated person closely to watch and study the time in which he lives, and, as far as in him lies, to add his humble mite of individual exertion to further the accomplishment of what he believes Providence to have ordained.

'Nobody, however, who has paid any attention to the peculiar features of our present era, will doubt for a moment that we are living at a period of most wonderful transition, which tends rapidly to accom-
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plish that great end, to which, indeed, all history points—the *realization of the Unity of mankind!* Not a unity which breaks down the limits, and levels the peculiar characteristics of the different nations of the Earth, but rather a unity the *result and product* of those very national varieties and antagonistic qualities.

‘The distances which separated the different nations and parts of the Globe are rapidly vanishing before the achievements of modern invention, and we can traverse them with incredible ease; the languages of all nations are known, and their acquirement placed within the reach of everybody; thought is communicated with the rapidity, and even by the power, of lightning. On the other hand the *great principle of division of labour*, which may be called the moving power of civilization, is being extended to all branches of science, industry, and art. . . .

‘So man is approaching a more complete fulfilment of that great and sacred mission which he has to perform in this world. His reason being created after the image of God, he has to use it to discover the laws by which the Almighty governs his creation, and, by making these laws his standard of action, to conquer nature to his use; himself a Divine instrument. . . .

‘Gentlemen, the Exhibition of 1851 is to give us a true test and a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived in this great task, and a new starting point from which all nations will be able to direct their future exertions.

‘I confidently hope that the first impression which the view of this vast collection will produce upon the spectator, will be that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which he has bestowed upon us already here below; and the second, the conviction that they can only be realized in proportion to the help which we are prepared to render each other,—therefore only by peace, love, and real assistance, not only between individuals, but between the nations of the Earth.’

‘This being *my* conviction, I must be highly gratified to see here assembled the magistrates of all the important towns of this Realm, sinking all their local, and possibly political differences; the representatives of the different political opinions of the country, and the representatives of the different Foreign Nations to-day representing only *one interest*.’ . . .

No wonder such words as these produced a solemn effect on the hearers. Many eloquent speeches followed, but he alone had so blown the magic horn as to disenchant the gross and torpid spirits around. This was no German mysticism—no royal hobby,—but a definite idea, however vast. And by the time the report of the speech had flown over England, and the Mayors back to their boroughs, more than one shrewd capitalist would have guaranteed the success of the Exhibition.

The opportunity for another public exposition of his sentiments on this subject was renewed on the 23rd October, 1850, when the chief dignitary of York returned the hospitality of the Lord Mayor by a banquet, at which the Prince and some members of
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the Commission were present. Here, with that unstudied diplomacy which flows honestly from an earnest purpose, instead of reverting to the broad principles on which he had previously justified the scheme, he proceeded to vindicate the character of the Englishman in its adoption, thus giving a guarantee for his complete intelligence of the national mind, even when calling upon it to try a new thing. After paying a touching tribute to the then lately-deceased Sir Robert Peel, the last act of whose life had been to attend a meeting of the Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, he thus sagaciously applied the analysis of the great statesman's character to the object he had at heart:—

‘Gentlemen, if he has had so great an influence over this country, it was from the nation recognising in his qualities the true type of the English character, which is essentially practical. Warmly attached to its institutions, and revering the bequests left to him by the industry, wisdom, and piety of his forefathers, the Englishman attaches little value to any theoretical scheme. It will attract his attention only after having been for some time placed before him; it must have been thoroughly investigated and discussed before he will entertain it. Should it be an empty theory, it will fall to the ground during this time of probation; should it survive this trial, it will be on account of the practical qualities contained in it; but its adoption in the end will entirely depend upon its harmonising with the national feeling, the historic development of the country, and the peculiar nature of its institutions.

‘It is owing to these national qualities that England, whilst constantly progressing, has still preserved the integrity of her Constitution from the earliest times, and has been protected from wild schemes, whose chief charm lies in their novelty; whilst around us we have seen, unfortunately, whole nations distracted, and the very fabric of society endangered, from the levity with which the result of the experience of generations, the growth of ages, has been thrown away to give place to temporarily favourite ideas.

‘Taking this view of the character of our country, I was pleased when I saw the plan of the Exhibition of 1851 undergo its ordeal of doubt, discussion, and even opposition; and I hope that I may now gather from the energy and earnestness with which its execution is pursued, that the nation is convinced that it accords with its interests and the position which England has taken in the world.’

In August, 1850, we first hear him publicly speaking on a topic, that of the Fine Arts, supposed to be more particularly his own. This was on occasion of his laying the first stone of the new National Gallery at Edinburgh. Here, as usual, instead of high sounding surface phrases, a fundamental idea was given:—

‘The building of which we have just begun the foundation, is a temple to be erected to the Fine Arts; the Fine Arts, which have so important

important an influence upon the development of the mind and feeling of a people, and which are so generally taken as the type of the degree and character of that development, that it is on the fragments of works of art, come down to us from bygone nations, that we are wont to form our estimate of the state of their civilisation, manners, customs, and religion. . . .

‘It must be an additional source of gratification to me to find that part of the funds rendered available for the support of this undertaking should be the ancient grant which, at the union of the two kingdoms, was secured towards the encouragement of the fisheries and manufactures of Scotland, as it affords a most pleasing proof that those important branches of industry have arrived at that stage of manhood and prosperity, when, no longer requiring the aid of a fostering Government, they can maintain themselves independent, relying upon their own vigour and activity, and can now in their turn lend assistance and support to their younger and weaker sisters, the Fine Arts.

‘Gentlemen, the history of this grant exhibits to us the picture of a most healthy national progress; the ruder arts connected with the necessaries of life, *first* gaining strength; then education and science supervening and directing further exertions; and, lastly, the arts which only adorn life, becoming longed for by a prosperous and educated people.’

The subject of the Fine Arts was further illustrated on the occasion of his honouring the Royal Academy with his presence at their annual dinner, which took place May 3, 1851. Here we have very remarkable words, proving the complete correspondence of the intelligent and sympathising powers. Here no longer an exposition of the general relations of Art to a nation—as on laying the first stone for a building to be dedicated to the fine arts—but the expression of a close sympathy with the artist mind, more appropriate in an apartment surrounded with the fruits of their labour. That he was never in any respect behind his audience, whatever that might be, appears here in his allusions to the objects, difficulties, and peculiar experience of the Institution—a chord which he touches with characteristic sense and discretion.

‘Gentlemen, the production of all works in art or poetry requires in their conception and execution not only an exercise of the intellect, skill, and patience, but particularly a *concurrent warmth of feeling* and a free flow of imagination. This renders them most tender plants, which will thrive only in an atmosphere calculated to maintain that warmth, and that atmosphere is one of *kindness*; kindness towards the artist personally as well as towards his production. An unkind word of criticism passes like a cold blast over their tender shoots, and shrivels them up, checking the flow of the sap, which was rising to produce, perhaps, multitudes of flowers and fruit. But still
criticism

criticism is absolutely necessary to the development of art, and the injudicious praise of an inferior work becomes an insult to superior genius.

‘In this respect our times are peculiarly unfavourable when compared with those when Madonnas were painted in the seclusion of convents; for we have now on the one hand the eager competition of a vast array of artists of every degree of talent and skill, and on the other as judge, a great public, for the greater part wholly uneducated in art, and thus led by professional writers, who often strive to impress the public with a great idea of their own artistic knowledge by the merciless manner in which they treat works which cost those who produced them the highest efforts of mind or feeling.

‘Works of art, by being publicly exhibited and offered for sale, are becoming articles of trade, following as such the unreasoning laws of markets and fashion; and public and even private patronage is swayed by their tyrannical influence.

‘It is, then, to an institution like this, Gentlemen, that we must look for a counterpoise to these evils. Here young artists are educated and taught the mysteries of their profession; those who have distinguished themselves and given proof of their talent and power receive a badge of acknowledgment from their professional brethren by being elected Associates of the Academy, and are at last, after long toil and continued exertion, received into a select aristocracy of a limited number, and shielded in any further struggle by their well-established reputation, of which the letters R.A. attached to their names give a pledge to the public.

‘If this body is often assailed from without, it shares only the fate of every aristocracy; if more than another, this only proves that it is even more difficult to sustain an aristocracy of merit than one of birth or of wealth, and may serve as a useful check upon yourselves when tempted at your elections to let personal predilection compete with real merit.’

We must pass on more quickly through this deeply interesting ground, meeting this good and able man from year to year associated with various already established or just commencing works of mercy and intelligence:—at the anniversary of the third Jubilee for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in June, 1851; at another Royal Agricultural Show, held at Windsor, in the Home Park, in the same year; at the Bicentenary Festival of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, in May 10, 1854; at the opening of the New Cattle Market, in Copenhagen Fields, Islington; at the Banquet in the Birmingham Town Hall, on the occasion of laying the first stone of the Birmingham Midland Institute, November 22, 1855; at the opening of the Golden Lane Schools, March 19, 1857, attended by the Prince of Wales,—an occasion which went deep into the hearts of
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the people, who now say, as we have reason to know from several quarters, that they have lost their 'best friend;' and at the opening of the Exhibition of Art Treasures at Manchester, May 5, 1857, in the Introduction to which, in the volume of the Speeches, a letter addressed by His Royal Highness to Lord Ellesmere will be admiringly read.

But we must go back to one, the meeting at Birmingham, where the Prince uttered sentiments at considerable length, which, more than all which have gone before, showed the scope and clearness of his mind, his aptitude for defining great normal principles, his opinions on the deficiencies he conceived to exist in the scheme of education carried out in our public schools and seats of learning, and his foresight as to the results he anticipated from such Institutions—results which future thinkers, following his example in the study of their own times, may compare with the words of this little book, and wonder at the wisdom that fell from these too early silenced lips.

'It has been a great pleasure to me to have been able to participate, in however trifling a degree, in a work which I do not look upon as a simple act of worldly wisdom on the part of this great town and locality, but as one of the first public acknowledgments of a principle which is daily forcing its way amongst us, and is destined to play a great and important part in the future development of this nation, and of the world in general: I mean the introduction of science and art as the unconscious regulators of productive industry.

'The courage and spirit of enterprise with which an immense amount of capital is embarked in industrial pursuits, and the skill and indefatigable perseverance with which these are carried on in this country, cannot but excite universal admiration; but in all our operations, whether agricultural or manufacturing, it is not *we* who operate, but the laws of nature, which we have set in operation.

'It is, then, of the highest importance that we should know these laws, in order to know what we are about, and the reason why certain things are, which occur daily under our hands, and what *course* we are to pursue with regard to them.

'Without such knowledge we are condemned to one of three states: either we merely go on to do things just as our fathers did, and for no better reason than because they did them so; or, trusting to some personal authority, we adopt at random the recommendation of some specific, in a speculative hope that it may answer; or lastly—and this is the most favourable case—we ourselves improve upon certain processes; but this can only be the result of an experience hardly earned and dearly bought, and which, after all, can only embrace a comparatively short space of time and a small number of experiments.

'From none of these causes can we hope for much progress; for the mind, however ingenious, has no materials to work with, and remains in presence of phenomena, the causes of which are hidden from it.

'But

‘ But these laws of nature, these Divine laws, are capable of being discovered, and understood, and being taught, and made our own. *This is the task of science* : and, whilst science discovers and teaches these laws, art teaches their application. No pursuit is therefore too insignificant to be capable of becoming the subject both of a science and an art.

‘ The Fine Arts (as far as they relate to painting, sculpture, and architecture), which are sometimes confounded with art in general, rest on the application of the laws of form and colour, and what may be called the science of the beautiful. They do not rest on any arbitrary theory on the modes of producing pleasurable emotions, but follow fixed laws ; more difficult, perhaps, to seize than those regulating the material world, because belonging partly to the sphere of the ideal, and of our spiritual essence, yet perfectly appreciable and teachable, both abstractedly and historically, from the works of different ages and nations.

‘ No human pursuits make any material progress until science is brought to bear upon them. We have seen accordingly many of them slumber for centuries upon centuries ; but from the moment that Science has touched them with her magic wand, they have sprung forward and taken strides which amaze, and almost awe, the beholder.

‘ Look at the transformation which has gone on around us since the laws of gravitation, electricity, magnetism, and the expansive power of heat have become known to us. It has altered our whole state of existence ; one might say the whole face of the globe. We owe this to Science, and to Science alone ; and she has other treasures in store for us, if we will but call her to our assistance.

‘ It is sometimes objected by the ignorant that Science is uncertain and changeable, and they point with a malicious kind of pleasure to the many exploded theories which have been superseded by others as a proof that the present knowledge may be also unsound, and, after all, not worth having. But they are not aware that while they think to cast blame upon Science, they bestow in fact the highest praise upon her.

‘ For that is precisely the difference between science and prejudice : that the latter keeps stubbornly to its position, whether disproved or not, whilst the former is an unarrestable movement towards the fountain of truth, caring little for cherished authorities or sentiments, but continually progressing ; feeling no shame at her shortcomings, but, on the contrary, the highest pleasure when freed from an error at having advanced another step towards the attainment of divine truth—a pleasure not even intelligible to the pride of ignorance.

‘ We also hear, not unfrequently, science and practice, scientific knowledge and common sense, contrasted as antagonistic. A strange error ! for Science is eminently practical, and must be so, as she sees and knows what she is doing : whilst common practice is condemned to work in the dark, applying natural ingenuity to unknown powers to obtain a known result.

‘ Far be it from me to undervalue the creative power of genius, or
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to treat shrewd common sense as worthless without knowledge. But nobody will tell me that the same genius would not take an incomparably higher flight if supplied with all the means which knowledge can impart, or that common sense does not become, in fact, only truly powerful when in possession of the materials upon which judgment is to be exercised.

'The study of the laws by which the Almighty governs the universe is therefore our bounden duty. Of these laws our great academies and seats of education have, rather arbitrarily, selected only two spheres or groups (as I may call them) as essential parts of our national education—the laws which regulate quantities and proportions, which form the subject of mathematics; and the laws regulating the expression of our thoughts through the medium of language; that is to say, grammar, which finds its purest expression in the classical languages. These laws are most important branches of knowledge; their study trains and elevates the mind; but they are not the only ones; there are others, which we cannot disregard, which we cannot do without. There are, for instance, the laws governing the human mind and its relation to the Divine Spirit (the subject of logic and metaphysics); there are those which govern our bodily nature and its connection with the soul (the subject of physiology and psychology); those which govern human society and the relation between man and man (the subjects of politics, jurisprudence, and political economy); and many others.

'Whilst of the laws just mentioned some have been recognised as essentials of education in different institutions, and some will by the course of time more fully assert their right of recognition, the laws regulating matter and form are those which will constitute the chief object of *your* pursuits; and, as the principle of subdivision of labour is the one most congenial to our age, I would advise you to keep to this speciality, and to follow with undivided attention chiefly the sciences of mechanics, physics, and chemistry, and the fine arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

'You will thus have conferred an inestimable boon upon your country, and in a short time have the satisfaction of witnessing the beneficial results upon our national powers of production. Other parts of the country will, I doubt not, emulate your example; and I live in hope that all these institutions will some day find a central point of union, and thus complete their national organization.'

With the meeting at Manchester in 1857, the collection of Speeches and Addresses terminates. One most memorable discourse has been delivered since, which stands as the crown and apex of all. This was the address to the British Association at Aberdeen, in August, 1859, on undertaking the office of President for the ensuing year. We have now learnt by experience that every sentiment that fell from those gracious lips belonged to 'the things' which, as the Oriental proverb says, 'are the sons of heaven,' as distinguished from 'the words which are the daughters

daughters of earth.' Seen by the light of this experience, with all its graceful humility, sound sense, sterling knowledge, and profound thought, there is no eulogium we can pen which could exaggerate the merits of that address. It would seem as if this, one of his last, and his grandest effort, were meant purposely to bring before the most general and enlightened audience the evidence of that earnest desire for truth which was ever the rule and compass of that mind. He, who in the smallest things was not content without '*the knowledge of what he knew*,' as distinguished from the empirical solutions which satisfy the mass, would, even had he been the meanest born of men, have lifted himself to sit among the great ones of the earth. The scope of this speech, and the unity of all its parts, preclude any partial quotations. The Prince was proud of the compliment paid to him by the Association in requesting him to accept the office of President; and well he might be, for no body of men ever stood more acquitted to the world of choosing a head from any consideration but that of distinguished personal merit. And yet it is a fact that the Prince was greatly hindered by pressure of business in the needful preparation of this address, and felt, though certainly without any cause, that he might have done himself better justice.

One part of the speech there is which no one heard or will peruse without a sense of the personal magnanimity of the speaker. We allude to the generous laudation of the late Alexander Humboldt, whose birthday, as the Prince reminded the meeting, fell on that very day. We feel proud of the contrast this presents with the snarling and spiteful mention of the Prince Consort in Humboldt's published letters to Varnhagen—a spite traceable, as any one may perceive, to the worldly-minded philosopher's disappointment at the absence of any message from the Queen respecting his Cosmos.

The admirable speech at Edinburgh on the opening of the Post Office and Industrial Museum, on the 23rd October, 1861, was the last occasion on which this gentle and earnest voice was heard by the public.

That these speeches and addresses were entirely his own ceased to be doubted, as the powers of his mind became more recognised. It is well known that he derived no help from any one in the way of ideas and opinions, though occasionally, and this only in his early time, a few of the sentences would be written by himself in German first, and translated with the help of some trusted friend. In most instances they were spoken, and always with great distinctness and gentle emphasis, without any appearance of assistance from memoranda. On some after-dinner

occasions a few pencil-notes, taken from his pocket, were laid on the table by his side, and quietly consulted in intervals of applause. From the first his English was easy and pure; but he greatly expanded in facility and fluency in the last years, and there is no doubt that he would soon have mastered even that most English accomplishment, impromptu speaking. For there is plenty of evidence of his power of expressing himself clearly, even eloquently, and at considerable length, without any previous preparation. At the meetings of the Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, especially, he came into contact with the most practised orators of the day, in debates of no insignificant character, and always maintained his part with conspicuous ability.

Thus we have allowed this illustrious mind to speak for itself, feeling that none can follow its multifarious phases, without acknowledging each in turn as a part of a singularly grand and harmonious whole, in which the same life-blood of profound thought circulates from the centre to the uttermost fibre of the mental structure. It would be difficult to cite any instance of the same amount of spoken words so entirely devoid of the element of superficiality. That element would seem to have been foreign and repugnant to the nature of his mind, which we invariably find seeking a point far removed from the surface. There is no need to impute to one who had been an indefatigable student, and always continued a close reader, any substitute for the usual laborious processes of attainment. But having diligently stored, and being always in the habit of replenishing the cells of the mind, the secret of his clear modes of perception consisted in his invariably rising into that purer atmosphere towards which all sound principles converge. There great things became simplified to him, and small ones fertile. There that balance was gained which allowed no object of interest to be cherished to the exclusion of another. Thus the great fact of his having, in one sense, no speciality, because every sympathy, made him the most enlightened patron of all other men's specialities. Nature, no less than position, and far more still, had marked this mind out as a centre to others. No man of any particular form of intelligence ever looked back on an interview with the Prince, without feeling that beyond his own especial orbit of interest, he had caught glimpses of a large and consistently working intellectual system. For a time, it is true, each professor of art or science believed that he had found a devotee to his own particular shrine; after a while each knew that the Prince's perfect comprehension of one was but the measure of his knowledge of all.

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Even in one department apparently the least congenial with his tastes, we find no exception to the rule. By a curious contrast with the habits of most German princes he cared little for the glitter and tinsel of military externals, but he was deeply versed in the principles of military science. The late Sir Howard Douglas, one of the highest authorities that can be quoted, spoke of the Prince's attainments on that head with equal admiration and surprise. It is well known, too, that the Duke of Wellington—no flatterer of any man—had conceived so high an opinion of Prince Albert's military knowledge and powers of business, as earnestly to recommend him to Her Majesty as his successor as Commander-in-Chief. That the unalterable discretion of the Prince should decline such a post is easily comprehended, now that we see as from a distance—alas! how soon Death has given that!—the far larger sphere of usefulness he filled toward the two objects of his devotion, the Crown and the Country, by holding himself free from direct official life. At the very time that the miserable rant was raised about his 'interference' at the Horse Guards, he was quietly, like a good genius, giving the army the benefit of his enlightened judgment. To him was owing the formation of the camp of instruction at Chobham, as stated in the House of Lords by the late Viscount Hardinge.

Perhaps the part of the mind most rarely seen, in these latter times, in combination with the accurate habits of a profound reasoner, was that which rendered the study and practice of the Fine Arts his favourite recreation. These first offered that supposed neutral ground in public matters on which a royal individual, in a position none ever succeeded in comprehending but himself, could safely tread. The late Sir Robert Peel, who looked with a puzzled yet practical eye upon this grand and anomalous impersonation of Waste Power, gladly hailed the opportunity of giving it, at all events nominally, some definite application in the direction of the decoration of the New Houses of Parliament. The Commission on the Fine Arts, with the Prince as President, was appointed in 1841. It was soon obvious that there was nothing nominal in His Royal Highness's conception—he being then only twenty-two—of the office he had undertaken. Artists to whom commissions were given were astonished to find that amongst the names of hereditary possessors of galleries and patrons of art, which swelled the Commission, none could be compared with the youthful President in knowledge of the conditions of art, or in sympathy with the artist mind. What the Commission has achieved, or will be found to have achieved when the scheme to which the Prince lent his whole energy is accomplished,

accomplished, it is not for such as we to determine, in times when, as is well known, only a seat in the Lower House gives a right judgment in matters of art. But we may safely leave this, like all his other works, to the verdict of posterity. Coming from Germany at a time when modes of art had obtained there, which, with few exceptions, are uncongenial to English tastes, he has been accused of desiring to engraft the German practice upon the English school. But had Prince Albert come from Italy itself in the zenith of the Cinque-cento, he could hardly have recommended more desirable innovations than a more thorough practice of drawing, and the study of larger and more monumental forms of art.

As to his own personal artistic powers, he may be truly said to have handled even a pencil consistently with the nature of his mind. His slightest design, his most hasty suggestion on paper, bore on it the character of a beginning and an end—the sense of a whole—to which few amateurs attain.

The same feeling presided over the many collections of works of art with which he was gradually enriching the Royal residences. That same system and principle of completeness ran through them all—as in his deeply-interesting collection of every existing design by Raphael—which distinguishes a monument of real and personal intelligence, from that class of indiscriminate accumulation only prompted by power and money.

In feeling for the sister art he was—and, we are inclined to think, in this only—true to the German type of race. He loved music with all a German's heart. On every occasion where happily the Prince's judgment could 'interfere,' as partially in the case of the Duke of Wellington's funeral, the public were sure to hear the highest class of composition; while the taste which presided over the programme of Her Majesty's exquisite concerts was only too cultivated for the majority of the favoured listeners.

The Prince's admiration for Mendelssohn was enthusiastic; and on that great master's visits to London in 1844 and 1847, the years of the respective triumphs of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' and of the 'Elijah,' he was received at Windsor Castle more on the footing of an illustrious guest than of a professional artist. It was to hear the oratorio of 'Elijah' that Her Majesty and the Prince paid their first (and only?) visit to Exeter Hall, April 23, 1847. The following day Prince Albert sent his own marked book, with which he had followed the performance, to Mendelssohn, with an inscription in his handwriting, a sentence of which bears upon the leading characteristic of his own mind:—

mind:—‘To the Great Master, who, through the whole maze of his creation, from the soft whispering to the mighty raging of the elements, makes us conscious of the unity of his conception, in grateful remembrance.’ Mendelssohn, who died in the November following, knew these to be the words of one perfectly conversant with the science to which he paid this tribute. It was in his student years at Bonn that the Prince wrote an Essay on Music, which we may be sure is of no superficial character; and at all times he was accustomed to seek solace from the cares and fatigues of his life in the expression of musical thoughts. These utterances have naturally been surrounded with privacy; but there are two hymns now permitted to be published,* which, it is said, were repeatedly played to him by filial hands, at his desire, during those last days! Many a long-drawn sigh will henceforth follow the tones of their sweet and mournful harmony.

Imperfect as must be the summary within our limits of the multifarious sources of feeling and intelligence embraced by this most distinguished mind, it would be doubly incomplete without an allusion to one not hitherto found compatible with the conditions of a royal existence or of a foreign education. We mean his singular aptitude for our modes of public business. If in all things he scrupulously sought to identify himself with this country, he was in this instance more English than the English themselves. Heads of departments, select committees, deputations, whoever had the advantage of his co-operation in the transaction of public affairs—all told the same tale of his remarkable ability; rendered the more available by his never-failing punctuality and consideration for others. In the words of one of no small experience, uttered at a time when none dreamt that the hour was fast coming when that centre-place at the board would know him no more, it was said of him—‘The Prince plays with the difficulties of public business.’ Not that there was anything like play in the matter. The secret of his doing better lay in his working harder than most. His practice in public affairs had become enormous, and his note-book presented a variety and fulness of business engagements which would have daunted most men. Nor were the smallest things despised by him. In one department of business, that connected with the Duchy of Cornwall, it is known that the Prince, from motives of peculiar kindness, kept the minutes of the meetings for a time with his own hand; and they were admirably kept. Here, too, one quality, which is sure to be tested on this

* Two Hymns. The Music by H. R. H. the Prince Consort. Published at Windsor, by Permission.

tourney-ground of modern spirits, and which bound all his other virtues and powers together as with a golden cord, shone pre-eminently forth—the perfect equanimity of his temper! None worked with him without discovering that few men in any class ever bore contradiction, and overcame opposition, with such gentle courtesy and patience.*

Nor was the activity of his co-operation confined to meetings and set days. Whoever has had the advantage of perusing his correspondence on any department is well aware what formidable demands were made on his time by letter-writing. No matter how dry the details or pressing the interruptions—whether from on board the Royal yacht or in the bustle of Royal receptions—the homeliest business was never neglected. In such autograph letters is found undeniable evidence, if any were needed, of the genuineness of his speeches and addresses. They are all of the same mental family—clear, vigorous, entirely free from mannerism, and abounding in original ideas.

And is it possible that this man, gifted among the gifted, learned among the learned, for scope, balance, and unity of moral and intellectual qualities, unprecedented, at all events, in his generation—who learned our ways and did our service better than those who are born to it—who outstripped all our fond but meagre measure of royal decorum of life, making our Royal residences schools of modesty, order, and intelligence, and giving the lie to every hackneyed proverb of Court corruption—who thus lived and laboured among us for upwards of twenty-one years—is it possible that such a man should have reaped chary confidence and scant courtesy from the best—should have suffered all that malice could invent and glib credulity spread abroad, and should have been, in common parlance, ‘unpopular’? We deny the charge, on every head, in the name of the Great Public and in the name of all men of science, art, letters, benevolence, and intelligence. That the tones of humble and admiring reverence should be hushed, and the voices of vulgar detraction loud, were but the natural conditions of the respect and the disrespect which governed each party, and the penalty which it is the lot of princes to suffer. But it is not within the range of moral possibility that a Prince whose death is thus mourned should not have been honoured, respected, and beloved. It is not morally possible that the tearful prayers which have poured upwards for the Queen should have come from hearts who did not value what she had lost!—tears, not without self-reproach

* The Prince was President of the St. Martin's Lane Savings-Banks, and by his constant attendance and careful management showed his desire to encourage provident habits among the poor.

and a certain tender remorse, such as all know who have lost the loving Head or the strong and true brother, and who feel as if they had never sufficiently valued—nay, as if they had not even been just or kind enough to—one they now so bitterly deplore.

But the Prince was too wise not to perceive that by the good he was identified with the loving homage paid to the Throne, and the Throne with the gratitude felt for his works. He knew, too, that his detractors knew that he could not, even in idea, be separated and considered apart from the Queen; that their malice was the more levelled at him because of the very sacredness of that higher Head; that he stood as a kind of shield to the illustrious woman whom he served as a subject, and loved and protected as a man. And can it be doubted, with the evidence we have of his mind before us in his words and works, that while he felt his so-called unpopularity—felt it as man must feel ingratitude and injustice—yet that this was precisely the lot, 'for better and for worse,' to which this noble and single-hearted Being had from the first most aspired?

That the young and royal Consort should immediately have attracted the ill-will of those whom we may call the Vulgar High—that a party who have looked upon the corruption of princes as their immemorial perquisite—that these should find 'no part in him,' and try to pull down that to which they could not rise—this was the greatest compliment they could pay him. Had he had their vices, had he led an immoral or a spendthrift life, we should have heard none of those tales of his haughtiness and his illiberality, which no honest lips ever repeated but in disgust at their utterers.

But as a matter of shame to a people, there is more perhaps to blush for in the conduct of the Vulgar Low,—those who had no vested interests in corruption which his uprightness thwarted. When we look back at the rumours which prevailed in the winter of 1853-4, which, like worthless rubbish, gathered weight only by accumulation—but such weight as to require the condescension of the Crown to refute (we mean by the letter from Lord Melbourne to the Queen, supplied to her Ministers) and the interposition of both Houses of Parliament to explain—we feel how little secure even this enlightened country is against the epidemic of any vile calumny which rogues can invent and fools repeat. It seems now incredible that grey statesmen should have had gravely to contradict such unutterable folly as that which brought crowds of credulous and malignant idiots to see the Prince pass on his way to the Tower!

There are many reasons—none of them much less degrading
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than itself—why such an ebullition could not have taken place in another country. But if less openly spoken against, it may be justly doubted whether Prince Albert would have been as truly valued and appreciated in his own land. He who set little store even by real aristocracy of birth, and whose motto was the Progress and Improvement of the Public, would have found no enviable lot among the '*Kreutz Partei*' of an empty and pauperised noblesse, existing only by the exclusion of all other classes save their own. Not even Science, as we have seen, respected him there. The written words of one supposed to be so enlightened as Humboldt, may well be set against all the voices of the vulgar herd, high and low, here, and are in truth infinitely more to be condemned.

But let us not measure the rewards to such a mind by any standard lower than itself. He suffered injustice; he bore disappointment; but his joy no man taketh from him! Seen by the light which his peerless life has shed upon his position, it now appears the noblest that a noble mind could desire. His not the applause and homage; his not the pomps and the vanities of Sovereignty; but his the wisdom and the forethought, the lofty, manly, Christian devotion which surrounded a woman's crown, as with an earthly Providence. This has been a joint reign in all but the name; and let us pray that it may be so still; for not even death can sever that long intimacy of two hearts and two wills which God has joined together. Alone, the royal widow must bear in time to face her loving subjects; alone, her loving and most deeply-sorrowing subjects must bear to gaze upon her august person; but the knowledge of that example none can take from her or from us. For *his* sake the Queen is already sublimely struggling to fulfil her duties; for *his* sake shall we not doubly strive to do ours? We can conceive no higher human spectacle than that of our Sovereign Lady thus bowing her head to the will of God, and raising it again by the Divine aid. If we have loved her in her years of virtuous happiness, shall we not venerate her now? And this, too, will be *his* doing, who has done so much for her, and for us! So that his influence is yet felt in the workings of that sorrow of which we venture to foresee the hallowed uses.

- ART. VII.—1. *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart.* By Sir Archibald Alison. London. 1861.
2. *Correspondence, Despatches, and other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh.* Edited by his Brother. Third Series. London. 1856.
3. *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* Par M. Thiers. Vols. xviii., xix. Paris. 1861.
4. *Supplementary Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Arthur Duke of Wellington.* Vol. viii. London. 1861.

WE are accustomed in the present day to strange historical rehabilitations, and to the reversal of all our traditional ideas upon the guilt or virtue of the great men of the past. But it seems hard of belief that this process should be already necessary in the case of a statesman whose career is so recent as Lord Castlereagh's. Yet the mythical mist which rises under the influence of the strong passions of party had already gathered round his name before he had ceased to live. He was even then associated in the minds of a large part of the community with a cause for which he had no sympathy; charged with the responsibility of measures which he had done his best to avert; and vilified for hostility to the liberties of mankind which it had been the main work of his life to vindicate. The energies of a whole school of political writers were devoted to the task of persuading his countrymen that he was the English representative of the Holy Alliance, and an accomplice in every freak of tyranny that was perpetrated from Warsaw to Cadiz. Even after his labours in his country's service had brought his life to a premature and terrible close, the animosity of his enemies did not relent. They had many things to avenge which political partisans are slow to forgive. He had not only excluded them for many years from power, but he had succeeded in spite of the prophecies of evil with which they had pursued his policy. He had attained the objects which they had declared impracticable, and carried through to a glorious triumph the measures which they had stigmatised as imbecile. Forced to admit the success of his policy, they were driven to avenge themselves upon his motives. Against criticism of this kind a statesman who has the foreign policy of an empire to conduct is almost defenceless. The obscurity in which diplomatic transactions are necessarily shrouded will probably conceal from the public eye the circumstances upon which his justification rests. The necessity of sparing the feelings of powerful monarchs or ministers elsewhere, and of hiding the faults or follies of men whom it would be injurious to English interests to offend, often forces him to be silent, where silence is interpreted

interpreted by his enemies as confession. Lord Castlereagh was not the man to jeopardise the meanest English interest for the sake of refuting some calumniator of his own good name. The tyranny of the Southern monarchies, and the assumptions of the Holy Alliance, had aroused an abundance of bitter and resentful feeling among educated Englishmen. It was easy to persuade men that the minister who always, as became his office, spoke in public with courtesy of the Allies of England, shared their maxims of government, and acquiesced in their policy to secondary states. The impression was strengthened by the measures of domestic repression which it fell to him to defend in the House of Commons, and which, even when levelled against assassination-plots, are always unpopular in England. Thus the belief that Lord Castlereagh was the arch enemy of freedom all over the world was widely spread, and came to be almost an article of faith with the school of writers and public men who prepared the English soil for the Reform Bill, and reaped its earliest fruits.

A lie, however, according to the Chinese proverb, has no legs, and in course of time this article of popular belief began to lose its footing. Those who once despairingly considered 'a Whig administration to be about as probable as a thaw in Zembla,' have since by force of habit come to look on themselves as possessing a kind of tenant-right to office. And this improvement in their political climate has effected an evident thaw in their sentiments. They feel towards calumniators of administrations and critics of foreign policy much as usurpers are said to feel to the tyrannicides to whom they owe their thrones. Moreover, the just Nemesis which generally decrees that partisans shall be forced to do in office precisely that which they most loudly decried in opposition, has not failed to dog the footsteps of Lord Castlereagh's detractors. Since the Whigs have passed Irish Arms Acts and suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, their partisans have been less keen to infer from similar measures an inveterate hostility to freedom. And after the exposition which the model Republic has presented to the world of the duty of the friends of freedom in the presence of domestic revolt, we shall probably hear less for the future of Lord Castlereagh's milder measures of repression. Facts also have told heavily in his favour. Recent events have indisposed the mass of writers on the Liberal side to formulate so precisely as of old the wickedness of Transalpine powers interposing in the internal politics of Italy. No one now dreams of professing that sympathy for the extinguished nationalities of Norway and Genoa, which formed the basis of so many bitter invectives against him five-and-forty years ago. And, after the experience of many revolutions, his
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hostility to the secret societies and socialist conspirators of the Continent is not viewed by Whig magnates with the uncompromising condemnation which they hurled at it in days when the disenchantment of politicians had not progressed as far as it has now.

We are inclined, therefore, to hope that Sir Archibald Alison is right in believing that the period is a favourable one for clearing up the delusions that prevail in respect to Lord Castlereagh's character and motives. It is time to substitute for the popular myth a juster estimate of the merits of the great statesman who bore the chief part in rescuing Europe from the modern 'scourge of God.' Sir Archibald has many qualifications for the task. The study of a lifetime has made him familiar with the period of history to which it relates; and since his History was composed, a considerable mass of new materials have been given to the world. There was room for a narrative which should work up the Castlereagh correspondence in a connected form, and present in an English dress the matter which M. Thiers's industry has disinterred from the archives at Paris. These documents he has welded into his biography with his usual painstaking elaboration; and an additional interest is given to the work by a number of hitherto unpublished letters which he has been permitted to select from the papers of the late Lord Londonderry. An impartial biographer he cannot with accuracy be called, for his mind could hardly have escaped bias from the feelings with which he regarded those to whom Lord Castlereagh was dear. But his labours have all the heartiness of a labour of love, and their partiality is perhaps not out of place as a counterpoise to the efforts of those whose judgments have been warped by a bias more marked and less commendable. His brush opportunely fills in the lights that belonged to a character which so many writers have striven to paint in shadows almost unrelieved.*

Lord Castlereagh filled several important positions, and took part in many great events; but prudent panegyrists will confine their attention to his career as Foreign Secretary during the ten closing years of his life. It is upon them that his title to fame must exclusively rest. The other transactions in which he was mixed up hardly reflect much light upon his name. Whatever he was set to do, he did it well and honestly with all his might; but it was not always that which suited him the best, or in which

* As a second edition will probably be called for at an early period, Sir Archibald will permit us to suggest that the printer has occasionally taken very unwarrantable liberties both with names and dates, and that the proof-sheets therefore require a more than ordinarily careful revision.

the greatest credit was to be won. A certain admiration is due to skill in whatever occupation it is displayed, and therefore we cannot refuse to admire the skill with which he effected the Irish Union. But still we should prefer to dwell on any other display of administrative ability than that which consists of bribing knaves into honesty, and fools into common sense. It is perfectly true that we may fairly throw upon his superiors the responsibility of the policy that he was charged to carry out. In emergencies so critical as that which followed the rebellion of 1798, all faithful servants of the Crown were bound to set almost a military value upon the virtue of prompt obedience. And it is also true that we must try even the conduct of his superiors in some degree by a military test. In the supreme struggle of social order against anarchy, we cannot deny to the champions of civilised society the moral latitude which is by common consent accorded to armed men fighting for their country against a foreign foe. It is no reproach to a General on active service that he has used either bribes or spies in furtherance of his operations against the enemy. There are emergencies when the conspirator at home is more dangerous to all that society holds dear than any enemy abroad. No casuistry, however subtle, can draw a tenable line of distinction between the two cases, so that the weapon which is lawful for the soldier shall be forbidden to the statesman. A moment's reflection upon considerations such as these will serve to clear Lord Castlereagh's memory from any imputation in consequence of the part which he took in carrying into effect Mr. Pitt's great idea. The independence of the Irish Parliament was a position from which it was absolutely indispensable to dislodge the enemy if the integrity of the empire was to be preserved. It naturally never occurred to him that he was doing anything contrary to morality or honour in bribing the garrison to open the gates. Still such employments are more inevitable than honourable; and the achievements to which they lead are not held to confer renown. He reaped a reward, richer than renown, in the blessings he conferred on the two nations whom he has made one. This generation, that has watched the growing prosperity of Ireland, and the calamities into which other empires have been plunged by co-ordinate and independent legislatures under one crown, ought to remember rather with gratitude than with cavil the manliness and fidelity with which he performed his distasteful office.

His war administration is another portion of Lord Castlereagh's career which his admirers would wish to pass over with a light hand. His selection of Sir Arthur Wellesley, over the heads of many older officers, to command the Spanish army, in spite of the
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the murmurs of the lovers of routine, was an instance of that intuitive power of measuring men's intellects and hearts which afterwards gave him such a singular ascendancy in negotiation. But in the ordinary duties of his office he was not so happy. The Walcheren expedition was a heavy set off on the other side. His strength did not lie in skilful administration. It is a gift possessed but by few, and very rarely possessed in conjunction with any breadth of political view. It was not, however, in such an office as this that his fame was to be won. A War Minister must find his reward in his conscience or his salary; he must not look for fame. It is only a very pale and reflected glory that he will derive from a successful war. All the visible and palpable merit of a victory is the commander's, and few people bestow a thought upon the humble drudge in a London office who has schemed and toiled to furnish him with the materials for his splendid deeds. But, on the other hand, if there be a disaster, the importance of the War Office is immediately remembered. A commander must be strangely deficient in ingenuity if he cannot impute his mishap to some want of men, or money, or warlike materials; and for that want a discerning nation will always hold the War Minister to blame. No one dreams of attributing to Lord Liverpool or Lord Bathurst the faintest share in the triumphs of the Peninsula; but every one is agreed in giving to Lord Castlereagh full credit for the failure of the Walcheren expedition.

The unhappy quarrel with Mr. Canning—of which it may fairly be said that it was due less to the fault of either principal than to the mismanagement of their friends—proved indirectly of great service to Lord Castlereagh's fortunes. Its indirect and ultimate effect was to remove him from the War Office, for which he had little aptitude, to the Foreign Office, which was eminently suited to his peculiar talents. His gift was to manage men, whether as individuals or in masses. He displayed it on a small scale and in a baser sphere when he held office in Ireland. It showed itself in far grander proportions during the period in which, to use M. Thiers's expression, 'he was England herself in the camp of the Coalition,' and as such held the destiny of the Continent in his hands. It is with the year 1812 that his real greatness begins. It was a greatness of the kind that brings with it more of immediate than of posthumous fame. A diplomatist's services are recognized at the moment they are rendered. When a nation has waited with feverish anxiety for the result of long negotiations or the operations of some loosely-joined alliance, and they are at last conducted to a fortunate issue, the general feeling of relief finds vent in hearty gratitude

stead of Louis XVIII. to replace Napoleon. Neither of these aims was particularly pleasing, either to Austria or Prussia. It was only with difficulty that the Emperor Francis had been induced to consent to the dethronement of his son-in-law, in case of his continued refusal of fair terms of peace; but his legitimist spirit repudiated with scorn the idea of abasing his own kindred in order to exalt another revolutionary soldier of meaner talents and baser origin. Nor could Austria agree to abandon to a rival, whom she dreaded at least as much as France, the strategic vantage-ground which the possession of the whole Polish frontier would give to Russia. The Prussians were in no mood to give much weight to considerations of mere policy. Their souls were filled with a thirst for vengeance, not only upon Napoleon, but upon France. They longed to repay themselves for all the barbarities which the French army had practised in Prussia, by inflicting upon the French nation the utmost possible humiliation, and devastating every province through which they passed. But so far as the all-absorbing passion left room for calmer calculations of policy, they were favourable, as legitimists, to the return of the Bourbons, and they looked upon the entire absorption of Poland by Russia with as much apprehension as the Austrians. The future disposal of Saxony was in the same way a bone of contention between Austria and Prussia. Bavaria had joined the Alliance tardily, and fought but coldly by its side, for she well knew that the abandonment of the Tyrol to Austria would be to her the chief result of the victories she should help to gain. There were also minor causes of disagreement. Bernadotte insisted on using his division of the Allied forces for the subjugation of his own particular enemy the King of Denmark, and absolutely declined to lead them across the frontier of France. By this plan he hoped to aggrandise the Swedish crown, and at the same time to smooth the way to his own candidature for a French crown. But the Allies were naturally incensed at seeing the Russian and Prussian troops under his command diverted from the common cause, and employed in forwarding his own personal ambition. Then there were difficulties with the Prussians, because they would practise their system of devastation not only on the French population, who might, so far as mere policy was concerned, be safely abandoned to their tender mercies, but also on the inhabitants of the Rhenish and Belgian provinces, whom it was important to conciliate; difficulties with Alexander, whose policy varied from day to day between the opposite poles of chivalrous gentleness and fierce revenge, according as vanity or anger was uppermost in his mind; difficulties with Austria, who insisted on violating the Swiss territory, and restoring the old governments,

governments, in spite of Alexander's most solemn promises to the contrary.

All these differences, small and great, were perpetually threatening the very existence of the Coalition. Even during the uninterrupted course of prosperity which it enjoyed from the victory of Leipsic to the battle of Brienne, the obvious divergences of interest between the several Allies could not be concealed. When they were on the point of entering France, and their hopes were at the highest, their meetings had become so warm, and the difficulties of their co-operation seemed so insuperable, that it was thought necessary to send out Lord Castlereagh to superintend in person the negotiations which threatened to lead to such sinister results. Lord Aberdeen, in a letter written in order to hurry him, paints the difficulties of the situation in lively colours :—

‘With relation to the enemy, our situation is as good as possible ; among ourselves it is quite the reverse. Everything which has been so long smothered is now bursting forth. Your presence is absolutely providential. If you come without partiality and prejudice, as I make no doubt you do, in spite of all the pains taken to prevent it, you will be able to perform everything ; and no words are sufficient to express the service you will render. I am most anxious that you should come.’
—(*Lord Aberdeen to Lord Castlereagh, Jan. 6, 1814.*)

‘The enemy is, in my view, a source of danger much less to be dreaded than what arises among ourselves. I cannot too often represent to you the real state of the minds of those weak men by whom Europe is governed. The seeming agreement at Langres covered distrust and hate. A little success will cement them again ; but if they are to be severely tried in adversity, their dissolution is certain. Your presence has done much, and would, I have no doubt, continue to sustain them in misfortune ; but without it they could not exist. It is not a bystander who speaks, but one who knows what their real feelings are, and who knows that they are actuated by feelings more than principles. In all events, I am heartily rejoiced you are in a situation to see and judge for yourself in all things. It will do you no harm to see and know the interior of a Coalition.’—(*Lord Aberdeen to Lord Castlereagh, Feb. 28, 1814.*)

It was upon England that the responsibility of adjusting these interminable disputes necessarily fell. She was the only power who was disinterested in the discussion of Continental arrangements, and whose lavish subsidies gave to her, during the continuance of operations, a certain hold over all the Allies. And England was in effect Lord Castlereagh. The estimate of his influence, which is formed even by so unfavourable a judge as M. Thiers, may give an idea of the power which he really exercised :—

‘Le Cabinet Britannique se décida à envoyer le plus éminent de ses
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membres, Lord Castlereagh, auprès du Congrès ambulant de la Coalition pour y modérer les passions, y maintenir l'accord, y faire prevaloir les principaux vœux de l'Angleterre, et, ces vœux satisfaits, y voter en toute autre chose pour les résolutions modérées, contre les résolutions extrêmes. . . . Aucun homme n'était plus propre que Lord Castlereagh de remplir une pareille mission. Issu d'une famille Irlandaise, ardente et énergique, il portait en lui cette disposition héréditaire, mais tempérée par une raison supérieure. Esprit droit et pénétrant, caractère ferme et prudent, capable tout à la fois de vigueur et de ménagement, ayant dans ses manières la simplicité fière des Anglais, il était appelé à exercer, et il exerça en effet, la plus grande influence. Il était sur presque toutes choses muni de pouvoirs absolus. Avec son caractère, avec ses instructions, on pouvait dire de lui que c'était Angleterre elle-même qui se déplaçait pour se rendre au camp des coalisés. Personne n'eut voulu sans lui prendre un parti ou donner une réponse. C'était à qui le verrait, à qui l'entretiendrait le premier pour le gagner à sa cause.

At a time when the happiness of all Europe depended on the will of half a dozen sovereigns and ministers, this personal ascendancy was of incalculable value. It enabled him, on more than one critical occasion, to avert disagreements or errors which would have been fatal to the liberation of the world. Two occasions deserve especially to be remembered. After the battle of Montereau the situation of the Allies was very critical. Napoleon had shown them, not only that they were no match for him in equal fight, but that he could set at defiance even a considerable superiority of numbers. The odds against which he had been fighting were three to one at the very least; and it had become quite evident from a succession of defeats that, unless they could bring up a larger force against him, the cause of the Allies, and with it the Coalition, were at an end. There was but one reinforcement within reach. A large body of Russians and Prussians, under Bülow and Winzingerode, were lying inactive in the Low Countries, because they belonged to the division which Bernadotte commanded; and Bernadotte, with the vision of an Imperial crown glittering before his eyes, had made up his mind that no soldier under his orders should violate the old frontier of France. At the head-quarters at Bar-sur-Aube every one saw the peril, and knew the remedy. There was no dispute about the matter, that unless more troops could be brought up Napoleon must win; and that the only escape from imminent disaster was to direct Bülow's division to disregard the orders of Bernadotte, and to advance. But every one shrank from the danger of irritating the Crown Prince's unstable fidelity into open defection, and provoking him to fall upon the communications of the Allies. Alexander declared the difficulty to be insurmountable;

mountable; and the majority of the council of war had already pronounced in favour of an immediate retreat. If their opinion had prevailed, it is not too much to say that Napoleon in a few months would have again reigned as far as the Vistula. A short respite would have placed him at the head of another powerful army; and a disastrous retreat would have melted away the Coalition, and have encouraged the malcontent courts of Bavaria and Wurtemberg to welcome back with open arms the conqueror who had once before made them great at Germany's expense, and might be expected to do so again. Lord Castlereagh saw the critical character of the emergency; and, to use M. Thiers' expression, '*se levant soudainement, et agissant comme une sorte de Providence qui disposait de tout,*' at once took the responsibility upon himself. He had formed his estimate of Bernadotte's character, and was convinced that he would neither lose the English subsidy, nor the hope of adding the crown of Norway to that of Sweden, for the sake of a point of honour. Having formed his opinion, his immediate impulse was to act upon it without hesitation or reserve. He could not comprehend the hesitation of his colleagues, whose intellects were as sagacious as his own, but who dared not take the bold course which they knew to be the wisest. The event fully confirmed his judgment. Bülow's and Winzingerode's divisions were joined to Blücher's; Soissons was taken; and Napoleon found that even his genius could not resist the force which was concentrated against him on the field of Laon. Bernadotte meanwhile, after a little growling, put the affront into his pocket; and the consciousness that he had been found out, exercised a most salutary influence upon his subsequent behaviour.

During the negotiations at Vienna, which followed the fall of Napoleon, Europe was beholden to Lord Castlereagh for the same quick judgment of character, and the same happy boldness in trusting to it. From the moment that Alexander crossed the Vistula, he had conceived the project of repaying Russia for all the efforts she was making, and all the sufferings she had undergone, by annexing the whole of Poland to his empire. Prussia he proposed to indemnify by confiscating Saxony for her benefit; and Austria, he thought, might be left to make good her own losses on the side of Italy. Such a scheme was clearly incompatible with the security of Europe. Lord Castlereagh was not wholly engrossed by the dangers and the policy of the present. He saw that, in the future, the cloud of war was quite as likely to rise on the side of Russia as of France. He was utterly disinclined, therefore, to thrust Austria into her very jaws—Austria who was England's ancient and true ally, and bound to her by the only

bond of union that endures, the absence of all clashing interests. But Alexander insisted. He wished to make it a preliminary to all negotiation. When the Congress assembled at Vienna, and the map of Europe lay upon the table, he laid his hand upon Poland, with the words, *C'est à moi !* He had 200,000 men in Poland, and the Allies might come and turn them out if they could. His throne, he added, would not be safe, if, after all his sacrifices, he came back to Russia empty handed. It was evident that his heart was set upon the acquisition, and that if he yielded at all it would only be to force. As one of his generals observed, 'Avec 600,000 hommes on ne négocie pas beaucoup.' With Napoleon still at Elba, and Europe still bleeding from the wounds of twenty years of war, a more timid man than Lord Castlereagh might have hesitated before breaking up an alliance which had done such splendid deeds, and plunging upon the mere calculations of a far-sighted policy into a fresh struggle almost as formidable as that which he had just concluded. But he seems to have been thoroughly impressed with the truth, that a willingness on good cause to go to war is the best possible security for peace. He had no desire to procure for his country that pacific reputation which she has earned in later times, and which has in ten years cost her a war with one first-rate power and brought her to the brink of war with another. He did not hesitate to form a new coalition against the new enemy. By engagements which subsequently took the form of a more general treaty between England, France, and Austria, it was agreed that the demands of Russia and Prussia upon Saxony and Poland should be resisted, if necessary, by force ; and the proportions in which the Allies were to contribute to the conduct of the new war were laid down. The Emperor of Russia received secret information of the preparations that were being made, and came to the conclusion that his finances were in too desperate a condition to risk the chances of another war.

It is not, however, by one or two isolated successes that Lord Castlereagh's foreign policy ought to be tried. It is best judged by its general results. During the war his aim was to overthrow Napoleon, and to reduce France within her ancient limits. After the war his aim was to uphold the balance of power, and so to secure lasting peace to Europe. When the direction of England's foreign policy passed from his hands, both objects had been attained. Not only was Napoleon overthrown, but for one generation at least the warlike passions Napoleon had evoked were stilled, and all the changes that Napoleon's genius had achieved were effaced. For forty years the peace of Europe flourished undisturbed by one single conflict between any of the five great Powers

Powers who adjusted their differences at Vienna. There have been revolutionary disturbances in sufficient abundance; and order has been frequently restored by foreign intervention upon one side or the other. But as far as international relations are concerned there has been no rupture in Europe important enough to have been dignified by historians with the name of war. Europe has not enjoyed so long a repose from the curse of war since the fall of the Roman empire. Such an achievement is an ample justification of the acts of the Congress of Vienna and of the minister who bore so large a part in shaping its decrees.

It is discouraging for future pacificators to reflect that the treaties which have been so rich in the blessings of peace should have been the object of censure more unsparing and more pertinacious than has followed Lord North's most eventful blunders, or Napoleon's bloodiest excesses. But every adjustment between rival claimants must always leave dissatisfaction upon many sides, and probably upon all sides, if the adjustment be a fair one. Every pacification, moreover, must *vi termini* be distasteful to those to whom war brings pleasure or profit: every guarantee of social order must be odious to those who pine for importance, and who know that it is hard to win in quiet times. And the very solidity of the structure has aggravated the animosity of its assailants. If the censors of the treaties of Vienna have been unusually pertinacious, it is because the results which those treaties effected have been unusually enduring.

Undoubtedly the arrangements of Vienna were not absolute perfection; nor have they in all cases been proof even for the limited period of forty years against the destructive agencies that prey upon political organisations. All the failures that have taken place have arisen from one cause: the practice of foreign intervention in domestic quarrels. There is no practice which the experience of nations more uniformly condemns, and none which governments more consistently pursue. Domestic discord is bad enough; but the passions which provoke it burn themselves out at last; and the contending parties are eventually schooled by each other into the moderation which alone makes the co-existence of freedom and order possible. But if foreign intervention on either side be once threatened, much more if it be carried out, a venom is infused into the conflict which no reaction weakens, and no revenge exhausts. The lesson has been taught in recent times by abundant instances, and still seems to have been taught in vain. The history of the last seventy years is strewn with the wrecks of national prosperity which these well-meant interventions have caused. Often they ruin at once the party on whose behalf they are made; and
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even if they bring to it a seeming victory at first, they ruin it not less effectually in the end. Incurable impotence and decay is the almost certain punishment of civil triumphs won with foreign arms. The powerful monarchs who assembled at Pillnitz did not find themselves equal to the task of dragooning the French nation into loyalty; but they succeeded in provoking that sanguinary outburst of revolutionary fury which laid Europe waste for twenty years, and whose force is not expended now. The 'untoward event' at Navarino, by forcing an artificial and premature freedom upon Greece, has only resulted in the production of two 'sick men' instead of one. Damascus has recently furnished us with a commentary upon our wisdom and liberality, in presenting Syria, at the cannon's mouth, with a form of government of European manufacture. And Laybach—the only one of the interventions of this century which Lord Castlereagh lived to see and to condemn—is now bearing fruit before our eyes. There is no doubt that the sovereigns who assembled there were actuated in what they did by no lust of territory, but only by a genuine dread of the revolutionary spirit, whose power and whose terrors, they, whose lives had been passed in fighting against its excesses, might be pardoned for overrating. But whatever their intentions were, their acts have produced nothing but evil. They believed that they were only quelling a military revolt, masked, as the recent military despotisms had been, by a cloud of liberal professions. But in the resolutions to which they came they were really, though unwittingly, decreeing that Naples should languish under forty years of cruel tyranny, and then alone of all the states in Italy should be unable to escape but through the gates of a bloody civil war.

Against this policy Lord Castlereagh, who only witnessed its beginnings, protested on every occasion on which it was attempted. At Aix-la-Chapelle he successfully resisted the desire with which the Allies seem to have been possessed of meddling in the internal policy of France. At Troppau and Laybach he stoutly refused the concurrence of Great Britain, and refused even to be present, lest his presence should be construed into acquiescence. His refusal was all the more marked that the English Ambassador at Vienna had incautiously promised that he should be there; and Lord Castlereagh made it still more emphatic by absolutely declining an invitation to meet Metternich at Hanover, after the intervention in Naples had taken place. He carried out his objection to foreign interventions consistently to the end. Almost his last despatch was an earnest appeal personally addressed to the Emperor Alexander, entreating him to abstain from intervention on behalf of the Greeks, and
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labouring to dissipate the indignation which the murder of the Greek patriarch by the Turks had naturally roused in his mind. He was on the point of starting for Verona to protest against the French intervention in Spain, when the aberration came upon him under which his life was cut short. If the alliances which he formed have been broken up, and the map of Europe has been a little changed since his time, these political protectorates have uniformly been the cause. The Crimean war, which has broken up the old system of alliances, was caused by the Russian protectorate in Turkey; the Italian war, which has produced so many territorial changes, is due to the Austrian and French protectorates in Italy. The disruption of the Netherlands, which frustrated one of Lord Castlereagh's most cherished plans, was brought about by the protectorate of Liberalism, which at that time Louis Philippe thought it prudent to assume. The natural consequence of that revolution was that Belgium should become a dependency of France. She has hitherto escaped that fate, thanks in great measure to the skilful guidance of the ablest of all European monarchs. But she has ceased to perform the function for which she was destined in the European system. She has become rather a prey to tempt France, than an outpost to repel her.

But though it is evident that the breaches in the structure of Vienna have been made entirely by revolutions and their foreign friends or foes, the assailants of Lord Castlereagh's policy go a step further, and maintain that these revolutions have been owing to the vicious system adopted at Vienna, of parcelling out the populations of Europe like herds of cattle among the various royal litigants who claimed to own them. This was an accusation which produced a great effect at the time; and made, as it was, in ignorance of the negotiations by which these changes were effected, and the imperious necessity that exacted them, it was not wholly unreasonable. It is much more perplexing to comprehend how it can have been repeated by writers of our own day, who are acquainted with the difficulties under which the Congress undertook its labours. It is fair to remember (though it is often forgotten) that in dealing with these territorial arrangements the Congress was not acting with free hands. Its proceedings were only one stage in a great work, by the past of which it was already pledged, and to whose future permanence it was bound to look. It must be judged in connection with all the other acts of the great Alliance by which Napoleon was overthrown and Europe set free. That Alliance was called into existence to rescue Europe from the curse of a military tyranny. Whatever was necessary to effect this object,

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or to preserve Europe for the future from a like fate, it was the duty of the Alliance to carry out. But the Congress did not constitute the whole of their efforts for this end, it only crowned and perfected them. The Powers entered into it, pledged to arrangements to which they had consented in the hour of need, and to which they owed the combination of forces by which the first part of their great task had been achieved. They had, therefore, not only future safeguards to provide, but past pledges to redeem. Lord Castlereagh, on the part of Great Britain, had assented to these agreements while the war was going on, and it was not open to him to recede from them when he had brought it to a prosperous issue by their help.

Most of the arrangements which have been found fault with, either then or since, were made in pursuance of these bargains into which he had entered for the purpose of swelling the forces of the Alliance. Bernadotte had been bought by the cession of Norway at the Treaty of Abo, the provisions of which were accepted by Great Britain. Austria demanded as the price of her adhesion the restoration of her empire to the proportions of 1805, which was accordingly guaranteed by the secret articles of the Treaty of Töplitz, and afterwards more explicitly at Frankfort. But in 1805 Austria was in possession of Venetia; so that before the battle of Leipsic was fought, it was already guaranteed by promises which could not be broken that Austria should be an Italian power. The same treaty secured to Prussia a restoration to the position which she held in the same year; and the territory assigned to her involved those encroachments upon Saxony which so deeply moved the sympathies of the English Opposition. Some recent writers have blamed the Congress for halting in the work of mediatisation, and leaving Germany in the comminuted condition which is ever inviting the aggressions or the intrigues of her two powerful and compact neighbours. Whether the Congress would have judged it to be their function to throw Europe into the crucible and to cast her anew on a theoretic pattern, may well be doubted. But the treaties which the necessities of the war had forced the Allies to conclude would have shut them out from such a policy, if they had wished to enter on it. As their armies advanced to the French frontier they were naturally more intent upon increasing their force than upon remodelling the map of Europe, and they admitted the minor States, who had formed the old Confederation of the Rhine, upon very easy terms. To all these treaties England was a consenting party. Neither the promise which secured Norway to Bernadotte, nor that which re-introduced Austria into Italy, nor those which limited the remodelling of Germany, could

could be repudiated by her when their purpose had been served and the consideration for them had been enjoyed. So strongly did Lord Castlereagh recognise the obligations which had been contracted in the crisis of the war, that he extended them even to Murat. At the moment when an overwhelming force was the one thing needful, Metternich had bought Murat by promises of security. Great Britain had upheld the claims of the Bourbon dynasty up to that time; but Lord Castlereagh at once acknowledged as her own the obligation which her ally had undertaken, and restrained the British agents from any molestation of Murat. It was only when he began, in the language of the turf, 'to hedge,' and to provide by secret treachery against the possible contingency of Napoleon's success, that he was held to have forfeited the guarantee of the Allies.

These were the pledges the Congress had to redeem; but it had also safeguards to provide. The costly peace that had been won, was won in vain, if no security was taken against a return of the same calamities. The devastating flood had been forced back into its ancient bed at the cost of incredible sacrifices; and unless dykes were built to restrain its waters for the future, all these sacrifices would be required again. Therefore, Lord Castlereagh prevailed upon the Allies to guard the two points that were most exposed, by constructing the kingdom of the Netherlands and by strengthening the kingdom of Sardinia. The first was effected by combining Belgium and Holland; the second, by adding Genoa and some other districts to Piedmont. Of the wisdom of the second of these arrangements no question has been made in our day, bitterly as it was impugned by Mr. Brougham and others at the time. The first has undoubtedly failed. It may be questioned whether the kingdom of the Netherlands was ever strong enough for the work it was set to do; and there can be no doubt that the fragment, which was encouraged by France to break away, is both unequal and indisposed to the task. When once France has made up her mind to set Europe at defiance, the occupation of Belgium will be a mere military promenade. But in justice to Lord Castlereagh it must be remembered that the scheme as he planned it was never carried out. A kind of interference, for which he had little looked, and which he had taken no precautions to avert, took the kernel out of it, and left nothing but the husk behind. He was foiled by the cunning of one woman and the feelings of another. His plan, as originally conceived, was that the Prince of Orange should become King of Holland and Belgium, and that the heir of the new monarchy should marry the heiress of the crown of England. Such a marriage would have knit the

two countries together, very nearly as closely as, for a century, Hanover had been knit to England. It might fairly be expected that the English Government would exercise a considerable influence over the Government of the Netherlands; and that on the other hand, in the case of a war, she would have treated a violation of the Belgian frontier as a violation of her own. It would thus have been in effect, not weak Holland, but powerful England, that would have watched the hotly-contested boundary which France has been for centuries struggling to overstep. Antwerp, so long the great object of English apprehensions,—the possession of which by France would be, according to Napoleon's phrase, 'a loaded pistol held to England's head'—Antwerp would thus have been in her own hands to protect. It is easy to see that if this plan had taken effect, the course of events would have been very different. It may be safely assumed, that if English counsels could have commanded a hearing at the Hague, the unwise policy which irritated the Belgians into revolt would never have been adopted. At all events it would not have led to the same results. With England's Queen for their Queen, that revolution of priests and place-hunters would never have been hazarded. Still more confidently may it be assumed that a French army would not have interfered to save the '*braves Belges*' from a defeat, which was inevitable if they had been left to fight Holland by themselves.

But the Emperor Alexander had views of his own with respect to the marriage of the Prince of Orange; and he was prepared to dispute the prize. Unfortunately the contest lay in an arena in which English diplomacy has always been unfortunate, and in which the Russians are notoriously expert. A Russian Princess was sent over to England, presented to the Prince Regent, and by him introduced without a thought of suspicion to the Princess Charlotte. The Princess was much struck with her new friend, and zealously cultivated her society. After a time, it was whispered that she was betraying a strange reluctance to the marriage with the Prince of Orange, upon which Lord Castlereagh was at the moment patiently building a scheme of European polity. The rumours proved too true. Ever since the Princess had been intimate with the Duchess of Oldenburg, she had, for some unexplained reason, expressed an unconquerable aversion for the Prince of Orange. At last she secretly fled from her father's house rather than consent. After all the available artillery of advice, menace, remonstrance, and objurgation had played upon her in vain, the Court were obliged to accept her decision that the marriage was not to be. Lord Castlereagh would probably have blessed her in his heart, if she had announced that
decision

decision earlier. For by the time that it had been formed he had already pledged himself to all the leading arrangements of the political edifice of which this marriage was to be the foundation. The consent of Austria and the nominal acquiescence of the other two great Powers had been obtained, and the King of Holland had already long ago been informed of the widened diadem which the Powers in general and England in particular destined him to wear. It was too late, therefore, to recede. All that could be done was to make the best use of the materials that remained for constructing a north-eastern barrier against France. The kingdom of the Netherlands was set up with as good a frontier as could be extorted from the necessities of the Bourbons, who would gladly have retained Antwerp if they could; Prussia was brought up to support it on the left flank; it was provided with a free constitution and plenty of good advice from the British envoy; and the island of Java was ceded back to it by England to furnish a nucleus for the revival, if it might be, of that trade which of old had made a district of reclaimed sand-banks into a dreaded European power. But the combination had in reality broken down with the abandonment of the marriage; and all such expedients for giving it the semblance of efficiency were vain. The times were past when the intrepidity of the United Provinces could outweigh the resources of France. The new kingdom endured only till it felt the first gust of the returning Revolutionary storm; and then the ill-cemented fabric came in two. Lord Castlereagh can hardly be held to blame because a combination of such peculiar difficulty was wrecked, in his absence, upon shoals whose existence it is not in the nature of an English statesman to suspect. He was never a *boudoir* diplomatist. The species does not readily grow in England, and seems only to be generated freely in the atmosphere of a despotic Court. Probably the art of leading the House of Commons and the art of beguiling illustrious ladies are gifts which cannot coexist in the same mind. In extenuation, or justification, of Lord Castlereagh's failure it can only be said, that the object which he had in view—the creation of a kingdom capable of resisting France upon soil which had formed a dependency of distant powers for centuries—was evidently difficult to attain; and that the plan which he conceived, of uniting its fortunes for a time with those of England, was the only possible escape from the difficulties of the problem. If he failed to carry out his scheme in its integrity, it was only because he displayed the common deficiency and suffered the common defeat of English politicians. From the days when Cardinal Wolsey was unable to countermine Anne Boleyn, to the days when Lord Palmerston was outwitted
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upon the Spanish marriages, English statesmen have always failed in backstairs contests with female politicians.

The territorial arrangements of the Congress were in all cases therefore dictated by necessity—by the necessity of keeping promises made during the war in the first class of cases, and by the necessity of averting another war in the second. It is equally clear that there was no claim of justice to bar compliance with that necessity. Of all so-called ‘rights of conquest,’ this at least is indefeasible, so to dispose of your conquests as to avert the necessity for conquering again. All the countries parcelled out by the Congress were conquered countries. They had formed part of Napoleon’s Empire or swelled the list of his tributary states. Willingly or unwillingly they had furnished troops to aid in the sanguinary enterprise of desolating the world. The smallest expiation that could be exacted of them was that they should bear, in part at least, the cost of crushing the military tyranny they had helped to form. They had no right to complain if it was in loss of territory, instead of money contribution, that they paid the penalty of their complicity, or defrayed the expense of neutralizing its effects. They were not in a position to claim that their national sentiments should be preferred to the enfranchisement of Europe and their own, for that was the alternative. Take the case of Venetia, whose wrongs have pointed many an eloquent philippic. Suppose Lord Castlereagh to have been smitten with the idea of Italian independence, or to have been convinced of the imprescriptible title of the Venetian oligarchy who had scarcely been strong enough to strike one blow in their own defence—suppose that in the spring of 1813, just when Austria was balancing between her fears of the conqueror of Austerlitz and Wagram, and her hopes of recovering her position as a first-rate power by joining the Coalition against him—suppose that just then he had announced that Great Britain never could consent to sanction such a treason against the peoples as the erection of a German Government on an Italian soil, and that he had induced Russia and Prussia to hold the same language—would Venetia have profited by his regard for her nationality? Austria would have lost all motive for joining the Coalition, and would have carried her services to a market where they were better valued. The Coalition would have been easily crushed; England’s last hope of successful resistance would have been trampled out; Europe would have continued to groan under her oppressor; and the only advantage secured would have been, that Venice would have worn French instead of German chains. Europe would have lost everything, and Venice would have gained nothing. Lord Castlereagh would have disdained to reply
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to a counsellor who should have suggested to him such diplomacy as this; and yet this is the policy which those who blame Lord Castlereagh for acceding to the Austrian re-occupation of Venice, in effect desire him to have pursued.

Many writers, however, both of that day and of more recent times, have attempted to elude the obvious force of these considerations, by claiming for peoples an immunity from the result of the crimes of their governments; and setting up on their behalf an inalienable right to be included in their own particular nationality, which no offence can forfeit, and no political expediency circumscribe. Advocates of French, German, Italian, and Polish nationalities respectively are never weary of repeating this theory, in every variety of enunciation of which an elastic doctrine is capable. We do not profess to have any reply to this claim. An answer is only possible where there is some common ground to start from, some principle equally acknowledged on both sides to refer to. The modern theory of nationality is safe from refutation. The blows of argument fall harmlessly upon its unsubstantial forms. Controversy is waste labour in a domain of thought where no term is defined, no principle laid down, and no question propounded for investigation. It is very possible, therefore, that Lord Castlereagh helped to commit any number of 'violations of the principle of nationality:' and if we are challenged to disprove the charge, we must retreat from the ordeal in despair. The only consideration that we should venture to plead in arrest of judgment is the remarkable variety, perhaps we should say antithesis, of the charges that have been preferred under this count at different times against the Congress of Vienna. The clamour on behalf of violated nationalities is the same now as it was when the Congress had just closed its labours; but though the accusation is as strongly-worded as ever, the nature of the charge is exactly the reverse of what it was. The censors of 1860 accuse the Congress of Vienna of having omitted to do precisely that which the censors of 1815 charged it with having done. Then the cry was that the Congress had treated ancient limits with contempt; now the cry is that it regarded them too much. It went too far for contemporary Liberals; it has not gone far enough for the Liberals of our own day. It made slow and hesitating steps towards the *arrondissement* of empires, the construction of united nationalities, and the extinction of fragmentary states. Its measures were blamed as violent then; they are condemned as petty and partial now. Then it was denounced for enlarging Bavaria and Prussia at the expense of petty states, and for suppressing the ancient republic of Genoa by annexing it to Piedmont;

Piedmont ; now it is despised for not having risen to the grandeur of the conception of a United Germany and a United Italy. The sorrows of Norway and the wrongs of Denmark, which Lord Grey was wont to dwell upon with frantic pathos, are absolutely forgotten now ; but in their place we hear suggestions from Liberal authorities, quite in the spirit of Lord Castlereagh's policy, that it might be desirable to submit Denmark to the same fate as Norway, and so to oppose a United Scandinavia to the westward march of Russia.

In truth, it was very easy for Mr. Brougham to launch vigorous invectives at Lord Castlereagh, for 'considering Courts, not Peoples,' in his negotiations ; but if Mr. Brougham had himself been installed in Vienna with despotic power over all Europe, he would have been compelled to hurl the same censures at himself. It was impossible for any statesman to consult the wishes of the peoples, for the simple reason that the peoples had no enduring and settled wishes to consult. The comparison between the national grievances of that time and the facts as they exist now, is a commentary on the durability of national sentiments which cannot be too attentively studied. With the solitary exception of Poland, there is not a single grievance of that date which was endowed with sufficient vitality to last for the space of a generation. Norway was the first victim that moved the pity of the Opposition of that day. The forcible union of the Swedish and Norwegian crowns was denounced as 'the most profligate measure of modern times.' To judge by the language that was used, one might have thought that a new partition of Poland was in contemplation, that Norwegian independence would be vindicated by some new Kosciusko, and that pauper Norwegian nobles would be met with for the next half-century begging for alms or courting heiresses in every capital in Europe. No one could have doubted from the tone of their advocates that the Norwegians were unalterably attached to the Danish connection. But if the Congress of Vienna had acted on any such assumption, they would have been grievously mistaken. The transference was effected with scarcely a struggle, and since the day that it was completed the Norwegians have been as contented and prosperous a people as any on the Continent. The next subjects of commiseration were Genoa and Ragusa. Both had been independent republics, and both under the new arrangements were incorporated into the dominions of neighbouring potentates. Genoa really had some cause of complaint. Lord William Bentinck, whose vigorous sense and high ability were occasionally marred by a tendency to sentimental politics, had been imprudent enough to promise the Genoese that

that their ancient form of government should be revived. He acted in entire opposition to his orders, which he either misconstrued or despised. Lord Castlereagh had no inclination to revive these petty sovereignties in the neighbourhood of France. Experience had proved that they were dead relics of a bygone state of things, and that in the existing condition of military science they were incapable of self-defence, and only a temptation to aggressive neighbours. The subsequent fate of Cracow has justified the conclusions which he formed. But the Genoese did not take this view of the matter. They hated the Piedmontese with all the hatred that national neighbourhood seems peculiarly calculated to inspire. Moreover, there were motives of a less ignoble cast to prejudice them against the change. Genoa had a splendid history to look back upon, and its inhabitants were naturally unwilling that theirs should be the generation that should bring that history to a close. For themselves influential citizens could not look without dismay upon the destruction of all municipal ambitions which would be dealt by the conversion of Genoa into a mere seaport of Turin. All these feelings combined to make the Genoese passionately anxious to recover their lost independence. They sent in a vehement protest to the Congress of Vienna, and even went so far as formally to entrust their papers to Mr. Whitbread, that he might fight their battle in the House of Commons. Here, if anywhere, one would have thought, was a strong national sentiment which would make Genoa a thorn in the side of Piedmont so long as the ill-assorted union should continue. But all this wrath and fury has passed away like a summer shower. Lord Castlereagh was firm, and the annexation was carried through. The union has increased the prosperity of the Genoese to a point which, if they had remained independent, they never could have reached; and, by giving strength to Piedmont, it has laid the foundation on which the genius of Cavour has been able to build a glorious structure. Prussian Saxony and Rhenish Prussia are cases of the same kind. In disposing of them, their ancient state was absolutely disregarded. They were both applied, without the slightest reference to their former sovereigns, to the object of strengthening Prussia by the addition of provinces nationally allied and geographically important. In the execution of this transfer the right of conquest alone was relied upon, and no account was taken of the wishes of the populations. To them the change at the time was profoundly distasteful. In Saxony the influential portion of the community were keenly sensitive to the loss of importance which a small State suffers when it is merged into a greater; and in the new Rhenish acquisitions the

the people had in addition to regret the loss of many undoubted improvements which the French had introduced. A long time passed away before the discontent was pacified and the new populations became Prussian in heart. In 1820 Mr. Lamb writes to his Government that, owing to the misgovernment of Berlin, their feelings were as hostile as ever. Even in 1838, when the affair of the Archbishop of Cologne was pending, Varnhagen doubted whether the precedent of Belgium would not be followed on the Rhine, and the Prussian connection be violently shaken off. But in course of years, habit and mild government have done their work. The grievances of the new Prussian provinces have gone the way of the grievances of Genoa and Norway. They pointed many an eloquent outburst in their time, and now that they have played their part they are consigned to the limbo where forgotten party cries repose.

It is clear, therefore, that if Lord Castlereagh and his colleagues at Vienna had taken the advice of their contemporary critics, they would not have consulted the ultimate wishes of the populations with whom they were dealing. They would have abandoned great political objects for the sake of deferring to a national sentiment, which in spite of its seeming earnestness was only a passing whim. Whatever they had done, they could not have produced greater contentment in these various countries than that which prevails at present; but, if they had done as they were bidden by their opponents at the time, they would have produced it at the gratuitous cost of sacrificing the strategic advantages which, as matters stand, they have secured. As against the accusers who lived at the same time and enjoyed the same means of judging as themselves, their historical justification has been complete. On the other hand, unless they had possessed the gift of prophecy, it would have been impossible for them to have anticipated the charges of more recent critics. Upon the points where their structure ultimately gave way, not a symptom of weakness was then to be seen. There was not a cloud to indicate danger in those quarters of the horizon from which the storm that should try it so severely was to arise. Hungarian insurrections, Turkish wars, Italian revolutions, were causes of disturbance which it never at that time occurred to statesmen to guard against or patriots to predict. The Turks were not even mentioned at the Congress of Vienna. The ambition of Russia to push her frontier westward very nearly broke up the Congress in confusion; and her preparations for extending it towards India were sufficiently active to cause considerable apprehension to English diplomatists. But in 1815 the decay of Turkey did not seem imminent; and no one could have

have guessed that from her weakness could have proceeded the first fatal blow against the European system which the Congress were building up. The loyalty of Hungary was so unimpeachable that the Hungarian regiments were noted by English envoys as the most anti-democratic in the Austrian army. Even in Italy, at the time the Congress was sitting, there was no trace of the discontent which a few years afterwards became so menacing. The idea of Italian unity might have germinated in a few poetical minds; but it would have been passed by as a student's dream if there had been no misgovernment to warm it into life. The wishes of the various populations were bent on objects little reconcilable with the idea of Italian unity. Genoa, as we have seen, longed only for an independent existence of its own. Mr. Cooke, a gentleman of great experience and sagacity, who was himself of opinion that 'an ecclesiastico-civil potentate is a monster,' reported, nevertheless, to Lord Castlereagh in 1815, that 'the Romans in general were attached to the ecclesiastical government;' and that 'Murat's proclamations for the independence of Italy, and his invitations to the Italians to enlist under his banners, were treated hitherto with ridicule.' In the same year the Foreign Secretary is informed by another of his correspondents that 'the Tuscans are much attached to their sovereign the Archduke.' Sicily notoriously dreaded nothing so much as an administrative union with Naples. Milan was infested by secret societies, but the mass of the people forced the Senate to declare against the Viceroy, who was keeping out the Austrians; and Lombardy, as a whole, only petitioned for the modest favour of being governed by a resident Archduke instead of direct from Vienna. Nor was there any ground for believing that the rule of Austria would be oppressive. Her system of government before the revolutionary war had been so successful, that those who had lived under it looked back to it with genuine affection, and longed to resume their allegiance. The devoted efforts which the Tyrolese made to exchange the government of Munich for that of Vienna form one of the most striking chapters of the revolutionary war. Lord Burghersh, in his report to Lord Castlereagh, gives a very emphatic testimony to the existence of a similar feeling of intense devotion among the population of Breisgau—what is now the southern part of Baden—towards their ancient master. And in Belgium the feeling was so strong, that it was with great difficulty that the people were induced to renounce the hope that Austria would again undertake to govern them. They had no desire to be united to any of their neighbours. They hated the French, abominated the Prussians, and had no great admiration for the Dutch.

All that they desired was to return under the shadow of that sceptre which our generation has been accustomed to regard as the embodiment of all that is feeble, and incompetent, and tyrannical. It is too true that a change soon came over this affectionate relation between the crown of Austria and its subjects. The Viennese Government had learnt the art of harsh and oppressive administration from its revolutionary conquerors, and as soon as the peace gave it leisure it put the lesson into practice. Scarcely was the House of Hapsburg re-established in its former grandeur than it entered upon that steady career of misgovernment which it has pursued with so much perseverance up to the present day. The Austrian name became odious in Italy and the Tyrol within a very few years of the peace of 1815; and now, after many years of vain conflict with disaffection, the dynasty has so completely forfeited its ancient character, that probably a large majority of its subjects would hail its overthrow with joy.

It is absurd, therefore, to speak as if the events of the last two or three years were a condemnation of the policy supported by Lord Castlereagh at Vienna. As the facts lay then before his eyes, there was not the slightest probability that the arrangements the Congress were making in Italy would ever disturb the peace of Europe. There was no general discontent with the ancient dynasties, and nothing in the traditional character of Austrian Government to create that discontent where it had not existed before. Least of all was it probable that any movement in Italy would take the direction of Italian unity. The common tendency of mankind is not towards union, but secession. The promptings of neighbourly jealousy find a much readier ear than the dull suggestions of statesmanlike policy, and in Italy these jealousies have always raged with peculiar violence. Lord Castlereagh would have been mad if he had acted on the supposition that the union of all Italian States into a single nation would ever become the object of Italian aspirations. The creation of a United Italy, had it been possible, would have been in the genius of Lord Castlereagh's policy. He would have valued it, as we value it now, for the strength it would have afforded to the European equilibrium, and the bulwark it would have opposed to France. It effects the very object for which he laboured to build up the kingdoms of Sardinia and the Netherlands, and for which, under the inspiration of Mr. Pitt, he invited Prussia to the left bank of the Rhine. But even if he had had the power, he was too wise to have attempted to manufacture empires on such a scale. He knew that to compress into an artificial unity the various races of the Italian Peninsula, who
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had not then learned to wish for it, nor unlearned their ancient feuds, was beyond the power of a European guarantee.

The true nature of the policy which guided Lord Castlereagh during his whole career has been singularly misconceived, not only by his antagonists, but by his friends. The character of his mind was so different from that of most of the statesmen amongst whom he lived, or by whom he has been succeeded, that he could hardly fail to be misjudged. He was that rare phenomenon—a practical man of the highest order, who yet did not by that fact forfeit his title to be considered a man of genius. In men of genius, as a rule, the imagination or the passions are too strongly developed to suffer them to reach the highest standard of practical statesmanship. They follow some poetical ideal, they are under the spell of some fascinating chapter of past history, they are the slaves of some talismanic phrase which their generation has taken up, or they have made to themselves a system to which all men and all circumstances must be bent. Something there almost always is that beguiles them away from the plain, prosaic, business-like view of the concerns of this prosaic world. Consequently the mass of mankind, who have a dull, but surefooted instinct of their own interest, feel an uncomfortable misgiving when they see a genius at the head of their affairs. They are aware that first-rate brilliancy cannot be had without something of distortion; but it is no consolation to them that the illusions which are luring him on to ruin lend in the mean time an exquisite charm to the eloquence by which he induces them to accompany him on the road. On the other hand, the clever world is very intolerant of plain, practical statesmen. It maintains, sometimes with very good reason, that where the imagination is stunted, it is merely because the whole mind is stunted too; and that the claim to practical common sense is often only a euphemism for a narrow intelligence straitened by an abject regard for precedents and for routine. As a rule, both sides are right in the suspicions they entertain. It is rare to meet with a fervid imagination which is drilled to reserve its flights for efforts of oratory, and to give place entirely to more sober faculties in council. It is still rarer to see an absolutely unimaginative mind possessed of the energy and of the breadth of view indispensable in the statesman of a troubled period. Both kinds of excellence produce great and successful rulers, where they occur; and both are apt to meet, in those around them, with incredulity that such combinations of opposite qualities can exist. Lord Castlereagh was a good instance of the second kind. His mind was energetic and original, without suffering in the slightest degree from any bias of sentiment. He commanded a far broader view than most states-

men of his time ; and he contemplated it through a mental atmosphere untinted by the faintest imaginative hue.

This intellectual composition was of great service to him at many a council-board in Europe, and conferred great benefits on those over whose interests he watched. But it caused him to be constantly misunderstood, both by his contemporaries and by posterity. The clever men of the day could not be brought to believe that a mind so powerful, so clear-sighted, so resourceful, dwelt in a passionless, colourless atmosphere, in which their own talents would have been frozen up. They could not conceive that one man could combine Canning's eagle glance and intellectual grasp, with a languor of emotion and a freedom from enthusiasm that Mr. George Rose himself might have envied. At first they were inclined to explain away the phenomenon by assuming his oratory to be the measure of his mind, and denying him the ability which his speeches were undoubtedly calculated to conceal. The events of 1813-1815 set this theory at rest. Foiled in this direction, his critics betook themselves to the remaining alternative for an explanation. Under his passionless exterior they pretended to detect a deadly zeal against the liberties of mankind. They believed his foreign policy to be actuated by no other aim but to crush the freedom which he was reluctantly compelled to tolerate at home. And in this hateful crusade the Holy Alliance, of whom he always spoke in Parliament with such respect, were in reality his sworn comrades and ready instruments. This view of his policy extended itself from his opponents to his friends. They, of course, did not give it such bad names ; but they were not less wide of the mark in the tendency they assigned to it. They extolled him as the champion of legitimacy, the bulwark of monarchy, the incarnation of that resistance to revolutionary principles which had become a religious faith among the majority of the educated classes of that day. But whether people blamed it, or whether they admired it, there was a pretty general agreement that resistance to popular claims was the final cause of his political existence.

So far as this view of his policy on the one side or the other implied that he was animated by any hostility to freedom, it was undoubtedly unjust. But it was not unjust in the sense of being an exaggeration. It was an entire misconception of the character, and, so to speak, of the temperature of the man's mind. It was pitched on a key-note far too emotional. I assumed, what in those stirring times was true of most people, an enthusiastic nature ; whereas enthusiasm was precisely the ingredient which had been omitted in the composition of Lord Castlereagh's character. All the other spurs to action he pos-

sessed—

sessed—ambition, sense of honour, sense of duty, and the dogged attachment to an object once taken up, which is the special characteristic of our race. But no tinge of that enthusiastic temper which leads men to overhunt a beaten enemy, to drive a good cause to excess, to swear allegiance to a formula, or to pursue an impracticable ideal, ever threw its shadow upon Lord Castlereagh's serene, impassive intelligence. He had his own notions of what good there was to be done, and what was the best way of doing it; and neither contradiction at home nor coaxing abroad ever moved him a hair's breadth from his own particular point of view. But they were such unpoetical, unromantic notions, that no one could, by any stretch of language, dignify them as 'a cause.' There were plenty of 'causes' about the world at the time, concerning which associations agitated, and young men raved, and poets published spirit-stirring stanzas. But, except as they might influence votes in the House of Commons, these exciting movements did not affect Lord Castlereagh. Some of them he thought pernicious, others impracticable, and of others he thought the benefit, though real, enormously exaggerated; and he never would pretend a sympathy he did not feel. It was this impossibility which worked so badly for his fame. It was an affront and an offence to the literary class, by whom these enthusiasms were chiefly fed, and who on secondary points and for a certain space of time have the power of moulding public opinion at their will. He might have maintained his policy with impunity, if in his speeches he would have done readier homage to the Liberal catch-words of the day. If he had only constructed a few brilliant periods about nationality or freedom, or given a little wordy sympathy to Greece, or Naples, or Spain, or the South American republics, the world would have heard much less of the horrors of his policy.

But in respect to most of these questions he was a perfect heretic. Whether he approved of the doctrine of nationality or not, it is difficult to say, for he never seems to have realized its existence. It had not made great way in the world before his death, and was principally confined to the Carbonari in Italy and the Illuminati in Germany. The idea therefore scarcely seems to have dawned upon him that any one had laid it down as a political dogma, that no two people speaking different languages ought to be under the same government; and that any amount of revolutionary confusion was preferable to such an enormity. Not having mastered it, he was unable to draw from it its obvious inference, that Austria in holding Venetia, Denmark in holding Schleswig, and Prussia in holding Poland, were committing an unpardonable crime against the peoples. If he had
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been more instructed in what has been recently called the new European law, he might have been embarrassed at being asked to proffer to it the sanction of England, who owns, without any consent of the peoples whatever, more nationalities than she can comfortably count. There is no doubt that to the philological law of nations he was obstinately deaf, whether he perfectly understood it or no; and that if he had understood it better, he would have disliked it more. The poetical or literary law of nations met with quite as little favour at his hands. By his conduct in the Greek question he evidently did not assent to the modern theory, that the territorial limits of a country ought to be settled according to its literary history. He never understood why the fact that Æschylus had written in Attica, and Pindar had celebrated the Games of the Morea, some five-and-twenty centuries ago, furnished in itself any reason for changing the government under which Attica and the Morea happened at that moment to be. Possibly he would have been equally impenetrable to the argument, that because Dante was a citizen of Florence, or Virgil composed poetry in Rome, therefore a German ought not to reign in Venice. It never would have occurred to him as a possible theory, that governments should be overturned or treaties broken for the sake of giving a present reality to the traditional glory of some distant past. Some of the grounds of the Italian war he would have appreciated. If we may judge from the protests and warnings that he uttered when the Congress of Troppau were holding their disastrous deliberations, we may be sure that he would have resisted in 1859 the illegal suzerainty which Austria had acquired over the Italian Courts as earnestly as he guarded himself against acquiescing in it in 1820. He would have recognized all the evils of the misgovernment, the tendencies to which showed itself in the Neapolitan Bourbons even in his time, and which he constantly reprobated. But in regard to the question of nationality he would have been more unpopular in our day than even in his own. He was not of those who would have raised an insurrection, or gone to war 'for an idea.'

The same positive, practical good sense showed itself in relation to the question of popular rights. It was a mere calumny to call him an enemy to freedom. In its truest and most literal sense—the exemption from oppression—he did more for it than any statesman of his age. We have the testimony of the Duke of Wellington that he had done more to destroy the slave-trade than any man in Europe; and the struggle which absorbed the best years of his life was a struggle on a vast scale for the liberties of mankind. The Liberals of the day—and the anomaly
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has extended itself in some degree to our day also—chose to conceive a sentimental tenderness for Napoleon, because he tyrannized by the right of his own sword, instead of by the right of any hereditary claim. But his tyranny was not the less one of the severest and most searching the world has ever seen. The minute exactness with which his war contributions and war conscriptions were levied, invested him with a power of inflicting wide-spread misery which no Roman Emperor ever possessed. Other tyrannies have mainly affected narrow metropolitan areas, or have shown themselves in capricious but occasional acts of cruelty. But from Napoleon's tyranny time gave no respite, and insignificance no escape. His exactions ground down every income, and his massacres, thinly disguised under military names, thinned every village, from Reggio to Lubeck. To have borne a large part in freeing Europe from such a scourge as this—to have provided securities that made it for the future an impossibility—was to have done a greater service to the cause of freedom than any shifting of the equilibrium of electoral power is ever likely to effect.

But he was not blind to the value of representative institutions in securing freedom from internal injury, though he valued the kernel a great deal more than the husk which protects it. In England he showed no sort of favour for that kind of freedom which is conferred by universal suffrage, and which is flourishing in such fascinating beauty in the State of Maryland just now; nor was he ever guilty of the hypocrisy of encouraging abroad that which he repelled at home. But, on the other hand, he had no sympathy with absolutism. The extravagant theories of legitimacy entertained by some of the more violent spirits of his time received no countenance from him. While many around him, both Englishmen and foreigners, were anxious to give to the war of 1813-14 the character of a crusade in behalf of legitimacy against revolution, he absolutely refused to lend to it such a colour. To his mind the triumph of any particular form of government would have been a poor compensation for assenting to the pernicious doctrine, that foreigners have a right to choose for a nation what its form of government shall be. He refused even to see the Bourbons while there was a chance of peace with Napoleon. The following letter to Lord Liverpool shows how much he dreaded lest the war for European independence should be mistaken for a counter-revolutionary crusade:—

‘Upon the whole my impressions are against any step which should, even in appearance, mix our system with that of the Bourbons, whilst we are embarked in discussions for peace, and ignorant how our Allies
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would relish such a step at the present moment; and in this view I doubt the prudence even of a declaration as to the armistice by sea and land: first, because it would be considered an invitation to a rising; and secondly, because I doubt its efficacy even to that object; as those who reason at all cannot doubt that, were the Bourbons restored, hostilities would immediately cease. We ought always to recollect that we are suspected of having *une arrière-pensée* on the question of peace, and that we should act with the more caution.

‘I have written very hastily my first impressions on your letter. They are intended for Bathurst, for whom I have a letter, as well as for yourself. From the early part of Lord Wellington’s letter I think his impressions are the same as my own; that, with all the objections to such a peace, if Buonaparte will give you your own terms, you ought not to risk yourselves and the Confederacy in the labyrinth of counter-revolution. If he will not, you may then run greater risks; but even then I should wish to see more evident proofs of active disposition to throw off B.’s yoke, before I encouraged an effort.’—(*Castlereagh Papers*, vol. i. series III., p. 124.)

But though he was fortunate enough to obtain the high sanction of the Duke of Wellington for his policy, it was almost the only assistance he received. His attitude was maintained against the pressure of many of his allies, against the wishes of his colleagues at home, and against the secret interference of the Prince Regent himself. Almost the only angry shade that passes over the calm, imperturbable style of his correspondence during this exciting period, was drawn from him by the intelligence that the Prince Regent had secretly given to Count Lieven a pledge in favour of the Bourbons at the moment when Lord Castlereagh was still negotiating with Napoleon. When the war did at last, through the obstinacy of the Emperor, result in the return of the Bourbons, he had no desire to inflict another despotism on France. It was by his advice that Louis XVIII. abstained from all ‘discussions on political metaphysics,’ and accepted the Charter simply. In the years of political confusion which followed in France, while the nation was beginning to work its new institutions, Lord Castlereagh’s counsels were always on the side of strictly constitutional measures. He urged the King to avoid ‘the high-flying Royalists,’ to try and form, out of the men whom the Revolution had bred, a party strong enough to govern the country, and to give up the anomaly of an armed force maintained under any other authority than that of the King’s responsible advisers. He gave, though to little purpose, advice of the same character in Spain. He entreated the King not to return to the ancient state of things:—

‘If His Majesty announces to the nation his determination to give
effect

effect to the main principles of a Constitutional régime, I think it is probable that he may extinguish the existing arrangement with impunity, and re-establish one more consistent with the efficiency of the executive power, and which may restore the great landed proprietors and the clergy a due share of authority; but to succeed in establishing a permanent system he must speak to the nation, and not give it the character of a military revolution, in doing which the language of Louis XVIII. may afford him some useful hints.'

It would have been difficult to give advice savouring less of any extreme political view, or more consonant with the spirit of the institutions which our own country enjoys. It is curious that the only point in respect of which Lord Castlereagh thought it necessary to go into detail, was the provision of the revolutionary Cortes, copied from America, under which the Ministers of the Crown were banished from the legislature. He expressed a hope that this 'inconceivable absurdity' would not be repeated, and attributed to it the failure of most of the mushroom constitutions that had grown up since the Revolution. Our generation, that has seen the operation of the same system in America, can appreciate the sagacity which attached such vital importance to a question apparently of detail. He took a similar course with respect to Sicily. He refused to infringe his favourite principle of non-intervention by forcing the King under terror of British arms to uphold the Sicilian Constitution. But he earnestly recommended its maintenance, and was ready to carry his efforts in its behalf to any extent short of actual war. He even proposed—as England had acquired in this particular case a right to express her opinion—to mark her displeasure at the King's illiberal intentions by breaking off diplomatic relations. But his cautious and sober mind shrank from hurrying his policy to the lengths to which theoretic politicians were prepared to go. Representative institutions were very well in Sicily and Spain, which had not been demoralized by Napoleonic despotism. They might be introduced without alarm in phlegmatic Holland. Though they were a venture full of danger, they must be regarded as the least of many dangerous alternatives in France. But Lord Castlereagh was not prepared to extend the same experiment, without any preparation, to the fickle and inflammable populations of the South. When the proposal was made to him to encourage a demand for representative government in Italy, where the thing was absolutely unknown, and where the Jacobin leaven was still fermenting, he drew back. He thought, and events have fully justified his sagacity, that Italian freedom must be the work of time. His letter to Lord William Bentinck on the subject presents so good a portrait of his mind, with its utter freedom

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both from impulse and from theoretical statesmanship, that it is worth extracting :—

‘I shall take care not to compromise any of the parties referred to in your secret letter. I fully approve of your giving the project no countenance; nor can I bring myself to wish that the too-extensive experiment already in operation throughout Europe, in the science of government, should be at once augmented by similar creations in Italy.

‘It is impossible not to perceive a great moral change coming on in Europe, and that the principles of freedom are in full operation. The danger is, that the transition may be too sudden to ripen into anything likely to make the world better or happier. We have new Constitutions launched in France, Spain, Holland, and Sicily. Let us see the result before we encourage farther attempts. The attempts may be made, and we must abide the consequences; but I am sure it is better to retard, than accelerate, the operation of this most hazardous principle which is abroad.

‘In Italy it is now the more necessary to abstain, if we wish to act in concert with Austria and Sardinia. Whilst we had to drive the French out of Italy, we were justified in running all risks; but the present state of Europe requires no such expedient; and, with a view to general peace and tranquillity, *I should prefer seeing the Italians await the insensible influence of what is going on elsewhere, than hazard their own internal quiet by an effort at this moment.*’—(*Ib.*, vol. x. p. 18.)

These are not the words of a man who disbelieved in the value of freedom, or wished to deny its blessings permanently to any race of men. But neither are they the words of a theorist who could see no blessings to be cherished and no interests to be spared outside of his own political ideal. Lord Castlereagh's was not a mind in which excited feelings had destroyed the proportion between different objects of desire. He knew the very different values of the boons for which men indiscriminately clamoured. The graduation in his mind seems to have stood thus: he cared for nationality not at all; for the theoretic perfection of political institutions, very little; for the realities of freedom, a great deal; and for the peace, and social order and freedom from the manifold curses of disturbance, which can alone give to the humbler masses of mankind any chance of tasting their scanty share of human joys—for the sake of this, he was quite ready to forego all the rest. Ambitious hopes or historic sentiments may be gratified by a successful rebellion; but they are the luxuries of the few, while the ruin of war and the cruelties of the conscription are realities that visit all. Lord Castlereagh may be blamed for ‘abandoning popular rights and the independence of nations;’ but in truth he was seeking

seeking to lay the foundation on which they must be built, and without which they cannot stand. He was pursuing too lofty an object to compromise its success for the sake of a liberal propaganda. His whole energies were bent to the one aim of securing that Europe should not again undergo another quarter of a century such as that from which she had just emerged. He sought above all other things so to establish the balance of power that it should not be easily overthrown, and to maintain it jealously as the sole pledge of peace. In all periods of his administration, during the war and after the war, this one paramount object of securing a lasting peace to Europe was the lodestar of his policy. He never suffered it to be obscured for an instant by the smaller gains which were perpetually pressed on him as all-essential by men of hotter natures or feebler minds. The restoration of Venetia's ancient government or Saxony's ancient limits were to him trivialities compared with the rescue of Europe from Napoleon. The sudden and violent introduction of popular institutions among nations to whom they were strange seemed to him a poor and equivocal compensation for the risk of destroying, while it was still fresh and fragile, the European settlement which it had cost so much blood to make. He disliked insurrections for their own sake, because they rarely lead to freedom, while they always endanger peace; but he disliked them still more for the foreign intervention and the foreign annexation of which they are made the mask. He saw that interventions in the internal affairs of other nations on the plea of political sympathy were the real danger to Europe's future peace—the only disguise behind which the ambition of conquest could safely hide itself. Therefore, under his guidance, England always declined to interfere herself, or to acquiesce in the intervention of others. He refused even to give what is now called 'a moral support' to a foreign political party—to interfere in the affairs of other States even with criticisms upon the institutions under which they chose to live. History has amply justified the neutrality which while he lived was bitterly arraigned. At the distance of forty years from the date of his death, we can now judge how much hatred and isolation would have been spared to England if English Ministers had been content to imitate his reserve—how much blood would have been spared to Europe if foreign Cabinets would have learned the regard for the existing rights of smaller States by which his foreign policy was marked.

The very qualities to which his greatness was due have been partly the cause that it has been left to a generation which knew
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him not to vindicate his name from undeserved reproach. The very immovability of mind which strengthened him to persevere when others faltered, and pause when others were rushing madly on, had the effect of isolating him among contemporary statesmen. He had not the qualities which make a devoted personal following. Except for the merely corporeal advantages of a splendid presence and a graceful bearing, it might be said that he was absolutely devoid of all the qualities by which mankind are fascinated. It was almost a crucial test of the capacity of English politicians to seek for and appreciate statesmanship for its own sake—to value at its true price the gold that does not glitter; and it is to the credit of the ruling classes in this country that they did not fail under the test. In the House of Commons he was no orator. His sentences were long, wordy, and involved; his style was bald and ungraceful, and often diluted to vapidness by a studied courtliness of language; and his metaphors were so exquisitely confused that they are a by-word to this day. His speeches furnished a fund of inexhaustible amusement to the wits of the time. Lord Brougham has left it on record that it was his custom to beguile the weary hours of a debate by making a collection of Lord Castlereagh's choicest gems as they dropped from his lips. They supplied Moore with material for several pungent epigrams, and they were invaluable to men who, like Byron, sought to prove their own liberality and whitewash their own characters by a rancorous abuse of the rulers who rescued Europe from military despotism. Nor was this unfortunate deficiency compensated by any fascination or brilliancy in private intercourse. Lord Castlereagh was neither a wit nor a scholar: he did not shine in conversation, and rarely attempted to take the lead. Neither in the senate nor the drawing-room did he display any of those showy qualities by which, since bribery fell into disrepute, wavering votes have been ordinarily won. It might have been expected that with all these drawbacks he would have been unable to hold his ground in the House of Commons, and that in Parliamentary campaigns he would have been an encumbrance rather than an assistance to his colleagues. The fact was exactly the reverse. He was during several years their great strength and stay—the only debater on whom the Ministry could confidently rely. The correspondence between him and Lord Liverpool while he was at the Congress of Vienna in the winter of 1814-1815 is a curious evidence of the influence he wielded in the House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh expresses an extreme anxiety to be allowed to see the negotiations to their close, and is quite
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sure that some of the other Ministers will be able to steer through the first part of the session without his help. But Lord Liverpool, though fully sensible of the importance of the negotiations upon the Polish and Saxon questions, which were then at their warmest, will not hear of his absence. He writes again and again in the most urgent terms to impress upon him that nobody is capable of managing the House of Commons but himself. No one who reads these letters can doubt the earnest sincerity of Lord Liverpool's entreaties. It is impossible not to see that in his judgment the presence in the House of this verbose and blundering orator, at whom his adversaries affected to laugh, was of vital importance to the very existence of the Government. And in this matter at least Lord Liverpool was no mean judge. Whatever his other capabilities may have been, he was a veteran in Parliamentary warfare; and, as his long possession of power amply proved, he knew what style of leadership it was that could win and could keep the confidence of the House of Commons.

Lord Castlereagh's influence in the House must have been enormous, if Lord Liverpool rated it so high as to risk the evils of his absence from Vienna at such a time rather than forego it. In truth his matter was so weighty, that it did not suffer materially from the singularly inappropriate language in which it was conveyed. Those times were too critical to leave much room or taste for niceties on the subject of style. The House had been strung by danger to a higher tone than that of literary fastidiousness. It looked in its leaders for something more sterling than the glitter of eloquence; and was content to condone the metaphors over which Lord Brougham and Mr. Moore made themselves so merry. Lord Brougham has himself confessed in later times that those who held Lord Castlereagh cheap on account of his style of speaking, cast rather a reproach upon representative government, which ranks eloquence so high among a Statesman's qualifications, than upon him. But though esteem and confidence were accorded to him very freely, and were never withdrawn so long as he lived, he does not seem to have awakened warmer feelings. He had not the talents that captivate the imagination, or the warmth of sympathy that kindles love. Men felt to him as to the pilot who had weathered an appalling storm, the physician who had mastered a terrible malady. They recognised his ability, and were glad in a moment of danger to have such a counsellor at hand; but they do not appear to have been drawn to him by the bonds of that intense personal devotion which has united so many great statesmen with their political supporters.

supporters. Therefore his influence died with his own death. He was the head of a powerful party in momentous times: he led a nation to the highest pinnacle of renown; he laid down landmarks of policy, which have lasted through many revolutions of opinion and are respected still. But he did not found a school. His name contained no spell to bind together after his death those whom he had influenced in life: none of the tender reverence gathered round his memory with which disciples recall the deeds and treasure up the sayings of a departed master. Pitt, Canning, Peel, wielded an authority over their friends that endured beyond the grave. Those who had served under them clung to the memory of that service as a bond among themselves which neither divergent opinions nor clashing interests might relax. There were Pittites, and Canningites, and Peelites, long after the death of the statesmen whose names they bore; and their cohesion has in no small degree affected our recent history: but no such adjective, in fact or in idea, has been formed upon the name of Castlereagh.

This effect of his calm, cold, self-contained temperament has undoubtedly in the first instance been damaging to his fame. The claims of other statesmen to the plaudits of posterity have been repeated noisily and indefatigably by bands of devoted admirers. Lord Castlereagh's memory, honoured only by the silent witness of events, has for the moment been thrust aside and neglected. No school of political thinkers have charged themselves in his case with the duty of sweeping away the detraction that gathers upon great men's tombs. But the time has come when these causes should cease to operate. It matters little to us now that his metaphors were Irish, his oratory dull, his temper unsympathising and cold. We are only concerned to recognise with gratitude the great results of his life—the triumphs that he won, and the peace-loving policy of which those triumphs were made the base. As the events in which he acted recede into the past, the pettier details in his character by which some of his leading contemporaries were repelled disappear altogether from our sight. From the point where we stand now, nothing is visible but the splendid outlines of the courage, the patience, and the faultless sagacity which contributed so much to liberate Europe and to save England in the crisis of her fate.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The American Union.* By James Spence. London, 1861.
2. *Two Lectures on the Present American War.* By Montague Bernard, B.C.L., Chichele Professor of International Law in the University of Oxford. Oxford and London, 1861.
3. *The Constitution of the United States compared with our own.* By Hugh Seymour Tremenheere. London, 1854.
4. *L'Union Américaine et l'Europe.* Par Sidney Renouf. Paris, 1861.

WHAT the causes have been which led to the *disunion* of the United States—what quarrel has arrayed the North and the South in opposite and hostile camps, and made them regard each other with a frenzy of hatred almost without a parallel in the history of nations—what the conduct of England towards America both before and since the outbreak of civil war has been, and how that conduct has been requited, are subjects of sufficient interest to justify us in devoting a few pages to their consideration. They require a much fuller examination than we can bestow upon them within the limits of an article, but we hope to make the salient points clear.

Practically it now matters little whether the Federal or the Confederate States were correct in the view they respectively took as to the right of any State or States to secede from the Union. The question has passed from the jurist to the soldier, and will be decided not by argument but the sword. The war has assumed such proportions, that, whatever may be the theory of the North, it cannot deal with the secession merely as a rebellion. Southerners taken with arms in their hands are not hanged as traitors; and a blockade is established, which—worthless as we shall show it to be—would be unmeaning and ridiculous, as directed by a Government against its own subjects. In point of fact there are two belligerent powers in presence, and the rights of belligerents are tacitly conceded by the North to the South, however the unpalatable truth may be denied in official despatches and diplomatic circulars. But History will ask which side was right in the commencement of the struggle, and we naturally wish to know where the blame ought to be thrown of provoking the terrible calamity of civil war. To assist in the inquiry is our present object, and for this purpose we shall avail ourselves of the recent work of Mr. Spence, '*The American Union*,' which we have placed at the head of this article, and which has most opportunely appeared. We can hardly speak too highly of it. It is a most able statement of the whole case, written with remarkable

able knowledge and power; and we strongly recommend it to our readers, if they wish to make themselves acquainted with the facts of the great American controversy, which are so often obscured by passion and distorted by interest. Mr. Spence tells us in his preface, that personal considerations and valued friendships inclined him, without exception, to the Northern side; but he warns the reader that 'he will soon encounter a current of reasoning adverse to the present doctrine and action of the Northern party.' But, as he says, these opinions have not been adopted from choice, and are directly opposed to interest; they are convictions forced upon the mind by the facts and reasonings contained in the work, and submitted to the judgment of the public. Such a man is, at all events, entitled to be heard.

It has been industriously represented by some, that the sole cause of the present quarrel is Slavery. It is supposed, even by persons who ought to be well informed on the subject, that the existence of slavery, having long been imperilled by the aggressive attacks of the Northern States, the signal for its destruction was given by the election of Mr. Lincoln as President; and the South, therefore, withdrew from the Union in order to protect its property in human flesh from confiscation. The war is by many, not only in this country but America, described as a crusade in the holiest of causes—to break the chains of the negro, and sweep away the curse of slavery from the continent of North America, from New Mexico to Maine. But a moment's consideration will show that such opinions are wrong, and not only not supported by facts, but directly opposed to them. It is remarkable that at no time for the last fifty years was 'the domestic institution,' as slavery is mildly termed, placed under such safeguards, and recognised by Congress, and by the political party generally opposed it, so unequivocally as at the period of Mr. Lincoln's accession to office. The proof of this is overwhelming. It is well known that of the two great parties into which, before the outbreak of civil war, the North was, and into which it still is, divided, and which are known as Republicans and Democrats, the Republicans were the party hostile to the South, and the Democrats the party to which the South allied itself to fight its battles in Congress. The Abolitionists are, we believe, to a man Republicans, although the Republicans are not by any means all Abolitionists. They have, however, steadily set their face against the claim of the South to extend slavery into new territories. The Democrats, on the contrary, were inclined, for political purposes, to favour the pretensions of the Southern States, not from any love for slavery, but because without such confederates they could not hope to make head on any question

question in Congress against their Republican opponents. It is also well known, that before the election of a President of the United States it is the custom for each party that brings forward a candidate to issue a manifesto called a 'platform,' in which it declares its political principles. The Republican platform in the last contest was adopted at Chicago in 1860, and the fourth article was as follows:—

'The maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment, exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends.'

Domestic institutions, of course, mean slavery. Further, an Act was passed by Congress, on the 2nd of March, last year, immediately before Mr. Lincoln formally entered on the office of President, which provides,

'that no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorise, or give Congress power to abolish, or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labour or servitude by the laws of said State.'

But were the views of Mr. Lincoln himself different? Was he at variance with his own party on this question?—and might he be expected to labour to undermine the principle embodied in the Chicago manifesto? Quite the reverse. He accepted it in the most unreserved and unqualified manner. In his inaugural address he solemnly declared—

'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists; I believe I have no lawful right to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with a full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And more than this, they were placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, in the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read. I now reiterate those sentiments, and in doing so I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible—that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming administration. . . . I understand a proposed amendment to the Constitution, which amendment, however, I have not seen, has passed Congress, to the effect that the Federal Government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconception of what I have said, I depart from my purpose so far as to say, that holding such a provision as now implied to be constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable.'

But more than this. The current of legislation and judicial decision upon subjects connected with slavery had been for some past time setting strongly in favour of the slave-owning States. The Fugitive-Slave Law passed, by which the runaway slave might be seized in any part of the Union, as much as if he were a horse or an ox that had strayed or been stolen. The owner in Louisiana might follow his property and claim it in New England or Pennsylvania. In the Dred Scott case, the Supreme Court at Washington decided that Congress was not competent to make a law prohibiting slavery to exist beyond a certain degree of latitude, as it had done in the case of the Missouri compromise; and when a negro claimed his freedom on the ground that he resided north of that line, it determined that he still remained the property of his master who had brought him from the South. The Court held 'that the Constitution recognises the right of property in a slave, and makes no distinction between that description of property and other property owned by a citizen.'

We thus see that the Supreme Court, Congress, the Republican party, and the President, had each, in their several spheres, hedged in the interests of the slave-owner, and given him every possible guarantee against any invasion of his rights. Is it then a delusion to suppose that slavery had anything to do with Secession? This we by no means say. It was one of the causes, but not in the manner nor to the extent generally imagined. To understand this, we must consider the political bearings of the question, and this we cannot do without some knowledge of the history of the Union.

That Union consisted originally of thirteen States, of which one only—Massachusetts—was entirely free soil: in all the others slavery existed in a greater or less degree. By the Constitution, each State sends to the Senate two members, whatever may be its extent or population. New York and Rhode Island, Georgia and Vermont, are equally represented in the Upper House. In the House of Representatives it is different. There representation is in the ratio of population. Formerly it was one member for every 33,000 souls; it is now one for every 127,972. At first the South could have no fear that her interests would suffer from the Union. The richness and fertility of the soil, the enormous extent of territory then still unoccupied, seemed to promise for all future time superiority in wealth and power. Virginia took the lead in framing the Articles of Union. Alexander Hamilton, the ablest politician amongst the eminent men employed in the task, was a delegate from Virginia. The capital was within her boundaries, and so prolific was she in statesmen that she acquired the proud title of Mother of Presi-
dents.

dents. At the beginning of the century Louisiana was purchased from France, and Florida was taken from Spain; so that the area of slavery was enormously increased, and the position of the South seemed to be impregnable. It was not then dreamed that slavery would come to be regarded as a curse—a thing to be denounced as a crime in pulpits and on platforms. It was not foreseen that the source of supply would be dried up, and the importation of slaves from Africa—which was then as much a matter of course as the importation of manufactures from England—would become an act to which the feelings of mankind would be as much opposed as to piracy or murder.

But a change took place. In 1808 the Slave-trade was forbidden. The Northern States were gradually ceasing to hold slaves, who, owing to the difference of soil and climate, were far less valuable there than in the South; and these slaves were in the great majority of cases not emancipated but sold to the Southern planters, who, having paid for them as property, naturally expected that as purchasers their title would be respected by the sellers. But new interests were springing up in the North, where the active industry of the people was creating manufactures to compete with the broadcloths of Yorkshire and the calicoes of Lancashire. We shall advert to this subject more fully by and by. Here we need only mention that these manufactures were encouraged by highly protective duties, the burden of which fell almost exclusively on the inhabitants of the South, who were entirely agriculturists, who had no manufacture of their own, and who were the chief customers of the North. Their object was to get manufactures cheap in exchange for their cotton and sugar, and coffee and tobacco. They therefore would gladly have seen the ports of the Union admit all that Europe would send them free of duty. The object of the Northern States was to make foreign manufactures dear, and thereby force the South to buy from them. Thus the commercial interests of the two great geographical divisions of the country became antagonistic; and this led to a struggle for political supremacy. Now here the element of slavery was of vital importance—not as a social but a political question. The original number of the States was, as we have said, thirteen: before the outbreak of the civil war they were thirty-four. The increase was made from time to time as the tide of population rolled on, and countries, which a few years before had for the first time echoed to the axe of the backwoodsman, assumed the dignity of organized States, and claimed admission into the Union. But each new State sent its two members to the Senate, and the balance of political power there would of course incline to the South or to the North, according as the majority of those

States were slave-holding or free-soil. It was the same in the House of Representatives, but not in the same degree. There, owing to the large proportion of members who were returned by the older and more thickly peopled States, the representatives of the new comers did not at first so materially alter the relative positions of the two parties. For a long time the South had the majority, but that majority began steadily to decrease. The rate of immigration into the Free States became more and more rapid, and as they became more populous of course they returned more members. If the Slave States remained stationary, or did not advance in the same ratio, it was clear that they must be beaten in the struggle: and this the more certainly as the minimum number taken as the standard of representation was increased. For it is easily seen that if that number is large, it may be impossible for particular States, even although increasing in numbers, to add a single unit to their members, while others may be able to add several. Now what are the facts? We will quote from Mr. Spence:—

‘Originally Virginia returned 10 members to 6 from New York; the proportions are now—Virginia 11 to New York 30. But this is not all. Virginia had at one time 23 members, now reduced to 11, although her population has increased, slowly indeed, but steadily, during the period. And South Carolina, which in the scheme of the Constitution stands for 5 in 65, or one-thirteenth of the representation, will return, under the last census, 4 out of 233, or one-sixtieth part. Hence that State has now less than a quarter of the representative power it had when the Federal compact was framed—a compact entered into with the expectation of advantage from it.’

The consequence was that in 1820, when Missouri applied for admission into the Union, the relative numbers in the Senate were so equally balanced, that its admission as a slave-holding or a free-soil State would have turned the scale in favour of either the South or the North. ‘It was this,’ says Mr. Spence, ‘which caused the desperate character of that struggle. The mere admission of a single State had been accepted with indifference before, when regarded merely as the admission of one to a number, but it had become the weight that was to turn the scale.’ The contest ended in the well-known Missouri compromise, by which slavery was excluded from all the territory embraced in the acquisition of Louisiana north of a line coinciding with 36° 30’ latitude.

The next great struggle was as to the admission of Texas. It was torn from Mexico by the South, as Florida had been torn from Spain. ‘Let it be signified to me,’ General Jackson had written to President Monroe, ‘through any channel, that the possession
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of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished.' This seemed to be an important gain to the South, but mark the retribution that followed! The annexation of Texas led to a war with Mexico, and this to the extension of the Union to the shores of the Pacific: gold, apparently inexhaustible, was discovered in California, and an enormous tide of population flowed into the new El Dorado, and also into Oregon, adding immensely to the territory of the Northern free-soil States. Again, the Irish famine occurred. It was now no longer the influx of emigrants, but the exodus of a nation to the North. The population there became overpoweringly greater than in the South, and the ratio of members in the House of Representatives followed in the same proportion. The South struggled hard for the maintenance of its supremacy. The North had been unwilling to extend the Missouri compromise to the West, for the effect of that would be to extend slavery to every new State south of that line as far as the Pacific, and the South would not rest under it because it prevented slavery from extending northwards. The result was that in 1844 Mr. Douglas, representing the interests of the Slave States, carried the Nebraska Bill, whereby the principle of 'squatter sovereignty' was established; that is, each territory before its admission into the Union was to determine whether it recognized slavery or not; and, in the words of the Act, 'when admitted as a State or States the said territory, or any portion of the same, shall be received into the Union, with or without slavery, as their institutions may prescribe at the time of their admission.'

But the decision in the Dred Scott case made this a dead letter. For the Supreme Court there decided that it was contrary to the Constitution to declare slavery illegal, and therefore beyond the competence of the legislative authority in any territory to prohibit it. The question again assumed a practical form in the case of Kansas. We all know that this was made the battle-ground of the contending parties, and this not figuratively but literally; for civil war raged in the territory and blood flowed, because the minority in favour of slavery would not yield to the majority who wished to exclude it. We give no opinion as to which party was right in a constitutional point of view, nor stop to inquire with what show of justice or reason the Slave States, which had carried the Nebraska Act, now practically repudiated it. Our object is to show the nature of the struggle, and the causes which led to the Secession.

No stronger proof can be given of the political character of the struggle between the South and the North, than that which

at first sight appears to be entirely a social or commercial question—namely, the extension of slavery into new territories or States. For it would seem to be directly contrary to the interest of the cotton-planter and sugar-grower to bring fresh districts into competition with himself. He has now a monopoly of production. Why should he wish others to share in it, and thus lower his profits? Can it be possible that the agriculturist of Virginia or Georgia should desire New Mexico and Arizona to become slave-holding States, in order that they may produce cotton and sugar in rivalry with himself? Or is it the want of fresh soil that is felt, owing to the exhaustion of the old plantations, and is he obliged to look out for new fields of labour in which his slaves may be more profitably employed? Nothing of the kind. The planter of Virginia has no thought of transferring himself or his slaves to New Mexico, some thousand miles away. And how stand the facts as to the increase of slavery in the new districts? New Mexico has an area of 200,000 square miles, and at the end of ten years there are upon the territory twenty-two slaves, and of these only twelve are domiciled. And yet the area of New Mexico is four times as large as England. When, therefore, so little pains are taken to propagate slavery outside the circle of the existing Slave States, it cannot be that the extension of slavery is desired by the South on social or commercial grounds directly, and still less from any love for the thing itself for its own sake. But the value of New Mexico and Arizona *politically* is very great. In the Senate they would count as four votes, and their representatives in Congress would vote with the South or with the North according as they ranked in the category of slave-holding or free-soil States.

Surely then these facts prove that it was not because slavery was in jeopardy that the South seceded from the North. Nor can the North pretend that she is fighting in the cause of humanity to remove the blot of slavery from the escutcheon of the Union. She was never more disposed to rivet the chains of bondage and render emancipation hopeless in those territories where alone slavery *can* exist for purposes of production, than at the very moment when she would have us believe that her zeal for the interests of the slaves was the cause of the alienation of the South.

But if this be so, the question naturally occurs, What *was* the cause of offence? How came the views of the South to be so opposed to those of the North that it determined at all hazards, and at any cost, to renounce partnership, and declare itself independent? Why was combined political action necessary in the case of all the Southern States to oppose the policy of the North?

North? If slavery was not in danger, what else had they to fear? In the first place, the North and the South did not really constitute one nation. In the next place, their commercial interests were in conflict. The North wished to foster its own manufactures by high protective tariffs, the burden of which fell chiefly on the South; and that in two ways. First, because they were the largest consumers; and, secondly, because as producers they were unable to exchange their commodities with the manufactures of England to the same extent or advantage as if the duties on imports had been lower. When the Constitution was first framed the whole of the States were agricultural, and all manufactures were imported. The early tariffs were extremely moderate; the duties on manufactured goods varying from 5 to 7½ per cent. The war with Great Britain in 1812-13 led to the introduction of home manufactures, but only in the North. With the return of peace came distress upon the newly-created interests, which had to struggle against competition with England. In 1816 a tariff of high protective duties was imposed, under which the manufactures of the North flourished at the expense of their Southern neighbours. Capital was attracted, and that branch of industry became more and more powerful in itself and influential in Congress. In 1823 a farther large increase of duties was proposed. The Southern States strenuously opposed the measure; but they were beaten by narrow majorities of 107 to 102 in the House of Representatives, and 25 to 21 in the Senate. In 1828 the struggle was renewed; and on that occasion, in the course of the debate, the following prophetic words were spoken by one of the members in the House of Representatives:—

‘If the union of these States shall ever be severed, and their liberties subverted, the historian who records these disasters will have to ascribe them to measures of this description. I do sincerely believe that neither this Government, nor any free government, can exist for a quarter of a century under such a system of legislation.’

The tariff came again under revision in 1832. Owing to excessive protective duties, there was now so large a surplus of revenue that it became necessary to reduce them. But the Northern States were determined that their manufactures should be favoured at the expense of other commodities. The South protested against this injustice, but in vain. The new tariff passed, and was so flagrantly unfair that a convention was summoned in South Carolina, which passed an ordinance declaring it null and void, on the ground that Congress had exceeded its just powers under the Constitution. The danger was so imminent that the North now yielded to fear what it had refused to grant to justice. News arrived that South Carolina was calling

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out her militia, and preparing for war. Upon this a measure was hastily introduced and rapidly passed, by which a large though gradual reduction of duties on manufactures was effected. South Carolina was appeased, and the peril for the moment passed away.

In 1842, owing to the impoverished state of the exchequer, which arose chiefly from a reduction in the income derivable from the sale of public lands, the duties were again raised. This is known as the Morrill Tariff; and, to quote the words of Mr. Spence, 'from that day to this the fiscal system of the United States has been continuously protective, to the profit of Northern manufactures at the cost of the Southern agriculturist.' For the Southern States are the great exporters of the Union. Our imports from them have reached thirty millions a-year. They wish to receive our earthenware, woollens, and calico in exchange; but the North does all in its power to exclude them by a high and most complicated tariff, in order to protect its own manufactures. We need not here discuss the question of free trade and protection. It is beside our purpose at present to say anything as to the policy or impolicy of such a system in a commercial point of view; but it is all-important to remember that the whole of the South was, without exception, opposed to these duties, and their interest was diametrically against such legislation. It enhanced the price of that which they had to buy, and diminished the exchangeable value of that which they had to sell. We will quote a passage from Coleridge's 'Table Talk,' p. 230, to show the view taken of the conduct of the Northern States, as far back as 1833, by one of the deepest thinkers of this century—a man who felt no interest in party questions, except in so far as they involved some principle of importance. After showing that taxation may, without being unfair, press unequally, or apparently so, on different classes in a State, he goes on to say: 'But when New England, which may be considered a State in itself, taxes the admission of foreign manufactures in order to cherish manufactures of its own, and thereby forces the Carolinians, another State of itself, with which there is little intercommunion, which has no such desire or interest to serve, to buy worse articles at a higher price, it is altogether a different question, and is, in fact, downright tyranny of the worst, because of the most sordid, kind.'

Can we then wonder that the Southern States were embittered against the North, and that they looked upon the commercial tariffs of which they were the victims as a kind of robbery? To make head against such a system they required a majority in Congress, and, by allying themselves to the Democrats in opposition

tion to the Republicans, they were barely able to maintain an unequal struggle. We now see the immense importance of slavery in a political point of view. It was not from any admiration of the thing in itself, nor from a desire to create competition with themselves, but in order to gain votes in the Senate and the House of Representatives that they battled so desperately for the admission into the Union of new territories as slave-holding and not as free-soil States. But it would be idle to deny that the tone adopted by the North on the subject of slavery exasperated the South, even when there was the least ground for fear that legislative protection to their property would be withdrawn. Books, sermons, speeches—a whole flood of literature was directed against slavery, and the cotton-planters were held up to public execration as beings who were a disgrace to humanity. The Abolitionists preached a crusade against the Southerner in language which made the blood boil in his veins. God forbid that we should say a word in favour of slavery: it is a horrible evil, and England has no deeper cause for self-gratulation than the pecuniary sacrifices she made to shake off the pollution from her for ever. But it is impossible to deny that it would be an atrocious wrong to deprive forcibly the planter of his property without compensation. What then must have been his feelings to hear himself threatened with spoliation, and his name associated with infamy? If the efforts of the Abolitionists have had no other effect, they have done this: they have produced an intensity of hatred in the South which, added to the sense of injury from hostile tariffs, made its continuance in the Union, except under compulsion, impossible. Men will not remain in partnership who detest each other, and who have each sufficient capital to set up business for themselves. If the subject had been approached in a more conciliatory manner, the result might have been different. All that the planter heard of from the Abolitionist was a denial of his right, and the only plan for making him relinquish his property was confiscation.

It is remarkable that no feasible scheme for extinguishing slavery has yet been proposed by the North. The obvious mode is compensation. We are not now considering the question of what would become of the Blacks themselves, and what would be their destiny if suddenly emancipated. We confine ourselves solely to the question of property. We never yet heard of a deliberate plan for buying up all the negroes. Perhaps the Abolitionists were appalled at the magnitude of the sum, for, taking the number of negro slaves according to the last census at four millions, and averaging their value at six hundred dollars a head, which is not a high figure, the amount of compensation
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required would be five hundred millions of pounds sterling! Here, by the way, we must observe, that the expenditure of the first year of the war is computed at two hundred millions, and that payments in specie have already been suspended. But surely, if the North is as sincere in its hatred of slavery as we are asked to believe, we might expect something to be done for its extinction in cases where the process would be easy and the pecuniary cost small. The little state of Delaware has less than 1800 slaves. The district of Columbia which surrounds Washington, and which, as the seat of the Government of the United States, is placed by the Constitution under the exclusive control of Congress, without the possibility of any question of State rights being raised, contains 3181 slaves. Why are not these districts purged from the black stain of slavery? The conduct of the white inhabitants of the North to the poor negro, or any one tainted with his blood, is thoroughly unchristian. They consider contact contamination. It was only the other day that we saw a petition from the coloured citizens of Philadelphia, the city of 'brotherly love,' praying to be allowed to ride in the passenger cars. It is not then surprising that the South is tempted to regard the clamour of the North against slavery as something very like hypocrisy, and to resent with bitterness a cry which it knows to be injurious and believes to be insincere.

But it may now be asked, Why was the election of Mr. Lincoln as President the turning-point of the struggle? what was there in that event so intolerable to the South that it rushed at once into secession? We have seen that he was prepared to give slavery more protection than it had ever before enjoyed; and at first sight it would seem a most unjustifiable act for half a continent to plunge into civil war because its own candidate was beaten in an election struggle—to draw the sword because it was defeated by the ballot-box. It was not the first time that the Southern States had been obliged to accept a President from the North, and had lost the man of their own choice. But they did not in angry disappointment break up the Union. We cannot answer the question better than in the words of Mr. Spence:—

'Because for the first time in the history of the United States the election of the President was purely geographical; it was not a defeat at the hands of a party, but at those of the Northern power. It was an act which severed North from South as with the clean cut of a knife. Upon such a division Jefferson remarked long ago; a geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every irritation will make it deeper and deeper. . . . The Northern States had 183 votes, the Southern, if

if unanimous, 120. Hence it was plain that if the North chose to act in a mass, its power was irresistible. At last it did act in a mass. Upon that event political power departed from the South and departed for ever. . . . Looking at the election of Mr. Lincoln from an European point of view, it was an ordinary, an insignificant event; looking at it as seen by the Southerner, it was the knell of the departing independence and welfare of this portion of the Continent.'

But besides slavery and commercial tariffs, and altogether independent of any conflict of interests, sooner or later Secession was inevitable. The Federal Republic contained within itself the germ of its own destruction. It was not a homogeneous whole, but was made up of incongruous parts, the cohesion of which was sure to be in the inverse ratio of their size. A mass so composed will break by its own weight. The population of the Union at the date of the Constitution was not so great as the population of Scotland at the present day. Now the population is more than thirty-one millions; the number of States is thirty-four; and the territory embraced is so enormous that it is difficult for the imagination to realise it. The valley of the Mississippi alone can contain and support a population equal to that of Europe. The Union stretched from Canada to Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It comprised States, some of which were larger than most European kingdoms. And the idea of their separate independence was carefully fostered by their institutions: each had its mimic Congress, its Governor, its own taxation, its own militia, its own laws. As they grew in numbers and importance, they would necessarily become more and more impatient of external control, and unwilling to submit to legislation by others which they might think adverse to their interests. The centrifugal force was becoming year by year stronger than the centripetal; and we know that in dynamics the result is, that the revolving body flies off at a tangent. The event was long foreseen. Even Washington had foreboding fears that the extent of the thirteen original States—a mere seaboard of the Atlantic—was too great for permanent union. He hardly dared to look into the future. 'Let experience,' he said, 'solve the question; to look to speculation in such a case were criminal.' Jefferson wrote thus: 'I have been amongst the most sanguine in believing that the Union would be of long duration. I now doubt it much, and see the event at no great distance.' Curtis in his '*History of the Constitution*,' observes, 'many of the wisest of the statesmen of that period, as we now know, entertained doubts whether the country embraced by the thirteen original States would not be too large for the successful operation of a Republican government.' In 1833 Coleridge said (see '*Table Talk*,' p. 201)

p. 201)—‘Can there be any thorough national fusion of the Northern and Southern States? I think not. In fact, the Union will be shaken almost to dislocation whenever a very serious question between the States arises. The American Union has no centre, and it is impossible now to make one. The more they extend their borders into the Indians’ land, the weaker will the national cohesion be. But I look upon the States as splendid masses to be used, by and by, in the composition of two or three great governments.’ A Russian writer, Ivan Golovin, remarked six years ago, ‘A visit to the United States has the strange property of cooling democrats. Again I tell you that the manifest destiny of the States is disunion. I do not give the Union eight years to last.’ Grattan says, ‘the day must no doubt come when clashing objects will break the ties of a common interest which now preserve the Union. The districts of South, North, and West are joined, like some wall of incongruous material, with cement insufficient to secure perpetual cohesion.’ Sterling in his ‘Letters from the Slave States in 1857,’ declares that ‘no wise man would venture to foretel the probable issue of American affairs during the next four years.’

But the next question is, Had the Southern States the constitutional *right* to secede? Was Secession an act of Rebellion? The Unionists declare that it was. They say that every Southerner found in arms against the Federal forces is a traitor, and may be lawfully hanged as such. The Confederate States assert that they are guilty of neither treason, nor rebellion, nor revolt; and that they had as much right to withdraw from the Union, if they pleased, as other States have to elect to remain in it. Whatever may be the merits of the case, this at least is certain: if the Confederate States are successful in establishing their independence, Foreign Powers will, nay must, as a matter of course, recognise that independence. They will be admitted into the family of nations, whatever may have been their title during the struggle. Still the question is interesting in a constitutional point of view; and we believe it is one in which neither party will ever be likely to convince the other by argument; for it is full of difficulty, and might exhaust a volume instead of the few lines we can afford to bestow on it. The authorities have been examined by Professor Bernard with much acuteness and entire impartiality, and the whole question is argued by Mr. Spence with singular clearness and ability in the chapter of his work, headed ‘Is Secession a Constitutional Right?’ to which we refer our readers for a fuller discussion of the subject. We find on the threshold of the inquiry two principles in conflict—the Federative and National character of the Union. The
Constitution

Constitution was a compromise between them both; and ever since its adoption there have been, as might be expected, two different views taken of the results. There has always been a Federalist and an anti-Federalist party: the one asserting that the Union is a federative compact of independent and sovereign States; the other that it is the fusion of those States into one People, whose will is law when expressed by a majority in Congress.* Let us glance at the facts.

When the American colonies revolted from Great Britain, the Government was carried on during the War of Independence by a body called Congress, composed of delegates from the different States which made common cause in the Rebellion. We need not stop to enquire by what process dependent colonies of one Crown converted themselves during the struggle into separate States. It is sufficient to say that in the Declaration of Independence in 1776, it was proclaimed that 'these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.' Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union were afterwards framed in Congress, which were to be proposed to the legislatures of all the United States to be considered, and, if approved of by them, they are advised to authorise their delegates to ratify the same in the Congress of the United States. Article 2 declares that 'Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.' Article 13 provides that the Articles 'shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual.' These Articles were agreed to by the several States acting in their separate capacities, and were finally adopted in Congress in 1781. They continued in force until 1787. But an important change then took place. As is observed by Mr. Curtis in his 'History of the Constitution of the United States,' by the judgment of the old Congress, and of every State in the Union save one—Rhode Island, the Confederation had been declared defective and inadequate to the exigences of Government and the preservation of the Union. A convention was therefore summoned to amend the Articles, which met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, and was attended by delegates of twelve out of the thirteen States. But these delegates had not the power of binding the States they represented. The resolutions arrived at were to be

* That the Constitution is a federative compact was asserted by Kentucky in 1797 and 1798; by Virginia in 1798 and 1829; by Georgia in 1825; by South Carolina in 1827 and 1833; by North Carolina in 1837. See Bernard's 'Lectures on the present American War,' p. 60, which we have placed at the head of this article.

submitted to each State separately, to be rejected or ratified as that State should determine according to its own Constitution. Eleven of the States adopted the Constitution, but North Carolina and Rhode Island for some time held out; and it was not until 1790 that the Constitution was ratified by all the States.

Now the question is, Did each of these States renounce for ever its right to withdraw from the partnership or union thus formed? The preamble of the Constitution declares that 'We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.' But the people here spoken of were not the people taken as one whole, but the people of the separate States agreeing to certain specified conditions of union for the purposes therein mentioned. In the ratifying Convention of the State of Virginia, Patrick Henry objected to the words 'We, the people,' lest it might be supposed that it meant the inhabitants of all the States as one homogeneous mass. But Madison replied: 'The parties to it are to be the people, but not the people as composing one great society, but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties.' And this is proved by the fact that the question of acceptance or rejection was submitted to the people of each State separately, which came to a determination quite independently of the people of any other State; and the Articles are at the end declared to be 'Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present.' Not a word is said in this document that the Union shall be perpetual. By the act of ratification each State surrendered certain rights, but it by no means follows that it surrendered the right to withdraw from the Union whenever it found it more to its advantage to retire than to remain. Such a surrender is nowhere expressed in the Constitution, and by the tenth Article of the Amendments which were afterwards added to quiet the jealous fears of some of the States it is provided that 'The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.' In fact, Virginia at the moment of adopting the Constitution passed the following Act in Convention on the 26th of June, 1788:—

'We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the General Assembly, and now met in Convention, having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the most mature deliberation hath enabled us, to decide thereon, DO, in their name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known, that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed
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by them, whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression; and that every power not granted thereby remains with them, and at their will. That therefore no right of any denomination can be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by the Congress, by the Senate, or House of Representatives, acting in any capacity, by the President or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes; and that among other essential rights, the liberty of conscience and of the press cannot be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States.

And Virginia was admitted into the Union with the full knowledge that she had thus expressly reserved to herself the right of withdrawing if the powers granted by her then were perverted to her injury. The plea of the Confederate States is that in the case of all of them the powers granted have been so perverted, and that of this they have the right to be the judges. The truth is, that every clause in the Constitution is compatible with the principle—which might have been embodied at the end as a proviso without involving any contradiction to what had gone before—that all the enactments shall apply to each State only so long as it remains a member of the Union. For instance, Section III., 1, declares that treason against the United States shall consist in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies; and it may be said that as the Confederate States have levied war, they are guilty of treason. But it may well mean that levying war by a State shall be treason against the United States *so long as the particular State is a member of the Union*. But if it has the right to secede before levying war, and does secede, then it cannot be treason. And so of all the other provisions: they may be all read with the saving clause of a *durante bene placito* of the separate States.

We cannot understand how Mr. Justice Story came to assert in his 'Commentaries,' vol. i., p. 281, that 'the Constitution was neither made nor ratified by the States as sovereignties or political communities. . . . The doctrine that the States are parties is a gratuitous assumption.' Still less can we agree with Mr. Motley in his 'Causes of the Civil War in America,' who says that 'the Constitution was not drawn up by the States—it was not promulgated in the name of the States—it was not ratified by the States.' On the contrary, we think the very reverse is the fact. In the case of the Bank of Augusta v. Earle (13 'Peters' Reports,' p. 590), it was decided that the rules of international law apply to the States *inter se*, and the Chief Justice declared that 'they are sovereign States.' The Constitution was a Federative compact, 'done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present';

present;' and by the second of the Articles of Confederation it is declared that 'each State retains its sovereignty.' Our limits prevent us from pursuing the subject farther; but we would suggest an imaginary case as a test for trying the soundness of the view of the Unionists. Suppose that the question of Secession had been submitted to Congress and negatived in the House of Representatives by a majority of one. It is quite possible, under the system of representation that prevails in the United States, that more than one-half of the States might have voted through their members in the minority. Nay, owing to special causes influencing the growth of population, it might be that the members for New York and Pennsylvania in the House of Representatives outnumbered those of all the other States put together; and it might also be that in the Senate, where each State has two votes, all the members voted for Secession except those for New York and Pennsylvania, while in the House of Representatives all the members of the States except those two voted in the same way, but were still in a minority. Would, then, these two States have the legal right to hold the immense majority of dissenting States fast bound for all time to an Union which they detested and abhorred? Is not this contrary to the whole spirit and theory of the American Constitution, the great principle of which is *Quod POPULO placuerit, id lex esto*? When the people of eight States, containing many millions of inhabitants, unanimously determine to leave the Union, is it not a contradiction of that principle to employ force to compel them to remain? The right to use such force has been expressly repudiated by great American authorities. We will quote only two. Madison declared that 'the use of force against a State would be more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts.' Hamilton said, 'To coerce a State would be one of the maddest projects ever devised: no State would ever suffer itself to be used as the instrument of coercing another.' And it does seem the most monstrous of anomalies that a Government founded on the 'sacred right of insurrection,' should pretend to treat as traitors and rebels six or seven millions of people who withdraw from the Union, and merely ask to be let alone.

But we must hasten on from argument to narrative. South Carolina seceded. She was joined by five other States—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, and Texas; and at a later period by Arkansas and Mississippi. Mr. Jefferson Davis was elected President of the new conglomeration of republics, which assumed the title of the Confederate States. Fort Sumter, which was garrisoned by Federal troops, was cannonaded and taken by the Confederates,

Confederates, and on the 15th of April a proclamation was issued by President Lincoln, in which he cautiously abstained from characterising the Secessionists as traitors or rebels, but merely spoke of the execution of the laws of the United States being obstructed in seven specified States by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, and he called out the militia of the Union.

When authentic information reached this country that civil war had broken out in America the British Government advised her Majesty to issue on the 13th of May a proclamation enjoining the strictest neutrality on all her subjects between both the contending parties. It stated in the preamble that hostilities had unhappily commenced between the Government of the United States of America and certain States styling themselves 'the Confederate States of America,' and that the Queen being at peace with the Government of the United States had declared her Royal determination to maintain a strict neutrality in the contest between the contending parties. And all subjects of the Crown were forbidden 'to do any acts in derogation of their duty, as subjects of a neutral Sovereign in the said contest, or in violation or contravention of the Law of Nations in that behalf.'

The language here used gave great offence to the Federal States. They were very angry that the laws of neutrality should be invoked in favour of those whom they called traitors. And yet no other course could fairly have been taken by our Government. Were we to decide off-hand the knotty question of the sovereign or dependent character of the seceding States, and determine it against them? Were we at once to place them in the category of rebels in revolt against a Power with which we were in amity? And even in that point of view, looking at the extent of the Secession and the dimensions of the conflict, it was impossible for us not to concede the rights of belligerents to *both* parties. We did so when Greece revolted from Turkey, and when the war was beyond all doubt an insurrectionary war. The Turkish Government remonstrated, but Mr. Canning answered the remonstrance thus :—

The character of belligerency is not so much a principle as a fact. A certain degree of force and consistency acquired by any mass of population engaged in war entitles that population to be treated as a belligerent, and even if their title were questionable, renders it the interest, well understood, of all civilized nations so to treat them. For what is the alternative? A power or community (whichever it may be called) which is at war with another, and which covers the sea with its cruisers, must either be acknowledged as a belligerent or treated as a pirate. . . . But what monstrous

consequences would follow from treating as pirates a population of millions of souls, to whom, by that very treatment, the right would be conveyed, and on whom, according to the natural law of self-defence, the obligation would be imposed of making terrible reprisals! Humanity required that a contest, marked in its outset by disgusting barbarities, should be brought within the regulated limits of civilised war."

We might be content with this authority, for common sense teaches us that the reasoning is sound. But we will quote another, which even the Americans of the North must respect. It is an extract from the Report of a Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States on Foreign Relations, March 19, 1822, cited by Mr. Bernard, whose labours on this subject have been as judicious and as useful as those to which we have already referred:—

'When civil war breaks the bonds of society and of government, or, at least, suspends their force and effect, it gives birth in the nation to two independent parties, who regard each other as enemies and acknowledge no common judge. *It is of necessity, therefore, that these two parties should be considered by foreign states as two distinct and independent nations.*'

But Mr. Lincoln had characterized the population of the seceding States as traitors and rebels, and for that reason forsooth we must so regard them. A bitter feeling of hostility to England became apparent the moment that our proclamation was read in the Northern States. We were accused of fostering rebellion, of sympathizing with traitors. We need not say that not a shadow of foundation existed for such a charge. The feeling of the nation was that expressed by their Sovereign in the speech from the throne, when she said—

'It is impossible for me not to look with great concern upon any events which can affect the happiness and welfare of a people nearly allied to my subjects by descent, and closely connected with them by the most intimate and friendly relations. My heartfelt wish is that these differences may be susceptible of a satisfactory adjustment.'

But if anything could alienate us from the Government of the United States and make us sympathize with the South it is the conduct of the North towards us since the commencement of the struggle. We have acted in the most loyal good faith, and assisted neither side—closing our ports against the admission of prizes taken by both parties—and furnishing neither with our support. We respected the blockade of the Southern ports, and shut ourselves out of the supply of cotton at the cost of much suffering and loss to our manufacturing interests. But without any infraction of the Law of Nations we might have utterly ignored that blockade.

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President Lincoln declares that the Southerners are not belligerents but rebels, and at the same moment proclaims a blockade of the whole line of coast from the Potomac to the Mississippi. But if the Confederate States are not belligerents, then the Government of the Federal States is not belligerent, and has no belligerent rights. A blockade, however, is strictly a belligerent right, and it is more than doubtful whether a nation *can*, according to International Law, effectually blockade its own ports. In the case of the insurrection in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the United States insisted that it cannot. But at all events there can be no such thing as a paper blockade. It must be actual, and not constructive. In the words of Lord Stowell, in the case of the *Arthur* (1 *Dodson's Admiralty Reports*, p. 425), 'The usual and regular mode of enforcing blockades is by stationing a number of ships, and forming as it were an arch of circumvallation round the mouth of the prohibited port. There, if the arch fails in any one part, the blockade fails altogether.' And when war broke out between Spain and her colonies in South America, the Government of the United States declared that a blockade, to be valid, must be confined to the particular ports, and not extend over a coast of several hundred miles, and it must be maintained by a stationary and not a cruising squadron.* But the blockade of the Southern ports is maintained by a cruising squadron, and by a naval force utterly inadequate to the purpose, as is proved by the ease with which ships constantly run the blockade without difficulty and hardly with danger.

We wish we could regard the state of popular feeling in the Federal States against Great Britain as the result only of a momentary irritation. We might make much allowance for their embarrassments, and not criticise too closely the unreasonable anger of disappointed men. But the conduct of America towards this country for the last fifty years has been uniformly too offensive to permit us to think that the late explosion of ill will was accidental, and it has culminated at last in an act of outrage which leaves us no alternative but reparation or war. We have borne much patiently and long. We have shown such an unwillingness to quarrel that our forbearance has been mistaken for timidity; our friends on the other side of the Atlantic began to believe that we would not go to war because we were afraid; and they hoped that by swagger and bluster they would have it then all their own way. The Stars and Stripes were to

* 'American State Papers,' xi. 473, 475. President Monroe's Message, 1822; cited by Mr. Bernard.

float over the whole continent, and either by fraud or force we were to be tricked out of our rights, or compelled to surrender them. Let us briefly recapitulate a few facts, and then ask whether the behaviour of the United States to this country has been that of a loyal friend or of a grasping and bullying adversary.

We pass over the war of 1812-13 declared against us by America when we were in the crisis of our conflict with France, and *after* the Orders in Council which were the chief ostensible pretext for quarrel had been withdrawn. We will not stop to inquire whether our impressment of seamen on board American merchant-ships, or the long-cherished desire to take possession of Canada, was the real cause of war; but we may observe, in passing, that only *two* men *claiming to be Americans* were taken by our cruisers out of American ships on the high seas in the year preceding the war. And in the Report of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, on the 26th of February, 1813, it is stated, that 'its Committee, having examined the most experienced shipowners and shipmasters of their State, the most maritime of the whole Union, found them of opinion, that during a period of twenty-five years, and out of about 21,000 seamen employed by them, not more than twelve had been impressed by the British cruisers, and that of these twelve only one had been detained.' And it should be added that this number includes as well those taken in *port* as those impressed *at sea*. So much for the extent of that alleged grievance.

The Rebellion in Canada broke out in 1837. American 'Sympathisers' flocked in crowds to the frontier, seized upon Navy Island, which belongs to Canada, erected batteries there, and fired on the opposite shore, with arms supplied from the State arsenals of New York. A schooner, called the 'Caroline,' was equipped and employed by the Americans as a transport, in conveying munitions of war, to be used against the loyalists. She was captured by a gallant body of volunteers, led by Captain Drew, in a night attack, set on fire, and sent blazing down the cataract of Niagara. This taught the sympathisers the only lesson they were capable of learning—the lesson of fear. Sir Francis Head says, in his despatch to Lord Glenelg, dated *Toronto*, 9th February, 1838:—'The capture of the "Caroline" has been productive of the most beneficial consequences. Before it took place American "sympathy" for our absconded traitors was unbridled and unchecked. The State arsenals were openly plundered; subscriptions were openly collected; provisions, as well as munitions of war, were openly supplied.' But the seizure of this vessel, taken *flagrante bello*, so far as there can be a *bellum* by a people without the express sanction of their Government,

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was denounced throughout America as an unlawful and a piratical act.

A dispute as to the north-eastern boundary of the Union in the State of Maine, which had been long smouldering between the two countries, led to the appointment of Lord Ashburton, in 1842, as a Royal Commissioner, with full powers to settle the point of difference. We need not weary our readers with the details of the question. Lord Ashburton agreed to an award very unfavourable to our claim, and of course we abide by it. But it turned out that, during the negotiations, the American Government was all the while in possession of an old map, which had belonged to Franklin, and in which Franklin himself had marked *with a strong red line*, in 1782, the limits of the United States, 'as settled in the preliminaries between the British and American plenipotentiaries.' The line was *exactly the line contended for by Great Britain*; but the knowledge of the existence of this map was concealed from Lord Ashburton by Mr. Webster.* Such a feat of tricky diplomacy requires no comment.

Then came the question, in 1845-6, of the Oregon territory, which *marched* with the frontier of the British possessions in the North, and led to a dispute as to the exact boundaries of the two countries. The United States claimed the whole up to the Russian boundary of $50^{\circ} 40'$, which would have excluded England altogether from a territory first discovered by Drake, and named by him New Albion, 'in honour of his country.' To show the dishonesty with which their pretensions were urged, we will recall to recollection an almost incredible fact; at least it would be incredible, were it not that it exactly harmonizes with the sharp practice of Mr. Webster in concluding the Ashburton Treaty. Mr. Buchanan, the American Secretary of State (the late President of the United States,) in an official despatch to Mr. Pakenham, stated that—

'Even British geographers have not disputed our title to the territories in question. There is a large and splendid globe now in the Department of the State, recently received from London, and published by Maltby and Co., "manufacturers and publishers to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," which assigns this territory to the United States.'

It turned out on inquiry that the globe had been ordered for the United States Government by the *American Minister* at this Court, and that the boundary was so marked by the maker, from his desire to please the purchaser.†

* See the 'Quarterly Review,' No. cxlii., March, 1843.

† Ibid., No. cliv., March, 1846.

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Again, in 1856, we were on the brink of war with the United States on the question of Central America. It would be hopeless to attempt to condense the history of the dispute in a few sentences; and the public has long ago been heartily sick of the obscure politics of the Mosquito territory and Nicaragua. We need only state that our protectorate of Mosquito, which had existed for two centuries, was denied by the United States; and President Pierce, when he came into office, avowed his adherence to what is called the Munroe doctrine, which in effect amounts to this, that no European Power has the right to colonise or interfere with any part of the continent of North America south of the frontier of Canada. Indeed we are not sure that it even excludes Canada.

In 1859 the island of San Juan, the right to which was in dispute between the two countries, was seized by General Harney in open defiance of the negotiations that were going on. Mr. Douglas, the British Governor of Vancouver's Island, and the Admiral on the station, had a force sufficient to have summarily ejected the intruder, but to avoid bloodshed they forbore. The United States Government, however, in this instance did what was right. It disavowed the act of its officer, and recalled him; and we mention the case, not to blame the Government, but to show the aggressive character of the people.

Take, again, the African Slave Trade. In the interests of humanity we, at great cost, keep up a cruising squadron on the coast of Africa, to put down that abominable traffic. A suspicious vessel heaves in sight; the captain of the British man-of-war believes that she is a slaver. She hoists the American colours; but any pirate may do this; and in order to ascertain her genuine character she is boarded; and when it is discovered that she really is an American ship, she is instantly allowed to proceed on her way. But the United States Government would not allow this. Their flag is sacred, and covers the ship and all that it contains. They would permit no visitation except at our own peril; and if we persisted they would go to war. Well, as such a right of search does not exist by International Law, we respected the rule and gave way. The consequence is, that a slaver on the ocean has merely to keep a set of American colours in his cabin, and he may carry on his nefarious trade with impunity.

During the war with Russia, Mr. Crampton, our minister at Washington, unwisely, as we think, endeavoured to avail himself of the offer of British subjects residing in America to enlist for the Crimea. He paid the passage-money of men who wished to embark for the service. He thought himself justified in so doing,

doing, fortified as he was by the opinion of an American judge, declared in open court, that such an act was not forbidden by the laws of the United States. But the British Government, before any complaint was made, prohibited any further such enlistment; and when the American Government did complain, it made an apology for the unintentional offence. Surely a high-minded and honourable Power should have been satisfied. If we had done wrong, we had apologised. No other reparation was asked for, as, in truth, there could be none. But there seemed to be an opportunity of insulting us with safety, and gratifying the vanity of the most vainglorious nation on the face of the earth. Our ambassador was dismissed, and as by the Law of Nations which we respect, the dismissal of an ambassador is not a *casus belli*, we again acquiesced. Great was the triumph of America. The Lion seemed to have quailed before the Eagle, and the idea became more firmly fixed than ever that England did not dare to go to war with the United States. At last an event happened which brought the question to an issue.

The 'Trent,' a packet ship belonging to the British Mail Steamship Company, which runs from Vera Cruz to Havannah, and thence to St. Thomas (where her passengers and mails are transferred to another steamer to be conveyed to Southampton), had touched in the month of November last, in the usual course of her voyage, at Havannah, to take in passengers and letters. Four gentlemen, Messrs Slidell, Mason, Eustis, and McFarland, who had paid their passage-money for the whole route from Havannah to Southampton, embarked on board. Mr. Slidell was accompanied by his wife and two daughters. He and Mr. Mason had been sent as envoys from the Confederate States to Europe, Mr. Slidell being bound for France, and Mr. Mason for England. They came on board as ordinary passengers at a neutral port, in a neutral ship. They could not be clothed with any official or diplomatic character, for neither the Court of England nor the Court of France had recognised the independence of the Confederate States, from which they originally came. There is not a tittle of evidence that the captain of the 'Trent' knew who they were, although that really is a matter of no importance at all. A passenger ship is a common carrier by sea, and he was bound by law to receive all that came, provided he had accommodation for them, unless they were contraband in some way or other, as coming from a belligerent power.

On the 7th of November the 'Trent' sailed for St. Thomas, and when she reached the Old Bahama Channel she observed a ship lying stationary. The 'Trent' hoisted her flag, but no flag was shown by the stranger. As she approached a shotgun

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was fired by the other vessel across her course,* and the United States flag was displayed at the same moment at her peak. It turned out to be the United States war-steamer 'San Jacinto,' commanded by Captain Wilkes. The British flag was again hoisted by the 'Trent,' and so remained. She continued her course, and a shell was fired which burst across her bows. A boat put off from the 'San Jacinto,' followed by two other boats full of armed men, and a lieutenant in the uniform of the United States boarded the 'Trent,' and demanded from Captain Moir, the commander, his list of passengers. This was refused, and Captain Moir formally protested against any right to visit his ship for such a purpose. The lieutenant of the 'San Jacinto,' announcing his commission, said that two gentlemen named Slidell and Mason were known to be on board, as well as two other gentlemen named Eustis and M'Farland, and that his orders were to take and carry them on board the 'San Jacinto.' Commander Williams, R.N., the British Admiralty agent, who was in charge of the mails of the 'Trent,' protested vehemently against the act, and denounced it as piratical. We will quote what follows from the statement drawn up by the four Southern gentlemen, and delivered by them to Captain Wilkes, to be transmitted by him to the Government of the United States:†—

'The lieutenant addressed Mr. Slidell, and afterwards Mr. Mason, repeating that his orders were to take them, together with Eustis and M'Farland, and carry them on board his ship. Messrs. Slidell and Mason, in reply, protested in the presence of the captain of the 'Trent,' his officers and passengers, against such threatened violation of their persons and their rights, and informed the lieutenant that they would not leave the ship they were in unless compelled by the employment of actual force greater than they could resist, and Messrs. Eustis and M'Farland united with them in expressing a like purpose. That officer stated that he hoped he would not be compelled to resort to the use of force, but, if it would become necessary to employ it, in order to execute his orders, he was prepared to do so. He was answered by the undersigned that they would submit to such a force alone. The lieutenant then went to the gangway, where his boats were, the under-

* This seems a favourite mode with the Americans of speaking a foreign ship. To say the least, it is not very courteous. We will relate an anecdote which we have not seen in print, but which we know to be true. Last October a little British gun-boat, called the 'Steady,' employed in carrying despatches for Lord Lyons between Charleston and New York, was on her way northwards with her pennant flying, when an American frigate fired a shot across her bows to bring her to. Captain Grant, of the 'Steady,' ordered his men to quarters to prepare for action, when a boat put off from the American, and the first lieutenant came on board. Seeing how matters stood he went back to his own ship and brought the captain, who gave a written apology to Captain Grant for what he had done.

† We observe that Mr. Seward's account of the transaction varies from this in some particulars, but they do not seem to be of much importance.

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signed going at the same time to their state-rooms on the deck next below, followed by Captain Moir, and by the other passengers. The lieutenant returned with a party of his men, a portion of whom were armed with side-arms, and others—appearing to be a squad of marines—having muskets and bayonets. Mr. Slidell was in his state-room, immediately by and in full view. The lieutenant then said to Mr. Mason that, having his force now present, he hoped to be relieved from the necessity of calling it into actual use. That gentleman again answered that he would only submit to actual force greater than he could overcome, when the lieutenant and several of his men by his order took hold of him, and in a manner and in numbers sufficient to make resistance fruitless; and Mr. Slidell joining the group at the same time, one or more of the armed party took like hold of him, and those gentlemen at once went into the boat.

We may add, although it certainly does not affect the *legal* question at all, that Commander Williams asserts that the 'San Jacinto' had been at the Havannah from St. Thomas previously; that she had coaled there; and two of her officers, passing themselves off as Southerners in their hearts, had lunched with Mr. Slidell and his family, and extracted from them a communication as to their intended voyage. We may also mention that when Mr. Slidell went into his cabin, his daughter, Miss Slidell, placed herself at the door to bar the entrance of the marines; and so resolute was her determination, that her father, fearing she might be injured by the use of force, made his way through the window on to the deck, as she would not consent to open the door.

We really believe that a clearer case of violation of national rights and international law never occurred than this. It was evident from the first that the Federal States Government must accept one of two positions. Either it was a belligerent Power, or it was not. If it was engaged in merely putting down a rebellion of its own subjects, as President Lincoln and Mr. Secretary Seward strenuously maintained, it was not belligerent, and had no belligerent rights. In that case the 'San Jacinto' had not even the right of search to see whether the neutral vessel carried contraband of war or not—for there was no *war*. And if the character of the Southern Commissioners was that of traitors and rebels, they were as absolutely protected from seizure on board a British ship as if they had been walking in the streets of London. Our flag constitutes an inviolable asylum for all whom we have not by some extradition treaty bound ourselves voluntarily to give up. Be they felons or traitors, they cannot be reached without our free consent, and the smallest vessel in the British merchant-service is entitled to carry them unmolested, although all the guns of the American navy were bearing upon her. Political offenders we never have
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agreed to surrender, and never will; and no Power has asserted the same doctrine more emphatically than the United States.

If, however, the ground was shifted to suit the urgency of the case, and it was to be determined as a question of international law between a belligerent and a neutral Power, there was at once an end of the pretension to treat secession as rebellion. The parties to the conflict stood face to face as enemies at war with each other, and by the rights of war the question must be tried. In the first place, then, it is an admitted principle of international law that the validity of a maritime seizure must be determined in a Prize Court. 'This,' said the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Jackson v. Montgomery* (13 Howard's 'Reports,' 516):—

'is required by the Act of Congress in cases of capture by ships of war of the United States, and this Act merely enforces the performance of a duty imposed upon the captor by the law of nations, which, in all civilised countries, *secures to the captured a trial in a Court of competent jurisdiction*, before he can finally be deprived of his property. But there are cases where, from existing circumstances, the captor may be excused from the performance of this duty, and may sell or otherwise dispose of the property before condemnation. And where the commander of a national ship cannot, without weakening inconveniently the force under his command, spare a sufficient prize-crew to man the captured vessel, or where the orders of his government prohibit him from doing so, he may lawfully sell or otherwise dispose of the captured property in a foreign country, and may afterwards proceed to adjudication in a court of the United States.'

Captain Wilkes asserted that the 'Trent' was a lawful prize, and with amusing *naïveté* he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy and told him that he determined to 'intercept' the Southern Commissioners, and carefully examined all the authorities on international law to which he had access—Kent, Wheaton, Vattel, and Lord Stowell. It is certainly a novel mode of proceeding to decide first and examine authorities afterwards. We may smile at the idea of a legal opinion from a 'sea lawyer;' but even supposing him to be right as regards the 'interception,' he was utterly wrong in not taking his prize into Court to have the question of the legality of his act determined by the only competent authority. He made a merit of not doing so 'on account of the derangement it would have caused to innocent persons;' but we have nothing to thank him for. He constituted himself on the high seas judge and jury on the question, and determined it in favour of himself. It matters not whether the thing seized is persons or property. The principle is the same, except that the seizure of persons is a more
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offensive act than the seizure of property. And we are satisfied that any Court of competent knowledge and resolved to decide fairly must, if the 'Trent' had been carried into port, have released her and condemned Captain Wilkes in damages for the illegal detention. In the mode, however, in which the capture was made there was a manifest illegality which vitiated the act, even if the Southern Commissioners were contraband of war.

But was the British vessel liable to condemnation in a Prize Court? In other words, was she guilty of any breach of international law as a neutral ship? Was it because she was carrying despatches from a hostile Power? In the first place, *no despatches were ever asked for*, and Captain Wilkes had not a tittle of proof that any such were on board. He says, indeed, with happy ingenuity, that he considered 'the Commissioners as "the embodiment of despatches," and therefore equally liable to seizure as if they had been made of paper instead of flesh and blood.' But this plea is of no avail. We are spared the necessity of arguing the point, for the industry of a learned civilian has furnished to the *Times* a case which is precisely in point, except that the facts of the 'Trent' affair are more strongly in our favour:—

'On August 7, 1777, the Dutch brig "Hendric and Alida" was captured on the high seas by His Britannic Majesty's ship "Ardent," under the command of Lord Mulgrave, and was shortly afterwards brought into Portsmouth for adjudication as prize of war. The brig was bound, according to her ship's papers, from a port of Holland to the Dutch settlement of St. Eustatia, one of the Leeward Islands. She was laden with a cargo of arms and ammunition, and she had on board as passengers five military officers, with their servants. These officers were furnished with commissions in the rebel army, granted by Benjamin Franklin, who was at that time actively engaged as one of the Commissioners of the rebel provinces at Paris, in endeavouring to procure from M. de Vergennes the recognition of the independence of the United States.

'The case of the ship and cargo came on for adjudication in the Prize Court on the 23rd of November, 1777.

'The Judge of the Admiralty Court, Sir George Hay, adjudged the ship and cargo to be Dutch property, and directed them to be restored to the claimants, on the ground that "the Dutch had a right to carry in their own ships to their own colonies or settlements everything they pleased, whether arms or ammunition, or any other species of merchandise, provided they did it with the permission of their own laws."

Of course the doctrine here laid down must be understood with the qualification that the voyage is *bonâ fide*. The mere fact

fact of its being between neutral ports is not conclusive, for it is plainly supposable that a vessel containing contraband of war might make a circuitous voyage, in order to be able to say if captured that she was sailing from one neutral port to another. In the case of the 'Trent' nothing of the kind has even been suggested, and could not be without a flagrant disregard of truth. The real distinction to be observed is this:—If the vessel is chartered by, or can in any fair sense be considered as performing the voyage *in the service* of one of the belligerents, she becomes liable to seizure and condemnation in the Prize Courts of the other. It is laid down by an American writer—Mr., now Judge, Duer—in his work on 'Insurance,' that 'a neutral owner who has suffered his vessel to be employed by a belligerent Power or its officers, for purposes immediately or mediately connected with the operations of the war, if the vessel is captured in the employment, is never permitted to assert his claim. The vessel while thus employed was as truly the vessel of the enemy as if she had been such by the documentary title.'

In the case of 'The Friendship'* decided in our own Courts, Lord Stowell condemned the vessel on the ground that it was 'the case of a vessel letting herself out in a distinct manner, *under a contract with the enemy's Government*, to convey a number of persons described as being in the service of the enemy, with their military character travelling with them, and to restore them to their country in that character.' He added, that if a military officer in the service of a belligerent 'was going merely as an ordinary passenger, as other passengers do, and at his own expense, the question would present itself in a very different form.' In Lawrence's edition of 'Wheaton's Elements of International Law,' he says, p. 507:—'It is conceived that the carrying of dispatches can only invest a neutral vessel with a hostile character *in the case of its being employed for that purpose by the belligerent*' [exactly as put by Lord Stowell], 'and that it cannot affect with criminality either a *regular postal packet* or a merchant ship which takes a despatch in its ordinary course of conveying letters, and with the contents of which the master must necessarily be ignorant. This view, it is supposed, is not inconsistent with the text which refers to a fraudulent carrying of 'the despatches of the enemy.' But we really need not say anything farther on the subject of despatches, for not only were none found on board the Trent, but they were not even asked for. Admitting what cannot be denied, that the voyage of the vessel was a *bonâ fide* voyage from a neutral port to a

* 6 Robinson's Admiralty Reports, p. 420.

neutral port, the seizure of the Commissioners was precisely the same act as if it had occurred between Dover and Calais, or as if a privateer of the Confederate States had taken Mr. Secretary Seward out of one of the Cunard steamers between Liverpool and New York. We do not at all insist that the Southerners were protected in their character of envoys, for as neither England nor France had acknowledged the Confederate States as an independent Power, they had in the eye of the law no official *status*, and could not claim any immunity as accredited to a foreign government, supposing such immunity to exist in favour of ambassadors,—a question which therefore we need not discuss.

The case in fact lies in a nutshell. We claim for our flag the right to cover with its protection all persons found under it where the vessel is not employed directly or indirectly *for the purpose* of conveying them in the service of a belligerent. England has challenged America to produce one single legal authority to vindicate the act of which we complain. The only case cited against us as directly in point—the case of Mr. Laurens—broke down so signally that we think the Trans-Atlantic lawyers will in future be careful how they venture to quote precedents. All that the Federal States Government can urge is that we did much the same thing ourselves before the war of 1812, when we stopped American ships and took out of them seamen whom we claimed as British. In point of fact it was not the same thing, for we merely asserted, on the part of the Crown, a right to the services of our own sailors; we imputed to the ships in which those sailors might be found no breach of neutrality, and consequently we had no right to take them before a Prize Court, and therefore, if the right was to be exercised at all, it was necessary that it should be exercised by our naval officers. But we do not undertake to justify all our acts half a century ago. The law of impressment has been abolished, and it is very certain that during the last fifty years nothing of the kind has been attempted or even imagined by England. The law of nations is deduced from the actual practice of nations, and as we during our last war (though sorely in need of sailors) did not revive our claim to take our sailors out of American ships, the claim must be held to have been conclusively abandoned. We have expressly given up even the claim to visit vessels which our cruisers more than suspected to be slavers, if they hoisted the American flag. If the United States Government thought our proceedings in former times so derogatory to the national honour that rather than submit to them they declared war, with what face could the Federal Government now justify an act of the same kind? Either we were *ex hypothesi* wrong in 1812, and, therefore, if the cases

cases are similar, the seizure of the Commissioners was wrong also, or we were then right, and the United States had no justifiable cause of war. But we know that the American Government has never for a moment conceded the right which we claimed in 1812, and has upheld the inviolability of the national flag with almost unexampled strictness. It would therefore have given the lie to all its previous professions if it had refused to make reparation for an act which, if *we* had committed it, would have been indignantly denounced in America as the worst outrage against the rights of neutrals which England had ever ventured to perpetrate. Nor did we stand alone in asserting the justice of our demand. The moral support which Great Britain has received from the other European Powers in this dispute is without parallel. France, Prussia, Austria, and Belgium, have all pressed upon the Lincoln Cabinet their conviction that we are right. M. Thouvenel, in a remarkably clear and able despatch to the French Minister at Washington, argued our case with unanswerable force, and in it he declared 'that the Washington Cabinet cannot, without infringing those principles which all neutral powers are alike interested in maintaining, nor without putting itself in contradiction with its own conduct up to the present time, give its approbation of the conduct of the commander of the "*San Jacinto*."'

There ought, then, to have been no difficulty nor demur in disavowing the act of Captain Wilkes, which, we are told, was not authorised by his Government, and of which he ostentatiously took the whole responsibility upon himself; nor any delay in releasing the prisoners. This is what we should expect from France or any other European Power. But in America the pressure of mob opinion was brought to bear with disastrous weight upon a question the determination of which ought to have been left to the calm and dispassionate judgment of reflecting men, responsible for the character which the United States have to maintain in their relations with Foreign Powers. The Secretary of the Navy openly expressed his approval of Captain Wilkes's conduct in capturing the defenceless passengers of an unarmed merchantman; accordingly, the prisoners were accepted by the Government, and subjected to close and severe confinement for many weeks. The tone of the American press was that of jubilant joy. Public meetings were held in honour of the hero of the hour, and public dinners were given, at one of which a Judge had the indecency to commit himself to a bombastic eulogy of an act, the legality of which the law officers had yet to consider.

It may be said—indeed it was said—that we are not to mistake the
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the ravings of the mob for the voice of the Government, nor the fury of the press that panders to the passions of the populace for the deliberate judgment of the nation. But, unfortunately, in America the mob and the press are all-powerful. It has long been a subject of sorrowful remark that the best men are practically excluded from all share in the direction of her policy. The elections are managed by committees, filled, as they are described by a French writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 'with briefless lawyers, with doctors without patients, with schemers and place-hunters, who devote themselves to the triumph of the party in order to be elected to some little salaried place. All the chances are for the intriguers, if success be obtained. And it is these committees which name the delegates for the Convention, which has to choose the party candidate. The immense majority of the citizens have no other alternative than to accept these nominations as they stand, or renounce the exercise of their vote.' Mr. Chancellor Kent says, in his 'Commentaries,' 'The progress and impulse of popular opinion is rapidly destroying every constitutional check, every conservative element, intended by the sages who framed the earliest American Constitutions as safeguards against the abuses of popular suffrage.'

It is very instructive to observe the sycophantic tone of the North towards France, in contrast with its tone towards England. The conduct of France in proclaiming neutrality between the two belligerents has been precisely the same as that of Great Britain. But, so far as we know, not a word of irritation has been spoken against *her*. It was hoped, no doubt, that England's difficulty would be France's opportunity, and that in case of a war with this country she might be tempted to find a pretext for joining in the struggle against us. The manly and upright conduct of the French Government in the affair of the 'Trent' dissipated this delusion, and we know that if we had been dragged into a war the word of France was pledged that we were right. The outrage indeed was too glaring to admit of doubt. It spoke trumpet-tongued to the heart of the people, and a proud monarchy like that of England must have resigned its right to the companionship of honourable nations if she had accepted less than she demanded in reparation of the wrong she had received.

The attitude of Canada at this crisis afforded a gratifying proof of the justice and wisdom of our rule. That magnificent colony, which, independently of its north-western possessions, is one-third larger than France, nearly three times as large as Great Britain and Ireland, and more than three times as large as Prussia, is loyal to the heart's core. Long has she been coveted by the United States. It is a significant fact that so early as the year
1781,

1781, when the Articles of Confederation were framed, it was provided by one of them that 'Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but *no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.*'

In the progress of the war there has been unmistakable evidence of a desire to tempt the South back by the prospect of the annexation of Canada to the Union. It was conceived just possible that the Confederate States might be reconciled by the hope of sharing in such a prize, or, at all events, that a foreign war might have the effect of healing the domestic quarrel. Canada has made her response by calling out her militia and fortifying her frontier, and in any event we have no fears for her. She has no wish to sink into the position of a satellite of a shattered republic. We earnestly hope that immediate steps will be taken to place Canada in such a state of permanent defence as to relieve both her and ourselves from anxiety in case of a sudden attack from her restless neighbours. As she has no winter port and the St. Lawrence is impassable from ice during several months of the year, no time should be lost in constructing a line of railway to connect Halifax with Quebec and Montreal. It is only necessary to continue the line of the Halifax and Truro Railway to the St. John and Shediac Railway, and to fill up the gap between Frederickton and Rivière du Loup, and the communication will then be complete. Fortifications should be erected at proper intervals on the northern shores of the lakes, and Montreal should be protected by earthworks, if not by a fortress, lying as the city does within forty miles of the United States frontier, and exposed to the dash of an active and enterprising enemy.*

A definite answer from America has at last been received, and the Southern Envoys are to be given up—indeed we believe that they are already on the way to our shores. The cloud, therefore, of threatened war which blackened the horizon has passed away. We rejoice at this, for we can have no wish to quarrel with a nation of the same lineage and language as ourselves, and with which we have so many and such extensive interests in common.

We observe that Mr. Seward in his despatch insists upon the

* It is an error to suppose that pauperism does not exist in the United States. The larger cities of that country have long contained a numerous population plunged in abject poverty and destitution; the people must henceforth be highly taxed; and unless grossly misinformed and deluded (which need not be the case if our Government does its duty) our emigrants will surely betake themselves, in preference, to the far more thriving and prosperous country of Canada.

right of seizure in the case of the 'Trent,' and admits our claim to restitution solely upon the ground that the vessel was not taken into port for legal adjudication. We, of course, take a much broader view, and assert that the act was substantially wrong. It was the violation of neutral rights, and not the non-observance of a rule of procedure, of which we complained. Besides, we find that Mr. Seward still characterises the war between the Federal and Confederate States as an 'insurrection' and a 'domestic strife,' so that he has not even the pretence of claiming for his Government the rights of a belligerent Power, to which *exclusively* the right of search belongs. But we need not trouble ourselves with Mr. Seward's bad logic; we are content with the fact that our demand has been complied with. Some allowance may be made for the false position in which the Federal Government was placed by detaining the prisoners until public feeling in the Northern States had become so excited that it was impossible to release them without incurring a loss of popularity.

Fortunately this last dispute has been one in which our worst enemy could not pretend that we were the aggressors. We are far, however, from supposing that attempts will not be made by the press in America to inflame the animosity of the populace against England, and make them regard a simple act of rightful restitution as an insult and a wrong. We have seen it there said that this is an affront deliberately put by us on America in her hour of difficulty, the memory of which will be treasured up by her until a day of reckoning arrives. With those who hold such language it would be hopeless to argue. Their occupation would be gone if they did not continue to stir up bad passions, and mislead the people they profess to instruct. But we would with confidence appeal to every man capable of reflection in the Northern States, and ask whether Great Britain could possibly have acted otherwise, or done less than she has done in demanding the surrender of the Envoys? The whole of Europe has pronounced that we were right, and it can be no humiliation to a powerful State to make reparation for the wrongful and unauthorized act of one of its officers. We therefore earnestly hope that any momentary feeling of irritation will pass away, and that the relations between the Federal States and this country will continue to be amicable. But, at all events, they are now undecieved as to the real attitude of England. They must see that it is dangerous to try her patience too far. Her forbearance will not be again mistaken for the whispers of fear, or attributed to the dictates of self-interest. We have shown that for the sake of restoring to the protection of our flag four strangers—for whom

personally we cared nothing—we were resolved to engage instantly in war. Not even the felonious and unheard-of threat of confiscating the whole of the property owned in America by British subjects made us falter or hesitate for a moment in our course. The heart of the people was stirred to its inmost depth by the feeling that the national honour was at stake; and there was no sacrifice which they were not prepared to make to defend it. Those who venture to assail it in future will do so under no mistake as to the consequences. The lesson has been read: we hope it will be remembered. And whatever may now be said of conciliatory letters, it must not be forgotten by ourselves that until we had evinced this determination by the despatch of large and formidable armaments, every act of the American Government went to show that they fully intended to retain the prisoners.

We deplore the war that is raging between the Federal and Confederate States, but we doubt whether it is for the real interest of either that the whole of the North American continent south of the frontier of Canada should be held under one democratic government. The aggressive character of the people, the confidence they felt in their constantly increasing strength, and their contempt for many of the rules which regulate the intercourse of the old monarchies of Europe, held out prospects little favourable to peace. What they called their 'manifest destiny' was territorial aggrandizement; and every fresh accession of territory seemed only to whet their appetite for more. It was impossible that this could go on without bringing them into collision with the nations of Europe, which have interests on the other side of the Atlantic too great to be sacrificed to the ambition of one overweening Power. There is verge and room enough on the vast continent of North America for two or three, or even more, powerful republics, and each may flourish undisturbed, if so inclined, without being a source of disquiet to its neighbours.* There will be no loss of anything which conduces to the general

* To show the colossal extent of territory and power still left to the Northern States we will quote the following passage from Mr. Spence's book, p. 319:—
 'There are now nineteen free states, of which the area is 993,684 square miles, and there are six territories which, excluding those named, comprise an area of 1,168,000 square miles. Thus the total magnitude of the Northern Power would be 2,161,684 square miles. Now the combined dimensions of four of the five great European Powers are together 625,000 square miles. Thus the Northern territory would be three times as large as that of four of the great Powers of the world together. There are eight kingdoms of Europe of which the population in 1850 was 20 millions, the same as that of the Northern States. Of these the combined area is 120,000 square miles. Hence the domain of the Northern Power would be eighteen times as large as that of eight European kingdoms joined together. Again, France is not considered a small country, and it would be twelve times as large as France.'

happiness of mankind. For the contest on the part of the North now is undisguisedly for empire. The question of Slavery is thrown to the winds. There is hardly any concession in its favour that the South could ask which the North would refuse, provided only that the seceding States would re-enter the Union. Mr. Secretary Seward himself proposed that the Personal Safety Laws, passed by the several States to counteract the operation of the Fugitive-Slave Law, should be repealed, as contrary to the Constitution. If they are so, we may remark in passing, the Supreme Court of Washington has, by virtue of the powers delegated to it by that constitution, the authority to annul them. General Fremont has already been cashiered for proclaiming the emancipation of slaves belonging to the disaffected in the Western States. Away then with the pretence on the part of the North to dignify its cause with the name of freedom to the slave!

No stronger proof could be given of the earnestness of our goodwill towards America than the desire so uniformly expressed in this country that the fratricidal war between the North and the South should cease. We have urged this in every possible way; and it is impossible to doubt that we are sincere. For, if we were actuated by those feelings of jealousy and dislike which it is the habit of too many American writers and speakers to impute to England, nothing could serve our purpose so well as the prolongation of a struggle of which—while we believe the conquest of the South to be a hopeless dream, and the re-union of the States in one all-powerful Republican impossibility—the certain effect will be to cripple the resources of the North, and to plunge it in difficulties of which no man can foresee the issue. We say nothing of the present misery arising from the broken ties of relationship and friendship, of the interruption of commerce, and the destruction of capital. But the Federal States' Government is contracting a debt of appalling magnitude, which threatens to transcend in rapidity of formation and rate of increase all that has been known in the previous history of nations. The debt must be paid, or, if funded, the interest must be paid, unless a national bankruptcy is proclaimed. And to do this taxation must be resorted to in a manner hitherto wholly untried in the United States. Democracy has been able there to carry on its government because the pressure of want has been but partially felt, and the presence of the tax-gatherer has been nearly unknown. But with heavy taxation will come discontent, and with discontent riots, and riots will soon ripen into rebellion. In proportion to the magnitude of the debt will be the temptation to Secession. Already emigration to

a considerable extent from the State of Maine to New Brunswick has taken place from fear of future taxation. Secession will be an easy though not an honourable mode of escaping from the tremendous liabilities which will follow in the train of the present war. We speak with less scruple of the probability of this, for in fact it was the refusal of some of the States to pay their share of the expenses caused by the War of Independence, and the want of authority to compel them, which chiefly led to the revision of the Articles of Confederation and the adoption of the Constitution of 1789. Besides, an enormous army will have to be disposed of, inured indeed, if the war lasts, to habits of discipline in the field; but the most dangerous of all classes when disbanded and unemployed. Or is it to be kept on foot when the war is over, at a vast expense, as a standing menace to Canada—for we see that this is openly talked of—and is a deadly struggle with England for the possession of that colony to follow the failure of the attempt to subjugate the South? We may laugh such an attempt to scorn while the Canadians feel as they do. They are as loyal as they are brave, and with the assistance of England will defy all the efforts of America to conquer or 'annex' them. As to the attempt to subjugate the Confederate States, supposing it succeeded—what then? Is the North prepared to hold the South by the same tenure as Austria holds Venetia? and is there a statesman in the Union who believes that in future it could be held in any other way?

But the idea of a Federal Republic of which the one half is in deadly hostility to the other, and coerced into a hateful partnership, involves a practical contradiction. It would no longer be the union of free States, but a tyranny. In such an anomalous position of things it would be as unreasonable to expect prosperity or peace, as it would be to expect domestic happiness when a wife has been forced by a decree to cohabit with her husband. A conviction of the truth of this is forcing itself upon the minds of those who have most at stake in the continuance of the struggle. We know that the language of the moneyed classes in the Northern States privately is this: 'We must avenge the disaster of Bull's Run. Our national honour requires a victory; but if, after that, the Confederate States still renounce the Union, let them go.' We think it very problematical that even that one victory will be obtained. The Confederate army will have the choice of ground, and unless some strategical blunder is committed—of which we have as yet seen no likelihood from the way the Confederate forces have been handled—they must be attacked in a position strong by nature and fortified by art. The
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North may have to confess a second time that it is 'whipped,' and then there will be two defeats to avenge; and the chances of a third battle must on the same principle be tried.

But in the mean time if, as we believe will be the case, the Confederate States are strong enough to maintain a separate Government, keep an organized army on foot, and hold their own against all the efforts of the North, the question will seriously occur how long the recognition of their independence by Foreign Powers is to be delayed. Neither England nor France has imitated the example set by the United States in such emergencies; although if a precedent had been wanted to justify a hasty admission of the South into the fellowship of nations, it might easily have been found. At the end of 1848—the great year of revolutions—Hungary revolted from Austria. A civil war raged, in which America had not the remotest interest nor the faintest pretext for interfering. But she stood on the tiptoe of expectation, ready to extend the hand of brotherhood to the Hungarians the moment they were able to grasp it. In his Message to Congress in 1849, the President of the United States said:—

'During the late conflict between Austria and Hungary there seemed to be a prospect that the latter might become an independent nation. However faint that prospect at the time appeared, I thought it my duty, *in accordance with the general sentiments of the American people, who deeply sympathized with the Magyar patriots*, to stand prepared upon the contingency of the establishment by her of a permanent Government to be the first to welcome independent Hungary into the family of nations. For this purpose I invested an agent then in Europe with power to declare our willingness *promptly to recognise her independence in the event of her ability to sustain it.*'

Tried by this test, the Confederate States may be thought already to have made good their title. At all events if the war is much longer protracted, the time must come when the words of Lord Castlereagh, addressed in 1822 to the Spanish Minister in London, with reference to the contest between Spain and her South American colonies, will be applicable to the civil war now raging in North America. He said that—

'So large a portion of the world could not, without fundamentally disturbing the intercourse of civilised society, long continue without some recognised and established relations; and the State which neither by its counsels nor by its arms could effectually assert its rights over its dependencies, so as to force obedience and thus make itself responsible for maintaining their relations with foreign Powers, must sooner or later be prepared to see those relations establish themselves from the overruling necessities of the case under some other form.'

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Of one thing the citizens of the Federal States may rest assured : that, if ever the time arrives when the Confederate States may be entitled, according to the usual course of international policy, to claim our recognition, that recognition will not be delayed for an hour out of regard to all the menaces which the disappointed party may fulminate against us.

If anything could make the nation depart from its resolution to observe a strict neutrality in this unhappy contest, it would be the perpetration of that cruel and vindictive act which has just excited indignation alike in England and in France—we mean the destruction of Charleston Harbour. In the course of military operations it may become necessary to destroy a harbour which is so situated as to menace us with peculiar danger. But when we read of ships filled with masses of rock being sunk with the avowed object of making permanently unfit for the purposes of commerce a harbour not menacing to the enemy, and whose existence is so vitally important to the country in which it is situated, we seem to be carried back to the worst ages of barbarism. It is an act which will weigh heavily against the North in the judgment of history. Such an act of ruthless spite must be viewed as a convincing proof that the Federal Government has no serious expectation of recovering its footing in the South. The Northern press speaks of the effect in a tone of exultation, as a silent blight falling on the South, 'deadly and inevitable.' The whole world denounce it as an act of cowardly revenge—as a step deliberately adopted by the North, with the declared object of starving half a continent into submission. It is intended that the seaboard of the Atlantic, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, shall be rendered for ever inaccessible to the merchant ships of the world. The question therefore is not one of isolating a colony or a province, but of cutting off from the great family of mankind a population larger than that of many an European kingdom. Other nations may possibly feel themselves called upon to ask, How long is the North to be allowed to keep under the ban of its interdict so vast a portion of the New World? Does any one out of the Federal States believe that it is possible to restore the Union? What ground has really been recovered by the Northern States? What signs of a submission or desponding spirit has the South yet made? How many battles might the Confederates lose without being forced to submit? It is impossible to lose sight of these considerations in determining what the policy of other Governments should be ; indeed it is probable that they may be tempted rather to accelerate than delay the recognition of the independence of the
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the South, as the readiest means of putting a stop to that cruel and useless war, which is hurrying one at least of the contending parties into new and lamentable excesses.

The sympathy of Europe with the South would, no doubt, be greater, if it were not for an uneasy suspicion that the success of the Confederate States would be a triumph of the cause of Slavery. But we think it probable, on the contrary, that if it were on other grounds desirable to recognize the independence of the Southern States, the evils of slavery might be greatly mitigated. Terms might be made with the States as a condition of their admission into the family of nations. It might be insisted, for instance, as a *sine quâ non*, that the laws against the Slave-trade shall be rigorously enforced, instead of being, as they are now, too often violated.

The new Republic would have ambassadors at foreign Courts, and the pressure of public opinion upon the question of domestic slavery would bear much more directly and forcibly on its policy than can possibly have been the case while the Southern States were members of the Union. To use the words of an American writer, quoted by Mr. Spence, 'It has shielded their peculiar institution from the hatred and hostility of the civilized world.' Whatever opprobrium was cast upon the slave-owner, it was shared by the whole nation, for the nation had solemnly recognized slavery as part of its institutions. The North could not interfere with it without exposing itself to the charge of breaking the terms of partnership and violating the Constitution. But no such difficulty will occur when the Confederate States are brought face to face with Foreign Governments. There would be no irritating sense of injustice to prevent the voice of humanity from being heard; and we may confidently hope that if the Confederates shall succeed in establishing their independence, large concessions will from time to time be made, all of which will be in favour of the slave. As to the Federal States, as has been long ago observed, in proportion to the sincerity of their hatred of slavery ought to be their joy that they have parted with it for ever. Secession has done for them what all the efforts of Abolitionists could never have effected. It has purged—or, at all events, when the independence of the South is recognized, it will purge—the dark stain from their boasted shield of freedom. They will be able to repeat, without blushing at their own inconsistency, the words of the Declaration of Independence, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit

pursuit of happiness.' There is not a single benefit they ought now to enjoy which they will lose by the independence of the Confederate States ; for we do not call the power of exercising the lust of conquest a benefit either to themselves or to mankind. And we deny that they ought to have the right to protect their manufactures at the expense of the South, and enrich themselves by impoverishing their neighbours. But if they persist in the visionary scheme of restoring the Union by force of arms, they will proclaim to the world that they prefer power to justice—extent of territory to the happiness of a people—and the dominion of tyranny to the equality of freedom.

NOTE to the Article on 'Shelley,' Vol. 110.

WE are informed, upon the highest authority, that Dr. Lind, whom Mr. Hogg has represented as a tutor and physician at Eton, who taught Shelley to curse George III. and Shelley's father, was in fact no tutor, and in no way connected with Eton ; but was a physician residing at Windsor, devotedly attached, up to the day of his death, to King George and Queen Charlotte (from whom he and his family had received nothing but kindness and benefit), and incapable of invoking curses upon any one. It seems probable that any statement which Shelley may have made to Mr. Hogg on this subject was made (like so many of Shelley's statements) in jest, and that he named Dr. Lind as the most unlikely person he knew to have instructed him in such wickedness.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I. — 1. *Hutchins's History of Dorset.* New Edition. Parts I., II. Blandford.
2. *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset.* London, 1859.
3. *The Bath and West of England Agricultural Journal.* Vols. VIII. and IX.
4. *Poems in the Dorset Dialect.* By William Barnes. London, 1848.
5. *Notes on Ancient Britain.* By William Barnes. 1858.
6. *Humely Rhymes.* By William Barnes. London, 1859.
7. *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset,* with Map. (Printed for Subscribers.) By Charles Warne, F.S.A.

THE English counties appear from time immemorial to have carried on a quiet and harmless dispute for the title of 'the garden,' just as the Greek cities used to vie with one another for the credit of having given birth to Homer, and no less than four old topographers have recorded their votes in favour of Dorset. It is hard to say why, seeing that the 'sheep-walk of England' would be in every way a fitter handle to this county's name. Preserving a strict neutrality, however, with reference to the point in debate, we may safely say with Bowen—who wrote a 'Complete System of Geography' a hundred years ago—that 'both for rider and abider' there are few pleasanter counties in the land—an opinion which Charles II., who had good reason to remember the neighbourhood of Charmouth, is said to have anticipated with some enthusiasm.

The name of Dorset comes straight from the 'Thorn-sætta' of Asser and the 'Dornsætta' of other writers, by which they meant to represent the 'Dwrn-gwys' of the Britons. What that word signified is a question. It has usually been deemed enough to say that the Belgic Durotriges were so called because they were dwellers by the sea, and 'dwr' stands for 'water.' But if the Britons of Dorset had a seaboard, the Britons of Devon, Hants, and Sussex had one too; and Mr. Barnes, the county poet and antiquary, has stoutly maintained that the name, so explained, is by no means distinctive enough. His notion is

that Wareham was the chief town of the district, not the mighty hill-fort of Maiden Castle, as it has been the fashion to suppose. He finds that this capital was called Durinum, 'the town by the little water' or 'little sea,' and sees reason to identify that name with Wareham, at that time a seaport-town on Poole Harbour, the waters of which have long since retreated, and left Wareham high and dry. The Durotriges would then be 'the men of the little sea,' the people whose chief town was Wareham. This theory is worth the notice of those who are curious in such matters, as the town certainly seems to have been almost a capital long after Dorchester became the chief station of the Romans and the head law-town of the Saxons.

The Saxons included Dorset in Wessex, and, even after the absorption of Wessex into the united kingdom, Dorset held up its head among the English counties. Corfe Castle and Kingston Hall were royal residences, and three of Alfred's brothers lie buried at Sherborne or at Wimborne Minster. The Danes worried the county. They seem to have attempted Wareham in 787, which is all in favour of Mr. Barnes's theory of its capital importance; and they were repulsed from the same place by Alfred a hundred years later, coming to great calamity off Peverel Point by Swanage Bay. But Dorset felt the pains of invasion in good earnest in 1002, when Sweyn is said to have utterly demolished the three important towns Dorchester, Sherborne, and Shaftesbury. At Shaftesbury Canute died, some sixteen or seventeen years after his defeat by Edmund Ironside at Pen Selwood, close to the famous Pen Pits. The battle-field lies on the border of Somerset and Dorset, and a point called Slaughter Gate, in the parish of Gillingham, seems to show that the pursuit was carried across the frontier-line.

What the Dorset men did at Hastings we are not told; and they seem to have lived ingloriously* or to have missed a *vates sacer* through whole generations from that date onwards, until we hear of them again in the time of Edward III., when the county sent thirty-one ships to the siege of Calais. The very next year† Dorset was unlucky enough to catch and to import inland one of the terrific mediæval plagues. The Oxford schools were shut up for some time, and Sir Walter Manny is said to have bought thirteen acres of ground near Smithfield, which were soon occupied by fifty thousand bodies; but the epidemic

* They were able, however, to sun themselves in the light of King John's favour. He was fond of Cranborne Chace, and caused a perambulation of the boundaries to be made during his regency. He seems afterwards to have sojourned occasionally at Bere Regis, certain instruments (Rymer, quoted by Hutchins) bearing date from that place in 1214.

† 1347.

presently left Dorset, having done little damage in passing through.

The third day's running fight with the Spanish Armada was spent off the Dorset coast, between Portland and Handfast Point, at the eastern end of Purbeck. A fair and loyal contribution of ships sailed out from the seaports, and, here as elsewhere, there was a general rush of the younger gentry seaward, the son of Sir Christopher Hatton, who then held Corfe Castle, taking the lead. Corfe Castle was platformed for a battery at Elizabeth's special desire, which battery was never used, though the platform remains to this day.

The gentry were not agreed at the time of the Civil War. They mostly stood for the King against the towns; but Sir Thomas Trenchard of Wolveton acted with Erle; and Colonel Bingham of Melcombe was commander of the forces to which Corfe Castle surrendered in 1646. Corfe had been bought from the Hattons by Sir John Bankes, the ancestor of the present owners, whose chief in the last generation—the late Right Hon. George Bankes—published a very interesting historical memoir of the place in 1853.* Sir John was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas to Charles I., and died while attending the King at Oxford in 1644. The castle was besieged during his lifetime, and Lady Bankes had already caused Sir Walter Erle ignominiously to retire, after a six weeks' blockade, accompanied by a vigorous bombardment from the church-roof, which supplied cannon-balls and platform as well. After her husband's death Lady Bankes heroically held on; and it was only by the treachery of Colonel Pitman, one of the garrison, that the impregnable fortress was brought to yield at last. Under colour of reinforcing the garrison, this Pitman contrived to introduce fifty Parliamentarian soldiers. No sooner did these make their appearance on the castle towers than the besiegers began to advance, and the inmates perceived that they were betrayed. 'A parley being demanded,' relates Mr. Bankes, 'the circumstance of a Parliamentary officer being there, with others of that party prisoners in the castle, induced the besiegers to offer conditions, which were accepted; but the truce was broken almost as soon as agreed upon. Two of the besiegers, anxious for the spoil, came over the wall by means of a ladder; some of the garrison fired upon them, and the risk now became imminent of a general slaughter throughout the castle. Colonel Bingham, however, who was no hireling officer, but the descendant of a long-known and highly-respected family in the county, could not but admire the

* * * 'The Story of Corfe Castle, and of many who have lived there.' 8vo. London, 1853.

courage of the lady who was his foe, and he succeeded in preserving the lives of one hundred and forty persons then within the castle.'

Dorchester can hardly be said to have shone during the war. It was first fortified by the Parliament men, but surrendered without a blow on the approach of Lord Carnarvon; and, being dismantled, it was used as quarters by either party until the end of the struggle. Weymouth was the scene of more excitement; and Portland Castle, which changed hands several times, of more still. The Portlanders—mighty slingers and wreckers* in old days—have always enjoyed a kind of Irish reputation for the love of rows. Sir Fowell Buxton's election for Weymouth afforded them considerable enjoyment, but the Civil War must have been a godsend indeed. The 'Clubmen,' who wanted to protect the country from the ravages of Roundheads and Cavaliers both, but especially from Goring's horse, rose in great numbers in Dorset. These 'farmerly men,' as Clarendon calls them, fell upon hard times, for Goring snubbed them, and Cromwell, minding to send them about their business as soon as the King's cause was fairly lost in the county, gave one party a severe beating at Hamilton Hill, and persuaded the rest to go home.

'If you offer to plunder, or take our cattel,
Be assured we will bid you battel,'

was the quaint device upon their banner.† The civil wars over,
Dorset

* The old wreckers' burthen of

'Blow wind, rise sea,
Ship 'shore 'fore day,'

is still well known on the island. Their modern representatives are famed for the skill and daring with which they will bring off many a stranded vessel's crew and cargo at the risk of their lives.

† 'Anglia Rediviva, England's Recovery, &c. Compiled for the Publique Good. By Joshua Sprigge, M.A.' London, 1647. The whole of the following is worth extracting:—'These [one set of clubmen] being thus quietly sent home, the lieutenant-general advanced further to a meeting of a greater number of 4000, who betook themselves to Hambleton Hill, near Shrawton. At the bottom of the hill we met a man with a musquet, and asked whither he was going; he said to the club-army; we asked what he meant to do; he asked what we had to do with that. Being required to lay down his arms, he said he would first lose his life, but was not so good as his word, for, though he cocked and presented his musquet, he was prevented, disarmed and wounded, but not killed. Then we marched up the hill, which had been an old Romane work, deeply trenched. The lieutenant-general sent before a lieutenant with a party of horse to require an account of their meeting. He was answered with half-a-dozen shot, and could get no other answer. Thereupon one Mr. Lee, who upon our approach came from them, was sent in requiring them to submit to the power and protection of Parliament, and lay down their arms; they refused to leave their arms, and gave us a shot as we were drawing up; the lieutenant-general, unwilling to bloodshed, sent Mr. Lee again to tell them that if they would not lay down their arms he would fall upon

Dorset may be said to have retired from public life—the capture of the Duke of Monmouth on Lord Shaftesbury's Woodlands estate, and Judge Jeffreys' 'Bloody Assize,' when eighty persons were sentenced to death in one day at Dorchester, being the only events that break the monotony of its history for a long time to come.

The farm-labourers took to burning ricks and breaking machines with great enthusiasm in 1830 and 1831; but one is almost justified in saying that the next thing after the advent of Judge Jeffreys that gave the county a downright shake from end to end was the crusade of S. G. O. It was during the session of 1846 that the House of Commons was startled by rumours of distress among Dorset labourers equalling the distress in Ireland. The *Times* employed a commissioner during the summer months to investigate the state of matters; and his report, contained in six letters, was followed by a paper-war in the columns of the same journal respecting the sanitary condition of particular parishes, in one of which, Ryme by name, an inquiry was instituted into S. G. O.'s allegations, without effectually driving him from any one of them.

All this gave the county an unpleasant notoriety at the time, and a bad name, not easily shaken off, of being chronically behind the age. This was hard measure; for, bad as things were, the march of agricultural improvement had been, even in 1846, well begun, and it has advanced with rapidity and steadiness ever since. Large tracts of waste lands and sheep downs have been broken up, machinery has been brought into use on all sides,

upon them; they refused this third message also, through the instigation of Mr. Bravell, minister of Crompton, who told them they must stand to it now rather than lose their arms, and that he would pistol them that gave back.

* Thereupon order was given to the general's troop to fall on, who did so, and received a repulse and some losse through the disadvantage of the place, for the club-men shot from the bank of the old work, and kept the passage with musquets and other weapons, which was no broader than for three horse to march abreast. Upon this attempt we lost a man or two, had eight or nine wounded, six or seven horses killed. Upon this, Major Desborough, with the general's regiment, went round about a ledge of the hill and made a hard shift to climb up and enter on their rear; which they no sooner discerned but after a short dispute they ran, and the passage formerly assaulted was opened, and all the clubmen dispersed and disarmed, some slain, many wounded; the rest slid and tumbled down that great steep hill to the hazard of their necks. There were brought away 400 of them to Shrawton, of which number 200 were wounded in this skirmish. Captain Pattison was sore hurt on our side, of which afterwards he dyed, and about 12 more. We found among them 16 of our men, whom they had disarmed and taken prisoners, and threatened to hang some of them; but the tables were then turned. We quartered that night at Shrawton, and kept the clubmen in the church, and with them four vicars and curats, which were taken with them upon the hill; whereof Mr. Talbot of Milton, and Lawford of Aukford, the worst, another.'

and

and thoroughly good systems of farming have become naturalized, especially on the hill districts. Better cottages have been built in many places. The price of labour is on the whole rising, though scarcely in the same proportion. In some of the sheep and corn-growing neighbourhoods wages run, according to Mr. Darby, two or three shillings higher than they did twenty years ago. On many of these farms he tells us—writing in the ‘Bath and West of England Journal’—that the money payments range from eight to eleven shillings a-week, and that the ‘allowances’ generally represent the value of three and sixpence more in the week. A well-known agriculturist, occupying 600 acres in West Norfolk and 1200 acres near Dorchester, does not hesitate to affirm that ‘the farm-labourers are actually in the receipt of higher wages in Dorset than on the fertile plains of Norfolk.’ In some districts, on the other hand, wages remain exactly where they were twenty years ago; that is to say, the labourer still gets no more than seven and eight shillings in money besides the allowances. The truth on this head of labour-payment seems to be, that the county is in a state of transition, but of transition only, as yet. Certain districts on the hills may challenge comparison anywhere; but much remains to be done in the low-lying districts and on the hills. Dorset is tripartite: the three sections being *felix*, *petræa*, *deserta*; clay, chalk, sand; vale, down, and heath. The chalk region is, and is likely to remain, the ‘crack’ region of Dorset farming; nor will it ever be fair to judge of the entire county by the condition of the chalk-farms alone.

One word should be said before passing on about the truck-system, or system of allowances. As long as the labour-payment is made up in this way from various sources in kind, so long there will be the liability to abuse, and often the certainty. It has been well pointed out in the *Times*,* that the labourer is in this manner kept entirely dependent upon his master’s caprices. When the fuel is something more than mere furze, and the bushel of tailing-wheat or ‘gristing’ is sound and of good quality, the man is well off; but where the fuel has to be used primarily in drying the grist which has been served out too damp for the miller—a case which has actually appeared in published evidence—or where the man’s own labour is employed without compensation in cutting the fuel, words are indeed weak to expose and to censure enough the injustice done to the poor.

We may now turn to some of the details of progress in the

* See the letter of an able correspondent, March 6, 1861.

cultivation of the soil. The broad backs of the downs were already beginning to be furrowed up as long ago as 1840, when the use of artificial manures was also beginning to be recognised. But this was the day of small things. The farmers of Dorset now spend more than *forty thousand* a year on artificial manures, above half that sum going for superphosphate alone. A single agriculturist, on 400 acres of arable,* expends 200*l.* a-year on manures appropriated to green crops only. Another finds that the wear and tear of iron on his farm costs him an annual hundred pounds; and the labour-bill commonly exceeds the rent in amount. The artificial food market is said by one of the ablest judges in the county to show still greater advances than the manures. Between 3500 and 4000 tons of oilcake are now (1861) annually required in Dorset: the value of which, reckoned at last year's average prices, will reach a proximate total of 35,000*l.* Then there has been a radical reform measure in the modes of cropping. Only seven years back the Norfolk four-course was nearly universal; it has now given way on the better class of soils to a seven-course shift, much more fitted to meet modern requirements, and to secure the advantages of autumn cultivation. Among the root-crops, mangels have very largely taken the place of swedes, and Dorset farmers incline to the belief that the turnip-plant is about to follow the potato on the road to ruin. On the flinty chalks of the Blandford district sainfoin is rapidly winning its way. Sainfoin delights in a loose rubbly subsoil: it will remain in the soil seven or eight years, and the aftermath is invaluable for securing the high and rapid proof of lambs. This is the quality which chiefly recommends it in the eye of the Dorset farmer, who rightly regards his sheep-husbandry as the basis of all agricultural progress in the county. We are assured by an observer whose position gives him the best possible right to make an estimate of the kind, that the sheep and wool markets of Dorset more than double in value the same markets of any equal area in England. This source of revenue all but, if not entirely, clears the rental of the county; and reckoning that at an average of 20*s.* an acre, we arrive at an annual return from the sheep and wool of 631,680*l.* Taking one part of Dorset with another, we may think of the labour-bill also as being annually discharged by the sheep.

Noble water-meadows are kept up in some parts of the Vale of Blackmoor, and in the Maiden Newton valley watered by the Frome, which feeds a line of similar meadows, though not all of the same quality, reaching away seaward far below Dorchester.

* Darby.—Bath Agricultural Journal, IX., Part I.

A very splendid breed of Devon cattle is reared by Mr. Pope at Great Toller, in the Maiden Newton district.* Every one has heard of Dorset butter; but it is not so widely known that the Holstein and Holland farmers have stolen a march upon our English dairies by the use of common-sense in packing their butter. Badly packed in shaky casks, butter of the best quality will 'go to grease;' and the market-reports during the summer months very often show that the Dorset consignments have met their fate in that way. The old-world owners of a few old-world farmhouses still brew and consume the renowned double ale of other days. But the star of the Dorsetshire beer-trade has long since paled before new-fangled notions and bitter ale. Of wheat very few shiploads move eastward to London; but the Cornish miners depend largely on supplies from Dorset. Between forty and fifty steam-engines are working away upon the wheat-farms; and the tall chimney raises a frequent protest against the notion that the county has taken up a permanent position behind the age. What an average Dorset farm in the corn and sheep districts really is, and how it is commonly laid out, the following statement of figures will show.† Take 500 acres as the mean area, and out of these allow 300 to tillage, 60 to dry or watered meadow, and 100 to ewe-leaze or sheep-walk. Cow-leaze ground, home-crofts, paddock, and homestead will make up the 40 remaining acres. On the larger farms, ranging from 1200 to 1500 acres, there will be a much greater proportion of down-land and sheep-pastures, with good and useful breadths of coppice and woodland.

The greater farming lights have for many years past perceived the uses of frequent consultation; and the Farmers' Clubs of Blandford, Winfrith, and Milborne have done good service, and won a name beyond the county border. The estate of Lulworth Castle is said to have risen 30 per cent. in value within a few years of the time when the Winfrith Club was set on foot. A feeling against admitting the squirearchy to a share in these agricultural debate-nights is now happily giving way. That the meetings should have been at first regarded as a sort of *comitia tributa* was natural enough; but exclusiveness is now seen to be out of place, as the interests of squire and farmer are the same in relation to nearly all the subjects discussed; and the cause of sound cultivation is pretty sure to be the loser by shutting the door of a useful conference in the face of the largest holders.

The hunting reputation of Dorset is high, and well merited.

* The breed is said, however, rapidly to degenerate in Dorset unless there be a frequent infusion of fresh blood from the native district.

† Mr. Ruegg's Paper in the Bath Agricultural Journal, VIII., Part 1.

In no county is the sport pursued with greater ardour. The Vale of Blackmoor, from the days of Sir Thomas Delalinde and the White Hart, has been famous for its sport. All classes enter into it. Meets at Short-Wood, or at Stock (now, alas! deprived of its enthusiastic master), are matter of no small county interest. Nowhere is the crime of vulpicide,—

‘ Oh word of fear,
Unpleasing to a *sportsman’s* ear,’—

more odious. An ardent sportsman, not many years since, is said at some public meeting to have thus tersely expressed himself:—‘ Sir, I believe that a man who would kill a fox would kill his own father.’ This may appear strong language, but it shows the detestation in which the offence is held. The fly-fisher will also find himself well off in this county. The growth of trout in rivers is well known to tell a tale of the quality of the water with reference to irrigation—two-pound, three-pound, and even five-pound fish occurring in the soft waters of the chalk, when fish of equal age in moory or stained waters rarely get beyond half a pound. This speaks well for the streams of the Frome for several miles above and below the county town. Excellent fish abound from Frampton Court, where the representative of the Sheridans now lives, to Lord Ilchester’s interesting old farmhouse of Woodsford-Strangways, the remnant of a grand old quadrangular ‘manor-place’ which belonged to an unruly Earl of Devon, and was battered down by Edward IV. The farm-people will still show you ‘Gunhill Mound’ in an adjoining field. The Stour, within the limits of Dorset, is no fly-fishing stream; but better sport is found in its waters after the confluence with the Avon near Christchurch, in Hampshire. Otters have been hunted on both the Frome and the Stour within quite recent years.*

There is much to attract the zoological observer within the county. A breed of roe-deer was introduced by Lord Dorchester, who formerly owned the noble property of Milton Abbey, and a few stragglers have been seen stepping across the gorse and heath near Yellowham Woods, not far from Dorchester. Before the disforestation of Cranborne Chace, in 1828, twelve thousand head of fallow-deer ranged over the lands of the unlucky proprietors within the Chace. Fourteen Dorset parishes were large gainers by the disforestation; and between 4000 and 5000 acres of down, common, and coppice have been broken up since that time. There is a golden-eagle preserved at Sherborne Castle, shot by

* They are still common on the Stour between Sturminster Newton and Blandford.

the keeper near a dead deer in the park. The white-tailed eagle has made its appearance on Morden Heath, where the marsh-harrier and black-grouse have also been known. The osprey has been seen in the vale of the little Bredy, and the hobby in Middleborough Woods. Short-eared owls are common; the tawny-owl broods over the departed glories of Cranborne Chace, occasionally visiting Blackmoor Vale. Peregrine-falcons are now and then observed in the Isle of Purbeck or along the Lulworth coast, and, further inland, on Knighton Heath; but the great bustard is seen no more on the wide downs where he was once well known.* The Vale of Blackmoor boasts an original and unwearied entomologist, still keen in his favourite pursuit. During fifty long years, steadily as a veteran fox-hunter, Mr. Dale, of Glanville's Wootton, has chased the moth and butterfly, nor has his zeal been unrewarded. He is the first, and as yet the only, discoverer of the *halictophagus*, a member of the order *Strepsiptera*; and the homopterous *Ulopa trivialis* was new to Britain when he found it near Lulworth. The sea-coast between Swanage and Lulworth, Portland Island, and Mr. Dale's own neighbourhood in the Vale, are the best entomological grounds in the county.

Dr. Arnold, who was no musician, used to say that wild-flowers supplied him with his music. Not finding in his mind any link between deep emotions and musical sounds, he was aware of a very strong link connecting such emotions with wood-anemones and wood-sorrel. Warwickshire was therefore comparatively dull and dumb to him; but he might have found a perpetual harmony in Dorset. There is perhaps hardly any county, except Devonshire and Yorkshire, the flora of which would yield a larger catalogue to the careful observer. The sea-coast, the sands and bogs, the hills and valleys of the chalk, and the stiff clays (alternating with limestone) of the upper oolite—all contribute to the list, and are adorned by a flora peculiar to themselves. The profusion of common spring-flowers which are to be found in the woods of all parts of England, seem in the southern counties to turn every bank into a garden, and nowhere more than in parts of Dorset. Even an unscientific lover of Nature could not spend many days in the neighbourhood of the heaths, and in some of the vale districts, without noticing their richness in this respect, with a vague impulse perhaps towards becoming a collector, or at any rate a more intelligent reader of the book open before him. For the sake of those who love to recognise a rare plant amidst the crowd

* The crossbill (*Loxia curvirostris*, Yarrell) is also found in Dorset.

of other beauties, here are subjoined the names of a few less common flowers belonging to the county, with their localities. Elecampane (*Inula Helenium*) is found at Haselbury Bryan, in the Vale of Blackmoor; *Pinguicula Lusitanica*, a species of butterwort, on a bog near Dorchester, and probably on various other parts of the heaths; *Erica ciliaris* and the *Gentiana pneumonanthe* in Purbeck. The bee-orchis occurs in several places on the chalk and oolite, especially near the sea, and the rarer fly-orchis at Bingham's Melcombe. To these we may add 'lady's-tresses' (*Spiranthe autumnalis*), plentiful at Swanage and elsewhere; the *Vicia sylvestris* in woods on the chalk; the *Gagea lutea* at Hilton; the *Ceterach officinarum* near Dorchester; and the beautiful *Osmunda regalis* in a few places on the heath.*

Dorset, as every one knows, bears the stamp of chalk set upon it in its length and in its breadth. One-third part of the county—an area of more than three hundred square miles in all—belongs to this formation; and the great arms of the chalk-downs afford the readiest key to the entire geological structure. Clay and sand occupy somewhat more than another third, and the rest is parcelled out among gravels, loams, and different kinds of waste. The chalk-downs trend away from east to west. The northern and bulkier limb starts from near Shaftesbury, and the southern and thinner one from the eastern end of Purbeck. They enclose the 'trough of Poole,' a district of Bagshot sands or plastic clay, with other formations above the chalk, and unite near Beaminster in the extreme west. The north down has a pretty uniform width of ten miles: the south seldom measures more than two miles across, and is casemated seaward along part of its range by the oolite facings of the cliffs. The outer escarpment of the higher line, skirted by a narrow strip of greensand, abuts on the Kimmeridge and Oxford clays of the famous Vale of Blackmoor, and these formations are in their turn belted by cornbrash and calcareous grit, with occasional patches of fuller's earth.

Blackmoor was anciently called *Witchet* or *Whitehart* Forest,

* The following may be added to the list, though some among the number are by no means rare: *Campanula rapunculus*, in Elcombe Wood, near Blandford: Helleborine (*epipactis*), found between Hod and Hamilton Hills: the graceful flowering rush (*Butomus umbellatus*), and white waterlily (*Nymphaea alba*), called by Withering the 'queen of British flowers;' these last are both found in the waters of the Stour that skirt Lord Portman's park at Bryanstone, and at Hammoon. There is a curious account given in Lander of the tenure by which Bryanstone is held:—'This was held in grand serjeantry by a pretty odd jocular tenure, viz., by finding a man to go before the king's army for 40 days when he should make war in Scotland (some records say in Wales) bare-headed and bare-footed, in his shirt and linnen-drawers, holding in one hand a bow without a string, in the other an arrow without feathers.'

the tale being that Henry III. here hunted a beautiful white hart, and spared its life. This hart was by and by killed at King's Stag Bridge in Pulham village, by Sir Thomas Delalinde, for which offence he 'was punished with imprisonment and grievous fine; and the fine was levied annually upon his lands, and the lands of those who followed with him in the chase of the Royal White Hart.' Fuller, after an interval of four hundred years, found himself mulcted on this old score. 'Myself,' he says, 'hath paid a share for the sauce, who never tasted any of the meat: so that it seems King's venison is sooner eaten than digested.' What is now Holwell Manor-house was formerly the principal Lodge of the Forest of Blackmoor, and was then tenanted by the King's warder. It is said to have been built about the year 1370, in the reign of Edward III., and is still standing in good preservation, with its moat, and the remnant of a portcullis. Besides Blackmoor, Manwood (on *Forest Laws*), in a list of sixty-nine old English hunting-grounds, names Bere, Gillingham, and Perbroke (Purbeck) Forests as belonging to Dorset. The vale boasts of 170,000 acres, and is watered by the Stour and the Cale, with their little affluents. Besides innumerable dairy cows, it rears oxen as bulky as those of the red sandstone vales and alluvial marshes of Somerset; and it sends yearly to London more pigs than either Somerset or Devon. The Blackmoor oaks are well known to a thriving little ship-building firm at Bridport, whose models find growing favour in the eyes of Liverpool buyers. Trees of 120 cubic feet are not uncommon.

Below the westward junction of the downs the chalk borders on the marlstone and lias of the Bridport and Lyme Regis country. Here, as elsewhere, patches of greensand occur; and on one side of them rises Pillesdon Pen, the highest point in the county, 934 feet above the sea. This hill stands partly in the parish of Broadwinsor, where Fuller once ministered; and close by is Lewesdon Hill, the subject of Crowe's descriptive poem called by that name and so much admired by Rogers. The two heights serve for landmarks in the Channel, being known to sailors as the 'Cow and Calf;' and neighbours living side by side without familiar intercourse are said by West Dorset men to be—

'As near akin
As Lew'son Hill and Pillesdon Pen.'

Another proverb grows out of the flax district near Bridport in this far-west corner, which was once a hemp-growing district as well. 'Stabbed with a Bridport dagger,' is as much as to say 'hanged at the gallows;' though Leland, who missed the point
of

of the saying, has taken it literally, and fallen into the blunder that 'here be good daggers made.' Two thousand people, more or less, earn their bread in the flax-mills and rope-walks of Bridport or the neighbourhood; and an old charter conferred a monopoly of navy cordage on the town, which still supplies a good deal. The fields are gay in June with the blue flower of the flax, and the crop is gathered in July or August, if it has escaped its worst enemy—the worm of a mild and wet spring. Fine as the view is from Pillesdon Pen, it is surpassed by the view from Bulbarrow, the loftiest point on a grand chalk-reach in the north down, and from Blackdown, an isolated point of plastic clay near Dorchester, crowned with a beacon-tower in memory of Nelson's Hardy, who was born in a village at the foot. From Bulbarrow you look northward into Somerset as far as the Cheddar Cliffs and the Quantocks, and southward to Portland and the Channel. From Hardy's Tower, if you are facing the sea and the day is clear, Freshwater Cliffs bound the view on the extreme left, and on the right the headlands of Babbicombe make the last point in a beautiful and broken coast-line.

Moving up the southern escarpment of the downs as far as Weymouth and Portland, we shall find the chalk bordering a district of greensand, Purbeck beds, and Kimmeridge clay, with a medley of middle and lower oolites between that and the sea. This is the district which was reported on in 1830 by Dean Buckland and Sir H. De la Beche before the Geological Society.* In it they found a succession of marine deposits—from the lias to the Portland stone—during the period of which formations large numbers of Plesiosaurs were the most conspicuous inhabitants of a sea covering what is now the country between Weymouth and Lyme, where their remains, with those of the Ichthyosaur and Pterodactyle, lie so thickly imbedded in the lias. When this sea vanished, a forest of large cone-bearing trees and of Cycadeoid plants, indicating a warm climate, supplied its place. It is curious that in the diluvium topping the lias near Lyme church, many rhinoceros' teeth and parts of elephants' tusks have been found, and several nearly perfect tusks have been got from a similar cap of diluvium near Charmouth, one of which tusks—nine feet eight inches in length—is now in the Museum of the Geological Society. In process of time the dry land of the Cycadeoid forest came to be a kind of estuary, extending probably far away into Wiltshire, and bottomed by a triple deposit, fresh-water shells appearing in the lowest bed, oyster-shells in the middle, and a mixture of the two kinds in the

* Memoirs from the Transactions of the Geological Society of London, I.
upper.

upper. Then came the sea again, bringing with it the thick marine deposits of the greensand and the chalk, and then a tremendous catastrophe upset everything, producing all kinds of contortions in the strata, and intersecting them with enormous faults, of which the great upcast of Ridgeway—fifteen miles in length from end to end—is the chief example. One revolution more preceded the advent of that tranquil state of external nature which we now enjoy. A series of stupendous inundations seems, before all grew still, to have swept over the region, scooping out the numberless combs among the hills, denuding and smoothing their slopes, completely modifying the previous surface, and partially overspreading the country with diluvial gravel.

The Dorset coast has been fortunate in its describers. At *Whitenose*, the extreme easterly point of *Weymouth Bay*, the *Buckland and De la Beche* survey no longer serves us; but this is precisely the point to which *Mantell's* description,* beginning at *Swanage*, the easterly extremity of *Purbeck*, comes down. We cannot, however, follow *Mantell* just yet, being bound at the junction of the two surveys by a tie of more than local interest. Taking our stand on the great wall of the *Ridgeway* fault, and looking south over the undulating slopes of the *Weymouth level*, watered by the little *Wey*, at whose source *George III.* loved to take his morning draught, we get a full view of *Portland Island*, with all its belongings:—the *Chesil Bank*, that curious natural barrier of shingle defying the westerly and south-westerly gales; the long timber-stage of the new *Breakwater*, now fast approaching completion, and destined to supply to the *Harbour of Refuge* the same defence on the east and south-east that is afforded by the mainland on the north, and by the *Chesil Bank* and the island on the other sides:—the dull line of convict buildings on the summit of the island, where about 1500 men pass through a second term of penal servitude after nine months at *Pentonville* or *Millbank*, and where a large section of them are employed in lading the breakwater-waggons with the rubble which goes to make the bank below the staging:—the long white escarpment which forms the western face of the island, and looks as if all the quarry waste of all the quarries that were ever worked had been shot over it:—the dangerous *Race off the Bill* in the distance, and the united towns of *Weymouth* and *Melcombe Regis* skirting the beautiful bay on the near side of the harbour. The convicts do not, properly speaking, act as quarrymen, so far as the breakwater is concerned; they are only required to shovel up that vast mass of rubbly waste—it has been estimated at a weight

* *Mantell's 'Geology of the Isle of Wight,' &c., Chap. XII.*

of 20,000,000 tons—which was, until the Portland Harbour Act of 1847 was passed, lying useless on the top of the island. This wealth of *débris*, aided by contributions from the loose layers of calcareous slate and black cycadeous loam, which form the coverlid of the Portland beds, is ample material for the great bank that now stretches more than a mile and a half from the shore. The layers here mentioned are the ‘dirt-bed’ so fully explored by Dean Buckland. They are the remains of an ancient forest of Cycadæ, not one species of which grows at present in Europe; and what the workmen know as ‘crows’ nests’ are the buds and trunks of these tropical plants. The intermediate layers between the dirt-bed and the merchantable stone are not hard to specify. Calling the dirt-bed the coverlid, we then come upon an upper blanket of ‘cap-stone,’ and a lower blanket of ‘roach,’ before reaching the sheet of fine architectural material. The ‘cap’ is an irregular bed of flint-nodules, with a thin topping of earthy detritus; and the roach is a layer of inferior limestone, full of cavities left by fresh-water shells. The best stone or ‘white-bed’ itself does not rest immediately upon the clay, but on lower and valueless oolitic strata, filled with veins of flint and chert, and with characteristic marine shells. The whole of the quarries are Crown property, and the private lessees pay a royalty of two shillings on every ton raised. The raising of one ton is about the week’s work of a single quarryman, who earns ten shillings by the ton. The annual export of stone is reckoned at 50,000 tons; and at the present rate of progress the island will bear quarrying for two thousand years to come. Inigo Jones drew attention to the Portland quarries by using the material in 1614 for the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall; St. Paul’s Cathedral, Westminster and Blackfriars Bridges, are the more conspicuous examples. But Sir Christopher Wren used the stone very widely indeed; and many of the London churches and other public edifices were built or restored with it after the Great Fire.

The trains full of rubble reach the Breakwater by a series of inclines, and are immediately run out to the end of the staging by small locomotives. As each waggon passes over the appointed place of delivery, a catch holding up its floor is knocked away, and in this manner 3000 tons are, during full work, tumbled daily with great uproar into the sea, the bank being thus gradually formed with a clear breadth of 500 feet at the base. The inner limb of the Breakwater, reaching 600 yards due east from the shore, is adorned with a noble coping of hewn stone, ending in a ‘head’ of 100 feet diameter, on which a small fort, mounting eight guns, has just been placed. The outer limb, by far the longer of the two, after running a short distance due east, turns

sharply,

sharply, and heads a point or two off north for the rest of its career. The near end of this limb is furnished with a head answering to that just mentioned, and a space of 400 feet separates these bastions, the foundations of which are laid 25 feet below low-water level of spring-tides, and thus allow easy entrance or exit to line-of-battle ships at all times. A fort, mounting fifty guns, will terminate the outer limb at its farther end; and the whole magnificent area of the harbour—more than 2000 acres in all—will be protected by the fortifications actively progressing on the northern head of the island. Between the Breakwater and the Chesil Bank is Portland Castle, a low fort cased with white stone, unpretending enough in its look, but with something of a history belonging to it. Henry VIII. built it shortly after his return from the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold;' and Jane Seymour, Catherine Howard, and Catherine Parr, all had a grant of it in turn. The Royalists contrived to wrest it out of Parliamentary hands by a stratagem, and found all the rich furniture and treasure of Wardour Castle stored within. How Portland came by its name is a vexed and not a very important question. We have seen the copy of a Saxon charter granting the island to the 'ealden mynstre on Wyncheastre;' and Camden vouches the records of Winchester Cathedral to the effect that a Saxon adventurer, named Port, landed here at a date variously stated, but not later than the sixth or seventh century, and transmitted his name to posterity. There was a pitched battle between the Danes and the Portlanders in 837, which terminated in favour of the islanders.

The Chesil Bank is one of the longest and strangest ridges of pebbles in Europe. From its Portland extremity it extends north-westward in a regular curve parallel to the coast, and from this it is separated by a narrow backwater, called the Fleet, which ends in Lord Ilchester's swan-decoy at Abbotsbury, stocked in the palmy days of the abbots with no less than 7000 swans. The bank unites with the mainland here, and runs along the shore nearly six miles further—making a total of almost sixteen—to the cliffs at Burton Castle, near Bridport. The breadth at the Abbotsbury end is 170 yards, and 200 at Portland, both reckonings being taken at low-water of spring-tides. The base of blue clay is covered to a depth of from four to six feet with a coat of smooth round pebbles, chiefly of a white calcareous spar, but partly of quartz, chert, and jasper, so deep that a horse's legs sink to his knee at every step. The soundest theory that has been offered to explain whence this stock of pebble is derived is that they are driven up by the wind-waves from the port, in the neighbourhood of Lyme,

Lyme, Sidmouth, or Bere Head. Other kinds of shingle, but in very small comparative quantity, may be brought down by the river Otter from Budleigh Salterton and Aylesbere Hill.* The size of the pebbles gradually decreases from east to west. At Portland, stones are often picked up three or four inches in diameter; but near Bridport they are no bigger than coarse particles of sand, and four or five go to the inch. The change is gradual, but so constant that smugglers landing on the bank in thick weather or a dark night can tell the exact spot without difficulty. The cause of the largest shingle being found to leeward is supposed by Mr. Coode to be, that large pebbles of exceptional dimensions offer nearly the whole of their surface to the action of the wind-waves, and are, therefore, far more easily moved than the small ones which are closely embedded together, and over which the waves have a tendency to travel. Leland, Hollinshed, and Camden all speak of a time when the bank was liable to be broken through by a gale. This has long ceased to be the case; but what has been the amazing violence of the attacks made by the south-west winds, these facts, carefully ascertained by Mr. Coode, will show: 'During the gale of December 27th, 1852, the quantity of shingle scoured away between Abbotsbury and Portland was 3,673,300 tons; and the quantity thrown in during the next eighteen days was 2,671,500 tons. On the 23rd of November in the same year a heavy ground-swell, consequent on half a gale of only four hours' duration from the south-west, scoured away, within eighteen hours, 4,553,200 tons; and in five days afterwards 3,553,200 tons of shingle were found to have been thrown in again. These quantities were derived from careful admeasurement of the profile of the bank.'

Weymouth lies between Portland and the coast-point at which Mantell's description is to be taken up. Before the reign of Elizabeth the newer borough of Melcombe Regis ('Regis' originally referred to Edward I.) was at constant feud with the older Weymouth. The Government then interfered and compelled the two towns to become incorporated, in which state they have remained. Leland called Melcombe 'Miltoun,' but the more modern name was coming in even in his time. 'This town,' he says, 'hath been far bigger than it is now. The cause of this is layed on to the Frenchmen, that yn tymes of warre rasid this towne for lak of defence.' The French were trouble some enough in the fifteenth century to cause the port privileges

* The authority for these details is the published abstract of an able paper by Mr. John Coode, Engineer-in-Chief of the Portland Breakwater. The paper was read before the Institute of Civil Engineers in 1853.

of Weymouth to be handed over to Poole, in hopes of making them regard the less defensible place as not worth the burning. Ever since that time Poole has been the first commercial port in the county, carrying on a very active trade with Newfoundland and a considerable one with Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean. Weymouth is not destitute of trading activity, but its chief glory came to it about a hundred years ago, when Ralph Allen* of Bath (the Allworthy of 'Tom Jones') contrived to make it a fashionable watering-place. The Duke of Gloucester built Gloucester Lodge (now used as a hotel) in 1780, and George III. used it as a residence for many seasons succeeding the year 1789.

The Dorset cliffs grow finer as they trend eastward from Whitenose up to the now well-known Lulworth Cove—the Lynton of Dorsetshire. At Holworth Cliff, adjacent to Whitenose, a spontaneous combustion of bituminous shale occurred in 1826, and caused a little pseudo volcano, with volumes of flame and exhalations of sulphureous vapour. The smouldering went on for many years, and the surrounding clay and shale were burnt into cellular slag. Decomposition of pyrites, with which the strata abound, was the origin of this outbreak. The contortions of the firestone, gault, wealden, and Purbeck strata at many points are very grotesque. This is particularly the case in the coves with which the coast is indented, the sea having worked its way into the softer sands and chalk when once the stone casing has been pierced. Lulworth Cove exhibits a section of all the strata between the chalk and the oolite, and owes its peculiar form to the unequal resistance of these strata against the action of the sea. At Stair Hole there is a barrier of Portland limestone at the cove-mouth, but it has been ruthlessly breached by the sea, which rushes in at high-water through chinks and caverns. Lulworth is the gem of the coast, and has points of interest distinct from its formation and scenery. Scarcely two miles from the cove there is the castle of the Welds, one of the oldest families in England. Here are to be seen the drawings of Giles Hussey, a native of Marnhull, in Dorset, and a *protégé* of the owner of Lulworth, in the middle of last century. A detailed account of this really remarkable man may be seen in Maton's 'Western Counties' (i. 25). His fundamental notion—he seems to have been a kind of belated Pythagorean—was this: that every human face is in harmony with itself; and that if the keynote is once obtained, the proportionate intervals follow as a matter of course. It would probably be an easy task to

* Murray.

maintain, if not to demonstrate, an opposite theory, namely, that nine out of any ten human faces do not present us with harmonies at all, but with discords. Be this as it may, Hussey has left many portraits corrected by a musical scale, and believed them all to have gained in character and expression by the employment of his method. The present Castle was built by Lord Bindon, a junior member of the Howard family, in 1600; the property was bought from the Howards by the Welds in 1641. The ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Bindon, near Wool Bridge, were made use of in building the house; the site of which abbey was the scene of a temporary revival of monastic life early in the present century, when a colony of Trappist refugees was sheltered there by Mr. Weld during the French troubles. The monks have long since been recalled; but the place, with its sombre alleys and fish-ponds, is still worth a visit, though a few lines of low wall, with here and there a broken arch or abbot's tomb, alone remain to represent the ancient buildings.

All the Purbeck strata may again be found compressed in the small compass of Worbarrow Bay, with fine slopes of down on the top. Hard by is the grand profile of Gad Cliff, with five hundred feet of sheer cliff and tangled base, and a famous specimen of a Cycadeoid tree among the *débris* of the oolite. This tree is encased in a bed of limestone; the pith is discernible surrounded with bundles of fibre, and the bark is well defined. From Gad Cliff we descend to Kimmeridge, the land of bituminous shale, which abounds in the dark-blue beds, and is quarried under the name of Kimmeridge coal. The so-called 'coal-money' has long been regarded as nothing more than refuse pieces thrown aside by the makers of beads, bracelets, and other ornaments for the Roman population. The base of the shales is alumina,* which exists in such quantities that some of the material has been used as a source of alum, and a former owner of the property erected works for the purpose. The really important extracts are a light oil, very fine, extremely volatile, and quite colourless, suitable for the same purposes as coal-naphtha; and a dense oil, with good properties as a lubricant, and possible merits as a material for burning in lamps. The residue of the shale is a porous kind of coke, which has been used—though not widely—as a manure.

But it is vain to attempt writing in detail of a coast like this. Whoever visits Dorset with a sufficient pair of legs should explore Purbeck, and especially the Purbeck coast, on foot. Between Kimmeridge and Poole harbour he will stop, where we

* Rugg.
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cannot,

cannot, at Lord Eldon's beautiful valley of Encombe—at the chantry crowning the 440 perpendicular feet of St. Alban's (Aldhelm's) Head*—at the curious platform called Dancing Ledge, the floor of an old quarry—and at the grand old cliff-quarry of Tilly Whim, near Swanage, said to have been last worked during the building of Corfe Castle. Swanage is a pleasant little watering-place, and unsurpassed probably as a centre of geological exploration. The Purbeck strata above the town have an estimated thickness of 275 feet, nearly half consisting of merchantable layers; and many are the remains of saurians and chelonians found in the pits by the workmen. Mantell has described at length the *Goniopholis crassidens*, or 'Swanage crocodile,' which was found here in 1847, and whose unwieldy bones now rest in the British Museum. Once at Swanage, one must mount the Ballard Down, the eastern end of the great south range of chalk down, which looks across to the Isle of Wight, where it rises again from the sea. From the Ballard you look down on the pretty bay and village of Studland close by the foot, with a seat of the Bankes family, whose name is suggestive of Corfe Castle five miles off. More distant is Poole Harbour, the eastern boundary of Purbeck, and the lately notorious Brownsea Island at its mouth; with the Hampshire coast, a long low line of sandy cliffs, stretching away down the Solent. But, with Corfe only five miles off, it is time to be 'stepping westward;' and every step may be taken along the magnificent Nine Barrow Down, the continuation of the Ballard.

Corfe Castle requires a whole article to itself: it is hard to say a little only of such a place. Imagine a long, uniform, unbroken, unbreakable-looking range of chalk-hill. For several miles east and west of Corfe it runs like a giant wall; but at that point there is an abrupt, sharply-cut gap about a quarter of a mile wide. In the middle of this gap rises a steep and lofty eminence, the top crowned with the soaring keep, and girt with the long circuit of the walls of Corfe Castle—a place altogether of its own kind; and so quaint and grand withal, that you feel as if it ought to figure in the Morte d'Arthur. It is one's very

* This is a very interesting relic. It is the Norman successor of the wooden oratory erected by the Saxon saint; and, though used as a storehouse by the coast-guard, it is very little the worse for ill-treatment and time. The plan is a peculiar one for so small a chapel. The building is square and vaulted. The ribs spring from single responds in the corners, and form a cluster of three in the middle of each wall. All these ribs arch over to a central pier of eight clustered shafts. These shafts, like the responds and ribs, are rectangular in plan, but bevelled. In short the whole chapel is like a miniature chapter-house. In the north bay of the east wall is a small simple window, the sill of which was probably the altar. The doorway, a double-shafted one, is in the south bay of the west wall.

vision of Camelot or Caerleon. Not that it wants tales of its own—such as the heroic defence by Lady Banks, which has been recounted before, and of which there is only too much evidence to show; or the murder of ‘Saynt Edward, kynge and martyr,’ whose tale runs thus in the ‘Golden Legend:’—

It ‘happed that thys sayd yonge kynge edward rood on huntynge with hys knyghtes in the wode of dorsete beside the town of warhā, [Wareham]—and there in the chaas it happed the kynge to departe awaye from hys men and rode forth alone to see hys broder ethelrede whych was thereby with y^e quene hys moder in y^e castell named corfe—but whā y^e quene saw hym there being allone she was joyfull and glad in her herte and wente to the kynge and welcumed hym with fayre and blaūdishng wordes, and commaunded to fetch bred and wyne to the kynge—and wyles y^e kynge dranke y^e botelyer toke a knyf and roof y^e kynge through y^e body to y^e herte in such wyse that y^e kynge fyll down deed—And anone thenne y^e quenes servaunts buried the body in a desolate place of y^e wode.’

This account so far differs from the story of the ‘Chronicle’ that it makes the king fall dead on the spot; while the ‘Chronicle’ gives him strength to put spurs to his horse, but relates that he fainted from loss of blood, and was dragged by the stirrup over rough stones to the rivulet at the foot of the hill. Both narratives agree in ascribing wonderful virtue to his remains, in the performance of miracles at Corfe, at Wareham, and then at Shaftesbury, their last resting-place.

After the siege, during the civil wars, the Castle was blown to pieces, and some of these pieces, of vast size, rolled down the hill and lie now at its foot, solid as rocks. One gate-tower, the reputed scene of the martyrdom, undermined by pickaxes or powder or both, fell bodily seven feet. It stands to this day upright as it fell, sound and uncracked as any wall built yesterday. The keep, all shattered as it is, rears its head nobly. Mr. Banks supposes that Italian artisans were employed by King Edgar to instruct his native workmen in the extensive additions which he made to Corfe; but there are reasons for referring the keep to a Norman origin. Another part of the Castle, at the western angle, bears a very strong mark of Saxon work. This is called the ‘Queen’s Chamber,’ a name which suggests the thought that it might have formed a part of Elfrida’s stronghold; and the feature in question is a considerable piece of herring-bone masonry with one or two round-arched windows in it. Near the Queen’s Chamber is a curious relic—the Castle gallows, consisting of a stone projecting from the wall and notched at the top. He is a fortunate visitor who gets a sight of Corfe against a sunset sky. The two portions of the keep, one broad and grey, the

the other—a pillar-like fragment—all shrouded to the lofty summit with ivy, loom up grandly against the gold; and all the minor features of the great Castle group well below, with the little town hard by, and the church famous in the siege.

For the student of architecture, however, Dorset is not a very rich field. Besides the majestic ruin just described there are two noble churches, remnants of three or four large abbeys, and a few delightful old houses. Of these, any one would well repay the mediævalist for the trouble of a considerable journey; but these are all of the sort which the county can offer.

Judging from the numbers of fragments, churches were plentifully built here by the Normans; while during the reign of the Early and Middle Pointed styles singularly little seems to have been done in that way. But of the Later Pointed work there is abundance, since almost every parish church not modern consists of it. Its general character is, however, decidedly poor. The village churches are often pleasing and picturesque, but seldom noble. The genius that filled Somerset with Late-Pointed churches, so lovely in their way, hardly crossed the border. Still there are, as already said, some architectural treasures in Dorset; and St. Mary's, Sherborne, is nearly as fine a specimen of Third Pointed as can be met with anywhere. The church is quite cathedral-like in size, and excellent in all other respects. The lofty Norman arches of the tower—they are the chief Norman feature in the church—are remarkable from the fact of their having been under-built of late years. It is strange to see an old tower standing on nineteenth century piers. In the effect of a church's interior no element is more important than the roof; and in the vaulted roof it was, as soon as anywhere, that the failure of the old mysterious instinct for the noble showed itself. At Sherborne nave and choir are vaulted, but the roofs are ribbed by a sufficiently rich multiplicity of lines, without mazy, frittered prettiness. A great cross-church with a fine roof is always worth seeing, even though not otherwise excellent; but here all is good—all is in keeping; and a recent costly restoration—due chiefly to the late Earl Digby and to Mr. Wingfield Digby, his heir and successor in Sherborne Castle—has been a real success. In these restorations there is always something to deplore. Needful repair expands into renovation, and a venerable old-world building stares at us with a bran-new face in a sort of second childhood. But here much that has been done is truly admirable, especially the polychroming, which to some extent has taken the place of the banished whitewash. It is chiefly applied to the panelled stone-work of the choir, and only the sunk faces are painted, while the Hamdon Hill stone of the ribs and foliations remains untouched.

untouched. The result is that you perceive at once the glow of colour and the *bonâ fide* reality of the wall-work beneath. Outside the most remarkable feature is the curious Norman south porch. The general look of the church is very grand; but its fine position is spoiled by surrounding buildings, including a large remnant of the monastery and the ancient grammar-school.

The remains of the old castle, which served the bishops of Sherborne as a palace,* 'for space very large, for cost very chargeable, for show very beautiful,' stand in Mr. Digby's magnificent park. The present house was begun by Sir Walter Raleigh, who passed many a quiet hour at Sherborne, smoking on a stone seat still shown in the grounds, where there are some noble oaks, and two small groves planted by Raleigh and Pope.

Wimborne Minster is the other great Dorset church, and a grand exception to the remark that the Early Pointed styles are ill represented in the county. The interior of this excellent church owes almost everything to the thirteenth century architects. It exhibits an uncommon arrangement of the choir, under which runs an unusually lofty crypt, and the choir-floor is raised accordingly, and is reached from the nave by a considerable flight of steps. The whole east end, within and without, is of the utmost excellence; and the east window consists of an Early Pointed triplet, over each light of which is a quatrefoil, a feature of very rare occurrence. The exterior of the church is less striking; but here, as within, the east end is very fine, and so is the Norman central tower, which would rank well among the coeval buildings of the kind if stripped of its crenellations and completed with a lofty roof. St. Mary's Church, Bridport, has lately undergone an admirable restoration, and deservedly lays claim to the third place among the churches of the county. One feature in the exterior—a little oriel to the priest's chamber over the south porch—is almost unique. The fine early wooden

* Camden says:—'In the year of our Lord 704 an episcopal see was erected here, and Adelm was first consecrated bishop. Afterwards, in the reign of King Etheldred, Harman, Bishop of Sunning, being advanced to this bishoprick, transferred his episcopal see hither, and annexed the bishoprick of Sunning to it, which in William the Conqueror's reign he transferred to Salisbury, reserving Sherborne to his successors for a retiring place, to whom it now belongs.' Gibson, in his edition of 'Camden,' some 100 years later, says:—'But since the Reformation all the old bishopricks having been cruelly lopp'd, Salisbury has lost this (the chief rents only reserved) to the Crown. The main end of it has been to gratifie great favourites, none of whom having long enjoy'd it. The world has took occasion from this and like instances to remark that church-lands will not stick by lay owners.' Pope, in his sixth letter to Martha and Teresa Blount, alludes to the well-known Sherborne curse (*vide* Peck's 'Desiderata,' vol. ii. b. xiv. No. 6, p. 5), and gives a long and interesting account of the place.

roof in the church at Bere Regis is also well worth a passing visit.

The monastic buildings must be merely enumerated: at Milton Abbas, the fine Middle-Pointed choir of the Abbey Church, and the Refectory; at Cerne Abbas, a wonderfully rich gatehouse and a gigantic Abbey-barn; at Abbotsbury, a still larger Abbey-barn, and a curious and entire chantry crowning a lofty hill overlooking the sea.*

Fuller says that the houses of Dorset are built 'rather to be lived in than to be looked at.' But there is a fair sprinkling of Elizabethan houses, and some of an earlier date. Athelhampton and Wolveton, both dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, deserve a longer stay than we can afford them. The first is a charming place, with a gatehouse and high-roofed great hall, both thoroughly good. Wolveton, though much altered, is very interesting, its gatehouse towers retaining their old conical roofs. By Wolveton there hangs a tale. In 1505, Philip, Archduke of Austria, and in right of his wife King of Castile, having met with stress of weather on his way from Spain to Flanders, was compelled to put in at Weymouth. Sir Thomas Trenchard, of Wolveton, the most important person in the neighbourhood, sent off a messenger to inform the King of what had occurred, and meantime lodged the Archduke at his own house. There was then resident at Berwick, in the parish of Swyre, not far distant, a gentleman newly returned from foreign parts, and well versed in Spanish. This was Mr. John Russell, a connection of the Trenchards, and son of Sir John Russell, Speaker of the House of Commons in the second and tenth years of Henry VI. Being invited to meet the Archduke, he acquitted himself so well that on leaving Wolveton Philip took him to court, and recommended him warmly to the King. He was at once made a gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Henry VII., went into France with Henry VIII., was made Lord Russell in 1529, and, after partaking largely of the spoils of the monasteries, was eventually promoted to an Earldom. The house of Bedford may therefore regard Wolveton as the spot where the foundation-stone of the illustrious fortunes of their house was laid.

* St. Aldhelm's Chapel, in Purbeck, has been described above. Dorset has of late years, it seems, reclaimed Ford Abbey from the neighbouring county on the west. In Hutchins it frequently figures as the 'Abbey of Ford, c. Devon.' A full and interesting notice of its history, and of the Norman chapel (temp. Stephen), the Tudor cloisters and refectory, and the modern additions by Inigo Jones, is included in Murray's 'Handbook.' Jeremy Bentham rented the Abbey, and lived there from 1815 to 1818.

Bingham's Melcombe, again, is a capital model of the old English gentleman's country house. It stands in a remote nook of the downs, where the Bingham family has been seated ever since the earlier part of the thirteenth century. Built originally not later than the reign of Queen Mary, the mansion was considerably added to, and not very judiciously modernised, at the beginning of the last century; but the oriel, a fine specimen of Tudor domestic architecture, has been left intact; and the bowling-green, surmounted by a stupendous yew-hedge, and also some ancient fishponds, are scrupulously preserved, as far as may be, in their original state.

The streets of the Dorset towns retain very little worth notice. Dorchester, Wareham, and Shaftesbury, as old towns, perhaps, as any in England, have very few old houses in them. Sherborne is less poor, and at Bridport and Weymouth there are some old bits remaining.

But whatever is wanting to the county in architectural richness is made up by the number and interest of its earthworks, stone-circles, cromlechs, ancient roads, and dyked embankments, with other remains of the earliest period of our history. Within a stone's throw of the South-Western Railway at Dorchester there is an amphitheatral oval called Malbury, one of the most perfect relics of the kind in England. The length is 218 feet, the width 163 feet; the greatest elevation of the chalk-banks is 30 feet, and Stukely calculated that more than twelve thousand people could be seated inside. Ten thousand assembled in 1705 to witness the *post mortem* burning of Mary Channing, who had been executed for the murder of her husband. From the top of the bank a capital view may be had of the great Fordington Field, a splendid unenclosed area of 3500 acres of good corn-land, stretching away southward between Dorchester and Weymouth, and cut through by the British-Roman road that strikes straight for the sea across the Ridgeway 'fault.' Bounding this fine specimen of the old open fields at the south-western end, the low but striking encampment of Maiden Castle (*mai, dun*, great, hill) is plainly visible. The weight of authority is in favour of its construction by the Britons, and its occupation by the Romans as a summer-camp. Mr. Barnes calls it a British 'pah,' and rejects the theory that Maiden Castle was Richard of Cirencester's *Durinum*, believing that to have been the name of Wareham, the British capital of Dorset. There are those, however, who look still further back, and seek for traces of Oriental workmanship in these vast trenches, just as Stukely ascribes Stonehenge to a Phœnician origin. The hill is in form an irregular oval, with a wide plateau on the top, moderately level,

level, and forty-five acres in extent. Beginning from the edges of the plateau, and occupying a large part of the sloping hill-side, there is a triple series of ditches and ramparts, the innermost being sixty feet in height, and rather more than a mile in circumference. The two entrances on east and west are defended by dovetailing the ends of the *valla* and by additional earthworks. The little Winterbourne flows at the hill-foot on the south side, and traces of a supposed reservoir have been found or imagined in a basin indenting that slope. If Maiden Castle was used as a summer camp by the Romans, then Poundbury was probably the winter quarters. Poundbury is an irregular fort with a vallum and ditch, double on the western front, and cresting the head of a hill on the north-west of Dorchester, with two miles of unenclosed corn-land between it and the larger remains. From the summit a characteristic view may be had of Dorset scenery. There is the Frome close below the hill, with rich alluvial meadows skirting its streams; northward over the old round towers of Wolveton are the bare slopes of the chalk downs; and eastward, beyond the towers and spire of the county town, you may see the first brown knolls of the heath-country showing below the distant blue of the Purbeck hills.

There are earthworks also at Abbotsbury, Badbury, Banbury, Bullbarrow, Cattistock, Chalbury, Chilcomb, Cranborne, Crawford, Dudsbury in Parley parish, Duntish, Eggardon, Flower's Barrow on the noble downs cresting Worbarrow Cliffs, Hambledon, Hodhill, where a Roman quadrangle stands inside a British bank, Kingston Russell, Muzbury, Knowlton, Lambert Castle, Milborne Stileham, Melcombe Horsey, Pillesdon Pen, Shaftesbury, Toller Fratrum, Woodbury Hill—the site of a large and well-known September fair—Weatherbury Castle, with an obelisk erected inside the rings; and probably three or four points besides these are more or less entrenched. Few people now regard these hill-forts, or *caerau*, as having been, like Old Sarum, the seats of a settled population, πόλεις οἰκουμέναι. 'The Britons, under Cassivelaunus, fled before Cæsar, and gathered their cattle into his *caer*; and so, as cattle-stealing seems to have been one of the evils dreaded by the law with Britons and Saxons, the *caerau* might have been strongholds for cattle, from night-robbers—men or wolves—and especially in the upland summer-feed. Or they might have been tribe-fastnesses at an early time of British life, where every pencenedl headed a little body of kindred that might suddenly find it needful to fight out a quarrel with another tribe.* The countless barrows which dot the Dorset hills are partly

* Barnes's 'Notes on Ancient Britain,' p. 92.

burial-places, and partly mounds for law-gatherings, and so used for centres of hundreds, as in the case of Culliford Tree, near Dorchester.

From the old and curious hill of Eggardon to the county town the remains of an ancient road are plainly traceable. Stukely took this for the direct line of the Icenhilde Stræt, which he supposed to run by Maiden Castle, Eggardon, Bridport, Honiton, Exeter, and Totnes, to the Land's End. But, by consulting the map belonging to a paper on 'The Four Roads,' by Dr. Guest,* the foremost authority on these matters, it will be seen that this line of road is a branch of the more famous one, and that under the name of the 'Ackling Ditch' it runs direct from Eggardon to Dorchester, thence in a north-easterly line, and with much fainter traces, to the great hill-fort of Badbury Rings, on the old road between Blandford and Wimborne, and then still further northward by Old Sarum, until it joins the main line of the Icenhilde. Badbury is a huge earthwork, rivalling Maiden Castle in extent, and in interest also, if Dr. Guest may be regarded as having established its claim to be the scene of the tremendous and decisive battle of *Badan-byrig* :—

'On the mount
Of Badon I myself beheld the King
Charge at the head of all his Table Round,
And all his legions crying Christ and him.'

It looks down upon Kingston Hall, the Bankes' family-seat, to which the son of Sir John Bankes retired after the siege and capture of Corfe, and which has many a good stone and rafter from the castle built into its walls. The Duke of Ormond died at Kingston in 1688.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Warne, the painstaking author of 'Celtic Tumuli,' will sooner or later undertake a detailed account of the Roman occupation of Dorset, a subject far too wide and too intricate for any but the careful hands of a special student. Mr. Warne has ingeniously worked out† the site of the lost station *Ibernio*, which he fixes on Kingston Down, near Bere Regis. The other two stations in the county were *Durnovaria* (Dorchester), and *Vindogladia* (a point on Gussage Down, between Blandford and Cranborne). At Frampton, Preston, and Dewlish, all of them points within eight miles of Dorchester, pavements have been discovered;‡ and on Jordan Hill, between
Preston

* 'Report of the Archæological Institute.'

† In a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in June, 1861.

‡ The Preston pavement is probably the floor of a considerable villa, for the bases of rows of columns are still there, and passages and rooms appear to be discernible.

Preston and Weymouth, is the site of a large Roman cemetery, from which hundreds of skeletons have been exhumed.

There are yet two curiosities deserving some separate mention; one in the far east and the other in the far west of Dorset. The Agglestone is an isolated block of ferruginous sandstone, lying on the heathy moor of Purbeck, about three miles from the mouth of Poole harbour. Theories of its origin abound; the legendary one being, that the devil, seated on the Needles, threw his cap in a frolic at the towers of Corfe, and that the cap fell short on the heath. The least unlikely supposition is this: that for some religious purpose—perhaps Druidical—blocks of the ferruginous sandstone of the district were pieced together, and that the moist semi-oxygenated particles of iron had enough power of agglutination to fix the blocks permanently. The computed weight of this curious ‘holy-stone’—if that is the right interpretation of the name—is 400 tons. It is 37 feet long, 19 feet wide, and 15 feet high.

The Pinney Landslip has been the wonder of West Dorset ever since the winter of 1839. It is near the Devon border, and close by Lyme Regis, a town that has stood almost as hard knocks as any in England. Twice burnt by the French in the fourteenth century, when just recovering from the ravages of a tremendous gale in the reign of Richard II., and nearly battered to pieces by Prince Maurice, in 1644, when Governor Ceeley, with Blake to back him, held out during seven memorable weeks, until the siege was raised on the arrival of Essex; Lyme is still a busy little port, and sends its member to Parliament. By the Cobb—that semicircular pier stretching out into the sea, which it has battled with under varying fortunes since Edward I.’s time—Monmouth landed from Amsterdam; and in the George Inn he slept four nights, spending his days in collecting the 2000 troops with whom he set forward on the ill-starred expedition which was to end in capture among the fern under the Woodlands ash-tree.

Between Lyme and the mouth of the Axe, as at so many points in the Isle of Wight, the chalk and sandstone of the down surface rest on loose sand, and this in turn reposes on an impenetrable bed of clay, shelving to the shore. The rain sinks through the upper beds, gathers on the clay, and by and by—through constantly filtering out the loose sand or ‘fox mould’—completely undermines the superstrata; while, by moistening the

cernible. The Frampton pavement was found while passages for a hot-air apparatus were being dug at the church. Mr. Medhurst, of Weymouth—who has paid much attention to the Roman remains of this district, and has also opened more than fifty barrows—exhibits a very interesting Museum of British and Roman Antiquities discovered in Dorset.

subordinate

subordinate clay, it creates a greasy surface equivalent to that produced by tallowing the inclined plane before a ship is launched from the stocks. A very wet season adds to the weight of the incumbent mass at the same time that it more effectually carries on the filtering process; and it is during such seasons that the dislocations have principally occurred. A subsidence, on a scale large enough to form a kind of cliff at the sides of the sunk area, was the chief feature in the landslip of 1839; and this feature, coupled with the wide extent of area affected, distinguished the Pinney catastrophe from those which went before it in the district. The weight of the mass thus *launched* forward sufficed to turn up the strata below, on the shore, and under the sea in ridges, like the wrinkles which are made by pushing forward a cloth cover on a polished table. But the curiosities of that upheaval were soon obliterated by further convulsions, and changes are even now going on. It was on the night of Christmas eve, 1839, that the great chasm began to open, and all the sinking was over within twenty-four hours, during which forty acres had been lost to cultivation, while two cottages had been moved bodily, and set down with shattered walls on a much lower level. The only noise perceptible was like the rending of cloth, and was heard by a party of coastguard men, who witnessed the first opening of the fissures. The scene of this disaster now forms a curious hollow, containing the orchard which was carried down by the landslip, and a cottage built upon the site of the old ones; and the view of it from the overhanging cliffs is very interesting.

It is in descriptions, more scientific than Hutchins. could make them, of the natural and artificial curiosities of the county, and in accounts of archæological discoveries made since his time, that the re-issue of the 'History of Dorset' will have an especial value. For laborious collection of detail, and arrangement of it, too, according to his lights, Hutchins stands perhaps alone among his class. Mr. Shipp, of Blandford, in conjunction with the best-informed local antiquarians, is now working hard at a new edition, the first two parts of which have already appeared.

To judge by Fuller's list,* Dorset has not been fertile in 'worthies'; but Fuller's lists are not always satisfactory, to say nothing of the reputations that have been made since his time. Dorset, though perhaps without much enthusiasm, claims Matthew Prior as a native, who, if he was not born in London, was born at Wimborne. Blandford was the birthplace of a much worthier man, Archbishop Wake, the earnest promoter of schemes for bringing the Anglican and Continental Churches

* Worthies, i. 314.

into something like union. Cardinal Morton was born at Bere Regis, Stillingfleet close by Cranborne, Thornhill the painter (Hogarth's father-in-law) at Weymouth, Sprat (if we believe his epitaph rather than his biographer) at Beaminster, Henry Chettle* (a dramatist cotemporary with Shakspeare) at Blandford St. Mary's, and Thomas Sydenham at Wynford Eagle. Raleigh owned Sherborne, and Sir Christopher Hatton lived at Corfe Castle. Wimborne St. Giles, the birthplace of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, is now possessed by the seventh, who has kept his historical name before the public during a long career of parliamentary and platform activity. Eastbury, a great house by Vanbrugh near Blandford, was an active literary centre in the time of Bubb Dodington, who used to entertain there Young and Thomson, and Fielding and Bentley; but the house has long since been pulled down. Fuller was a Dorset 'worthy' himself, for he held the living of Broadwindsor; Boyle spent several years at Stalbridge; and Christopher Pitt, who translated Lucan and Vida, and who fills up a little interstice in Johnson's Lives between Pope and Thomson, was the rector of Pimperne, near the banks of the Stour.

As if to make up for the want of discernment with which the last two centuries admitted men to the rank and title of poet, we seem in the present day to be jealous of any fresh candidate in the field. But no account of Dorset would be complete without some mention of a living writer, who has enriched his county dialect with real poetry, and who, though not yet widely read beyond the border, has long had his merits recognized by a few unquestioned judges—*laudatus a laudatis*.† Born in the Vale of Blackmoor, its very centre, Mr. Barnes has a native's familiarity with every shade of pure Dorset speech. To this, in later years, he has added the observation that is sure to grow up and strengthen during a long and wide course of philological reading and inquiry. His first volume of poems was published in 1848, and to that he appended a glossary, full of interest, and comparatively free from the usual faults of word-collecting zeal. There was a Northamptonshire glossary published some years ago, which, among a great deal that was curious and valuable, told us that the people there say 'bodily' for 'all at once,' 'crazy' of old buildings, 'daddy' for 'father;' and that

* He was originally a compositor, and seems to have been really a man of genius, but always out at elbows. Of his forty plays only four are known, and an account of these is given in Collier's 'History of Dramatic Poetry.' In Henslowe's 'Diary,' among several other similar entries, there is recorded a loan of fifty shillings to 'harry cheattell,' on the strength of a forthcoming 'playe called Troyes Revenge, with the tragedy of polefeme.'

† He has quite recently (1861) obtained the more public recognition implied in a pension on the Civil List.

they use phrases like ‘to come off with flying colours,’ and ‘to burn the candle at both ends.’ Mr. Barnes manages far better than this; and a few of his generalizations—not, however, all to be met with in the Glossary or in the Preliminary Dissertation—are well worth notice before we come to look at the poems themselves. The following catalogue has been drawn up, in full recognition of the fact that many of the modes of speech found in Dorset are common to all the south-western counties, and even to more remote parts of England with them. In no neighbouring county, however, would it be easy to meet with that aggregate of distinctive modes which exist together in Dorset, and which justify Mr. Barnes in regarding this dialect as a definite shape of the English language, ‘broad and bold, as the Doric was in reference to Greek.’

Foremost among the leading features is the Dorset theory of personification. This perhaps does more than any other single feature to make outsiders regard the county speech as something barbarous, and beyond rule altogether. The rule, however, is not so far to seek. Genuine Dorset divides all things, besides men and animals of which the sex is known, into two classes, the personal and the impersonal. To the personal class belong all definite, individual things; and to the impersonal class indefinite quantities of things and abstract nouns. Things of the personal class are taken as masculines, with one set of pronouns; and the impersonal things are taken with another set of pronouns as neuters. The pronouns of the masculines are *he* (with *en* objective), *theis* for a nearer object, and *thik*, with soft *th*, for a farther one. The neuters have plain *it*, *this*, and *that*. The Dorset man would say, ‘*that* water by *thik* tree is deep;’ but ‘*this* grass under *theis* tree is green.’ Of a wine-glass or beer-glass he would say, ‘teäke *en* up, *he*’ll be a-broke;’ but of a piece of glass, ‘teäke *it* up, *it*’ll cut zomebody.’ Cutting cloth for a table, the cutter might say, ‘*this* cloth is wide enough for *theis* table;’ but when once the cloth is made up, it goes over to the other class of nouns, and becomes *theis* cloth. *Thik* is regarded by Mr. Barnes as the Anglo-Saxon *tha-ylc*, which in Chaucer’s time had become *thilke*. The objective *en* is the Saxon *hine*.

<i>Anglo-Saxon Gospel</i> .—Pilatus acsode hine. }	Mark xv.
<i>Dorset</i> Pilate axed en. }	

So in Prince Lucien Bonaparte’s ‘Song of Solomon,’ in Transylvanian Saxon, Mr. Barnes finds *en* in the Dorset form:—

<i>Transylvanian</i> .—Ech sacht <i>en</i> , awei ech faand <i>en</i> net.
<i>Dorset</i> .—I sought <i>en</i> , but I vound <i>en</i> not.

He

He will not allow the plural *em* to be a corruption of *them*, but affirms it to be the old pronoun *ham* and *hem* of twelfth-century English and of Chaucer. The line,

To have i-put *ham* from me

of Chaucer, is, in Dorset,

To have a-put *em* vrom me.

This line contains a specimen of another leading feature, namely, the affix or augment joined to perfect participles, which is the same as the German *ge*, and answers exactly to Chaucer's *y* or *i*. It certainly softened our English speech, and was useful in distinguishing the past participle from the past tense. Chaucer's line,

When Hector was y-brought all fresh y-slain,
scans well in Dorset,—

When Hector was a-brought all fresh a-slain ;
while, on dropping the affix, the line becomes impossible without an entire change of words.

Dorset yields mostly weak preterites, though Mr. Barnes has heard *joun* for *joined*, and *crope*, *scrope*, from *creep*, *scrape*, are common. It has an odd way of distinguishing between aorists and imperfects, by means of the auxiliary *do* and *did*. Thus, 'he *did* *beät* the chile' is imperfect; 'he *beät* the chile' is aorist. A boy was last winter describing the daily state of things at a horse-pond, and said, 'They *did* break the ice o'marnens, and *did* vind the water a-vroze ageän at night,' just as we use *would* of repeated action. A similar use is found among the Cornish Bretons, and Bunsen has mentioned its existence in some parts of Germany.

There is a singular mode of the infinitive prevalent in the county with a termination in *y*: 'Can ye mow? can ye zewy?' This is always used absolutely, and so differs from the Magyar termination in other respects analogous to it. If the verb is followed by its accusative, the *y* would at once be dropped: 'Can ye mow? then mow this grass.' Dorset still keeps a few of the plural forms of nouns with the ending in *en* so rife among the Frisians, who not only say *husen* for *houses* and *heäpen* for *heaps*, but even *hannen* and *fuotten* for *hands* and *feet*. There is a curious metathesis in some words, as *haps*, *claps*, for *hasp*, *clasp*; but this peculiarity is found in several other counties, Northamptonshire being an instance. Mr. Barnes claims priority of usage for Dorset, as in Anglo-Saxon *ashes* are *acsan*, though in Frisian *as*. The dialect deals largely in diphthongs, as *hay*, *cold*.

English.

English.—Where is the old lame mare that you were leading up the lane from the mead?

Dorset.—Where's the wold leāme meāre that you were a-leādën up the leāne from the meāde?

Mr. Barnes infers from Frisian usage that the Dorset peasants have not done more in these diphthongs than perpetuate the breath-sounds of their forefathers, who said *yarm* for *arm*, *beām* for *beam*, and *meāre* for *mark*, just as the Frisians say *leāf* for *leaf*, *neām* for *name*, and so forth. The Dorset usage of *z*, *v*, and *d*, for *s*, *f*, and *th*, is confined to words of Teutonic or English roots, and words that have been imported in later times are not meddled with. It is good Dorset to say *zand* or *vind*; bad, to say *zaint*, *vamine*, *vigure*, *zabbath*.

Dorset is not a good dialect for punning, as it can show a large number of words to which it gives a distinct sound according to the meaning, the same words having only one sound in ordinary speech. The *copia verborum* of the dialect is still more remarkable. Witness the following specimens:—*Shelter* is a screen against what falls from above, as rain; *leuth*, a screen from cold wind blowing sideways. *To ceāre*, is to be uneasy about what has happened or is happening; *to ho*, is to be anxious for the future. The *root* of a tree is simply its root; the *moot* the bottom of a stem after it is felled, with all its roots on to it. The parson *do marry* a couple; the man *do marry wi'* the woman. A *wride* of hazel is all the stems that grow from one root; a hazel-bush may contain many wrides. A *choor* (char) is a recurring term of work, as washing or house-cleaning; a *job* is a single stroke of any work or business.

But it is the Dorset poems that are the best apology for the dialect after all. No arbitrary, unmeaning *patois* would have supported the pathos to which this form of English furnishes just the setting and no more—as the Scottish forms do to Burns's best poems; and it would only have spoilt Mr. Barnes's genuine humour, which depends on no tricks of language for its point. In naming Burns, it is not meant to set up the Dorset poems in comparison with his; no greater mistake could be made in defining the real merits of Mr. Barnes, who stands quite alone among English writers. You could not gather from his writings that he had ever read a verse of other poets, nor adopted a single line of thought or mode of speech. And yet it would be hard to discover writings more entirely free from affectation than these. It is as Hogg has said, 'A man may be sair mista'en about many things, sic as yepics and tragedies, and even lang set elegies about the death o' great public characters, and hymns, and odes, and the like; but he canna be mista'en about a sang.' Just so on reading

the Dorset songs; you are puzzled to find an exact standard of comparison, but they have a true ring of their own which cannot be mistaken. 'Sleep did come wi' the dew,' 'Rivers don't gie out,' 'The Weepè'n Liady,' 'The Väices that be gone,' and 'Jenny out vrom hwome,' in the first volume; and 'Ellen Brine o' Allenburn,' 'Slantè'n Light o' Vall,' 'Bleake's House in Blackmoor,' 'Knowlwood,' and 'Faetherhood,' in the second, are all not only poems of great beauty, but sure to be recognised as such on a first reading.

The Dorset poor themselves heartily enjoy these poems; and it is hard to say which succeed best before a cottage audience, the pathetic or the humorous ones. 'The Waggon a-Stooded' (stuck in the mud), describing an accident with a load of furze, is always welcome. It is an eclogue with three interlocutors, or in Dorset idiom with 'dree o' m a-ta'kèn' o't':—

- 1.—Well, here we be then wi' the vust poor lwoad
O' vuzz we brought a-stooded in the road.
2.—The road, George? Noa. There's nar a road. That's wrong.
If we'd a road, we mid ha got along.
1.—Noo road? Ees 'tis; the road that we do goo.
2.—Do goo, George? noa. The pleäce we can't get droo.
1.—Well, there, the vust lwoad we've a-haled to dae
Is here a-stooded in theäs bed o' elae.
Here's rotten groun'! an how the wheels do cut!
The little coone's a-zunk up to the nut.'

After a good deal of criticism on the driving that brought the accident about, a spade is sent for to dig the wheels out; and meanwhile the load is to be lightened:—

- 1.—Well, we must lighten en; come, Jeämes, then hop
Upon the lwoad, and just fling off the top.
2.—If I can clim' en; but 'tis my consaüt
That I shall awverzè't en wi' my weight.
1.—You awverzè't en! Noa, Jeämes: he won't vall:
The lwoad's a-built so firm 's a wall.'

This is the confident remark of the man who had had the chief hand in 'setting' the load; and on the strength of it the other climbs, falls of course, bringing the load with him, but unconsolated by the slightest admission on the part of his stolid companion, who looks on with a broad grin and sets all down to the ant-hills on the turf-track:—

- 1.—Lo'k there, thik fellor is a-vell lik' lead,
An' haef the vuzzen wi'n, heels awver head.
* * * The lwoad wer built so firm 's a rock,
But two of theäsem emmet butts would knock
The tightest barrel out o' hoop.'

'Merry

'Merry Bleäke o' Blackmwore' is another great favourite. It tells how John Blake, having two hundred pounds left him by his uncle, determined to build a house of his own. His consultations with his wife and 'maidens,' his reckonings with the workmen, and his grand housewarming when all was done, are told with much humour, and with the same faultless truth of observation that is so conspicuous in the history of Mrs. Poyser's ways and doings. When nothing else remains to be done towards the effective inauguration of the house, the swallows duly take possession of the eaves, and the poem finishes.

'An' when the morrow's zun did sheen,
John Bleäke beheld, wi' jäy an' pride,
His bricken house, an' pworch, an' groen,
Above the Stower's rushy zide.
The zwallows left the lwonsome groves
To build below the thatchen oves;
An' robins come vor crums o' lwoaves :
"Tweet, tweet," the birds all cried ;
"Sweet, sweet," John's wife replied ;
"Dad, dad," the children cried so glad
To merry Bleäke o' Blackmwore.'

The excellent poem called 'Faetherhood' gives an example of the spirit and swing which Mr. Barnes can throw into his verses. This that follows is supposed to come straight out of the warm heart of a father, who is met after a cold journey by the pleasant voices and 'little-mouthed laefs' of his children at his own fire-side :—

'Let en zit, wi' his dog an' his cat,
Wi' ther noses a-turned to the vire ;
An' have all that a man should desire :
But there isn't much roadship* in that—
Whether vo'k mid have children or no,
Woudden meake mighty odds in the maïn :
They do bring us mwore jäy wi' more ho,†
An' wi' mwore we've less jäy wi' less pain :
We be all like a zull's ‡ idle sheäre out,
An' shall rust out unless we do wear out,
Like do-nothèn, rue-nothèn,
Dead-alive dumps.'

Yet, clever and admirably truthful as the humorous poems and the mere narratives are, Mr. Barnes seems to be greatest in the expression of a pathetic sentiment, always of the extremest gentleness and tenderness, but always wholesome, and never bordering on what is maudlin or dull. It has been urged, and it is probably often thought by fresh readers of the 'Dorset Poems,'

* Common sense.

† Care or anxiety for the future.

‡ Plough.

that the dialect has nothing to do with the pathetic element in them; in other words, that if, in a given poem of the kind, the forms of ordinary English were to be substituted for the dialect forms, the pathos would remain undiminished and unaltered. A little reflection, and—still more surely—a growing familiarity with the genius of Mr. Barnes, will show that this notion is erroneous. It is undoubtedly possible to light upon single stanzas of the more serious poems which scarcely suffer at all by a translation into English. It is equally possible to find single passages of Burns in which it is of no consequence whether we read *frae* or *from*, *guid* or *good*; or single verses of the Bible where the effect would not be destroyed by the substitution of *you* for *thou*, and *have* for *hast*. But who, for that reason, would desire to see an Anglicized edition of Burns's serious poetry, or a version of the Bible according to Dr. Conquest? And thus it is in the case of Mr. Barnes. In spite of the apparent evidence to the contrary which single instances may furnish—and such instances will be found very few and far between—there are a thousand touches natural and easy in his Doric, which would have been unattainable in Attic. Who would write 'raving' for 'riavèn' in the following admirable song? or what should we get out of common English in return for all the sound and vigour of 'wiave da dreve wiave in the dark-water'd pon' '?

'JENNY OUT VROM HWOME. .

O wild-riavèn west winds! as you da roar on,
 The elems da rock an' the poplars da ply,
 An' wiave da dreve wiave in the dark water'd pon'—
 Oh! wher da ye rise vrom, an wher da ye die?
 O wild-riavèn winds! I da wish I cood vlee
 Wi' you, lik' a bird o' the clouds, up above
 The rudge o' the hill an' the top o' the tree,
 To wher I da lang var an' ro'kes I da love.
 Ar else that in under theas rock I cood hear
 The soft-zwelling sounds ye da leave in your road,
 Zome words ya mid bring me, vrom tongues that be dear,
 Vrom friends that da love me, all scattered abroad.
 O wild-riavèn winds! if ya ever da roar
 By the house an' the elems vrom wher I'm a-come,
Breathe up at the winder ar call at the door,
 An' tell ya've a-roun' me a-thinkèn o' hwome.'

Again, in 'Vàices that be gone,' it would be hopelessly grotesque to talk of the

' . . . banks, where James would sit
 Playing upon the clarionet
 To voices that are gone.'

And

And how should we render into common English that pregnant thought of the girls and boys being now 'married off all ways'? Yet observe the effect of both passages as they stand in the poem.

'THE VÄICES THAT BE GONE.

When evemen shiades o' trees da hide
 A body by the hedge's zide,
 An' twittren birds, wi' playsome flight,
 Da vlee to roost at comen night,
 Then I da santer out o' sight
 In archet, where the pleâce oonce rung
 Wi' laefs a-rised an' zongs a-zung
 By väices that be gone.

There's still the tree that bore our swing,
 An' t'others where the birds did zing:
 But long-leaved docks da auvergrow
 The groun we trampled biare below,
 Wi' merry skippens to an' fro
 Beside the banks, wher Jim did zit
 A-playen on the claranit
 To väices that be gone.

How mother, when we us'd to stun
 Her head wi' all our näisy fun,
 Did wish us all agone vrom hwome:
 An' now that zome be dead, an' zome
 Be gone, an' all the pliaice is dumb,
 How she da wish, wi' useless tears,
 To have agen about her ears
 The väices that be gone!

Var all the mäidens an' the bwoys,
 But I, be married off all ways,
 Ar dead an' gone; but I da bide
 At hwome alwone at mother's zide;
 An' of en, at the evemen tide,
 I still da santer out wi' tears
 Down droo the archet, wher my ears
 Da miss the väices gone.

More than once we have seen this poem draw the tears from eyes of listening cottagers; nor must it be supposed that the refinement of education is necessary to the reader before he can read Mr. Barnes's poems with such a result. A clownish reader will read clownishly, whether he read in English or in the Dorset dialect; and a chance hand from the plough-tail would probably make a very poor thing of 'Väices that be gone.' But put the book into the hands of one of the thoughtful and deephearted men that may be met with, not so rarely either, even among
 Dorset

Dorset labourers *—a man just able to read fairly, but uneducated by means of books beyond that point—and then, if *effect* is to be the test of success, it would not be wise in a highly-instructed and refined competitor to enter the lists against him.

But we must draw to an end. To have examined and fixed a curious variety of English, assigning its reasonable limits, and enriching it with thoroughly good poetry, is a very rare achievement, accomplished in this case without the slightest shade of pretension or unreality. But this is not quite all. The Dorset Poems are filled with lifelike drawings of manners and customs, and merrymakings and amusements, and joys and sorrows, which are even now passing out of date. A hundred years hence they may be the only remaining record of daily life as it has been and is amongst the labouring and farming classes of this interesting, much abused, and not very well known county.

- ART. II.—1. *Hymns and Hymn-books: a Letter, &c.* By William John Blew. 1858.
2. *The Voice of Christian Life in Song: or Hymns and Hymn-Writers of many Lands and Ages.* London, 1858.
3. *Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus: translated from the Original Syriac.* By the Rev. Henry Burgess, Ph.D. London, 1858.
4. *Thesaurus Hymnologicus, sive Hymnorum Canticorum, Sequentiarum circa annum MD usitatarum collectio amplissima.* H. A. Daniel, Ph.D. Lipsiæ, 1850-1856. ¶
5. *Hymni Latini Medii Ævi.* Franc. Jos. Mone. Friburgi Brisgovizæ, 1853.
6. *Hymni Ecclesiæ e Breviariis quibusdam et Missalibus Gallicanis, Germanis, Hispanis, Lusitanis desumpti.* J. M. Neale. Oxford, 1851.
7. *Hymnale secundum usum insignis ac præclaræ Ecclesiæ Sarisburiensis; accedunt Hy. Eccl. Eboracensis et Hereford.* Oxford, 1851.
8. *Sacred Latin Poetry.* By Richard Chenevix Trench, M.A. 1849.

* An account of Dorset would scarcely be complete without some notice of the great appearance of natural politeness in the Dorset peasantry. To strangers this is very striking. The respectful touch of the hat, or curtsy, which are never wanting—the passing salutation—seem almost strange to those accustomed to the manufacturing districts or the home counties. But it is not easy to say what amount of real mansuetude is indicated by these courteous outward observances.

9. *Medieval Hymns and Sequences.* Translated from the Latin. By Rev. J. M. Neale. London, 1851.
10. *Hymns of the Eastern Church.* Translated from the Greek. By the Rev. J. M. Neale, D.D. London, 1862.
11. *Lyra Germanica: Hymns, &c.* Translated from the German by Catherine Winkworth. London, 1859.
12. *Wesleyan Hymnology.* By W. P. Burgess, Wesleyan Minister. London, 1846.
13. *A Selection of Psalms and Hymns for the Public Service of the Church.* By the Rev. Charles Kemble. 1855.
14. *The Church Psalter and Hymn-book.* By the Rev. W. Mercer, and John Goss, Esq. 1858.
15. *Hymns Ancient and Modern, for use in the Services of the Church.* London, 1860.

‘A GENERAL impression seems to prevail that the Psalmody of our Church requires amendment and regulation.’* With these words opened an article on our present subject more than thirty years ago. The interval has been a time of unusual progress; yet the observation might be repeated to-day with as much truth as ever. For while the last quarter of a century has witnessed one of the most remarkable religious movements in the history of our Church, and has left scarcely one stone unturned by controversy in its doctrine, discipline, and ritual; while every irregularity has been called in question, and every order more or less enforced, hymns have been left to run wild. Their really great importance has been lost sight of amidst a clash of contention over matters of more engrossing interest.

But Hymnology itself has not stood still the while; as indeed appears by the long array of works at the head of this paper, and a number of others bearing upon the various branches of the subject there represented, as well as by the now familiar use of this very word ‘Hymnology,’ for which a writer of thirty years ago felt constrained to apologize. In fact, not only has the study of hymns become a recognized subject of literary research, but the hymns actually composed far exceed in number those of any equal period, except that which immediately followed the great Wesleyan movement just a century before.

In the days of William of Orange and his immediate successors the religious energies of the people had been laid to sleep under the so-called orthodoxy of those in high places; and when they were awakened by the cry of the Independent Calvinists and early Methodists, they found no channel for their devotions but

* ‘Quarterly Review,’ July, 1828.

the Prayer-book, which many of their leaders abhorred as a 'form,' and Tate and Brady's New Version, which they felt to be inadequate to satisfy the cravings of zealous religionists. The leaders could preach and could pray, but the people's demand was for something to sing; so many hymns, so many tunes, stirring, elevating, experimental. The supply was not slack: Isaac Watts, the schoolmaster's son at Southampton, taunted, it is said, by his father for his fastidious objections to the New Version (then really new), vindicated himself by writing off with great rapidity his own metrical Psalms and original Hymns. The example once set, and the demand increasing with the spread of the revival under the Wesleys, a deluge of hymns was poured out on the land. Charles Wesley alone contributed six hundred; Dr. Doddridge, the two Battyes, Cennick, Hart, Steele, Toplady, and others, produced each a separate volume of their own; and a multitude of less prolific writers swell the chorus up to the early part of the present century.

The very circumstance of Methodists having adopted hymns kept the Churchmen of those days more strictly to metrical psalms, and it was long before they raised their courage to throw overboard 'Tate and Brady,' with all the respectable Church-and-State associations attached to them, and ventured to spoil the Egyptians by using hymns from Bethesda. But by degrees the Wesleyan and other like hymns gained a more acknowledged entrance into the Church, and indicated the possibility of some improvement upon the metrical psalms. This was a great step, and for some years Church people were satisfied; but such a feeling could not last; for only so long as Churchmen were content to ignore the order and rationale of their own Prayer-book could they be content to use a collection of hymns from which, more or less intentionally, all that harmonised with the spirit and arrangement of our services had been excluded.

The Nonconformists, for the most part, had written the hymns to *supplant* the Prayer-book; the Churchman attempted with the same hymns to illustrate it; and the result was, that the more he came to understand and appreciate the latter, the more hopeless he found it to adhere to the former.

But during the first quarter of the present century hymns of a character rather better suited to his purpose began to be written, as those by James Montgomery and Bishop Heber, whose hymns were the means of calling our attention to the subject at the time. But in both of them poetry too frequently was aimed at to the loss of simplicity; and the spirit of the Prayer-book was not quite caught by either the layman or the bishop.

Such or nearly such were the English hymns which presented themselves

themselves to the collector when Mr. Hall made the first distinct attempt, under the auspices of the late Bishop of London, to compile a Church Hymn-book. His idea was that the hymns already in use might be arranged to accord with the weekly services of the Church, and, imperfect as his book was, an immense sale has proved that it went some way towards satisfying an acknowledged want. But it was imperfect in two respects. In the first place, the editor misapprehended the principle of our weekly services: instead of seeking the leading point around which the Lessons, Epistle, Gospel, and Collect of each Sunday and Holyday are grouped, and which they combine to enforce, and following out the narrative course of the Christian year as a whole, he merely looked out the contents of each Lesson, Epistle, and Gospel, independently one of another, or some striking text in each, and set against it the hymn most nearly touching upon it. This was his mistake, the other was his misfortune. The Methodist hymns, which formed the staple of his materials, and most of the modern hymns, were not written for our services, and it could hardly be expected that they would fall in with them very well. The labour and ingenuity by which Mr. Hall discovered any special connection between the hymns and the services must have been very great; to us to discover it now, when pointed out, requires not a little pains.

Seeing the blemishes of this first experiment, and the vain attempts at improvement which followed it, the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, following up a suggestion in our former article, undertook the preparation of a Hymn-book. The error in principle, to which we have alluded, was here avoided; but practically, from having few new sources to draw from, the improvement is less marked than could be wished, and the barbarous curtailing of good hymns (for want, we suppose, of courage to break boldly enough through the old Procrustean system of 'three verses and the "Gloria Patri,"' which the prolixity and pointlessness of Tate and Brady had entailed upon us) is very disappointing. However large the circulation of these two books, they left many persons unsatisfied. What the Society had failed to do well was taken up by numberless individuals, some to do better, many worse; and there cannot be less than two hundred hymnals now in use, all published within the last thirty years.

So far up to the present time. Most happily and most wisely, the subject has been left hitherto to individuals to work out. The field has been left open, and an inducement thereby offered to all to work freely and do their best. We have thus obtained a large number of hymns of an improved tone, and showing a more intimate

intimate acquaintance with the subject generally. A very slight comparison of what we have and what we know now with the resources and knowledge of thirty years ago will satisfy us that, in spite of all the disadvantages of the present system, much good has come of it. If it has left much to be done—perhaps much to be undone—yet it has done not a little already; as may be seen by the great improvement manifested in the interesting collection of ‘Hymns Ancient and Modern’ which stands last upon our list. Numberless hymns have been thus elicited, original and translated, which would never have seen the light under other circumstances; they have been sifted through the various tastes of compilers, and tested further by being submitted to popular use. Some have fully established their popularity, some have been as clearly rejected. But a multiplicity of collections quite overwhelming—consequent confusion and corruption of hymns—a breach of uniformity more vexatious now than ever, because of the easy intercourse between different localities—charges of heterodoxy—appeals to the Bishops—suppression of hymns—platform tirades and newspaper controversies—all together cry aloud for some ‘amendment and regulation.’

Complaints against many of the existing Hymn-books are but too well founded. We should rather eschew the responsibility of disturbing the confidence of congregations by pointing out, without being able to remedy, the graver errors of doctrine in the books put into their hands; but offences most glaring against taste, reverence, consistency, and even grammar, abound to an incredible extent. In the first place, it is scarcely too much to say that most compilers have started without any clear conception of what is a hymn. It is an error as old as the days of St. Augustine, who has laid down a definition of a hymn which, if applied to many of our books, would leave behind a very small residuum. A hymn, he tells us, must be ‘*praise—the praise of God—and this in the form of song.*’

That hymns should be addressed *to God* one would not expect to find doubted; yet practically this rule has been set aside, not only by those whose doctrine and custom sanction invocations of saints, but by others who have been led to do so by mere love of poetry. Bishop Heber frequently fell into this snare, as in his

‘Brightest and best of the sons of the morning,
Dawn on our darkness and lend us thine aid;
Star of the East the horizon adorning,
Guide where our Infant Redeemer is laid.’

How surprising it is that Pope’s celebrated apostrophe to his soul—

‘Vital spark of heavenly flame!’ &c.—

and

and Toplady's

'Deathless Principle! arise!' &c.—

should ever be admitted as appropriate to the worship of God, grand though they be as poetry. And this brings us to the third point in the definition, namely, that a hymn must be in the form of *song*; for song is not poetry.

Addison's well-known paraphrase—

'The spacious firmament on high,
With all the blue ethereal sky,
And spangled heavens, a shining frame,
Their Great Original proclaim,' &c. &c.—

if it is poetry, is certainly not song, yet has been brought by old associations into many Hymn-books.

Happy would it be both for writer and reader if these were the only offences against which we have to protest. It is a painful thing to speak reproachfully of labours of love, when they are spoilt and tend to spoil by errors of taste and judgment; yet the hidden wound is the most dangerous, and to be cured must be uncovered; and our proposed amendment of hymns ought not to be marred by passing over the faults of well-intentioned but ill-judging compilers.

The following breaches of good taste and reverence must be truly lamentable in their effects on the undisciplined mind, and as truly repulsive to persons of education:—

'The world, with Sin and Satan,
In vain our march opposes;
By Thee we shall break through them all,
And sing the song of Moses.'

'My God, till I received Thy stroke,
How like a beast was I!'

'Lord, break these bars that thus confine,
These chains that gall me so;
Say to that ugly jailer, Sin,
"Loose him and let him go."'

And these, let it be observed, are from no obsolete collections, but from hymnals in use in churches, and advertised for sale within the last twelvemonth.

Another common fault in hymnals of a certain class is one which is inconsistent in Englishmen, whose national boast has ever been manliness, and inexcusable in Churchmen possessed of a Bible and Prayer-book, the language and tone of which are unequalled in noble simplicity. To deny a place to healthy sentiment,

timent would be to reject a gift of the Almighty ; but surely the following puerilities and prettyisms are unbearable :—

‘ The Infancy of Jesus.

‘ Dear little One ! how sweet Thou art !
Thine eyes how bright they shine !
So bright they almost seem to speak
When Mary’s look meets Thine !
Jesus ! dear Babe ; those tiny hands
That play with Mary’s hair
The weight of all the mighty worlds
This very moment bear.’

‘ The True Shepherd.

‘ I was wandering and weary
When my Saviour came unto me ;
For the ways of sin grew dreary,
And the world had ceased to woo me ;
And I thought I heard Him say,
As He came along the way,
O silly souls, come near me !
My sheep should never fear me !
I am the Shepherd True.

* * * * *

He took me on His shoulder,
And tenderly He kissed me ;
He bade my love be bolder,
And said how He had missed me.
And I thought, &c. &c.

The following words put into the mouth of the Saviour, yet to be rehearsed by the people, are from a hymn on the text, ‘ She is not dead, but sleepeth :’—

‘ “ Refreshed by still waters, in green pastures fed,
The day is gone by ; *I am making thy bed.* ” ’

In keeping with these, but not with a duly reverent approach to God, are such epithets profusely applied to Christ as ‘ sweet ’ and ‘ dear,’ which no man would use in supplication to an equal of like nature with himself ; and the free use of the word *JEHOVAH*, ‘ the incommunicable name,’ for which the Hebrews and all Christian translators after them ever substituted ‘ Lord.’ The many lesser offences in English hymns must have often tried the patience, and disturbed the devotion, of worshippers ; but their name is Legion, and they set at defiance every rule in turn of grammar, rhyme, metre, and good sense. Here are two short extracts, the would-be pathos of which is most provoking :—

‘ Nay,

'Nay, I cannot let Thee go
 Till a blessing Thou bestow;
 Do not turn away Thy face,
Mine's an urgent pressing case.'—*Newton.*
 'Behold a stranger at the door!
 He gently knocks; has knocked before;
 Has waited long; is waiting still;
You use no other friend so ill.'

The manifest inconsistency of setting a congregation to sing hymns of a purely and personally experimental character has been most strangely overlooked. The earlier hymn-books teem with examples of this public self-anatomy, *e. g.* :—

'What sinners value, I resign.'
 'How long the time since Christ began
 To call in vain on me!
 Deaf to His warning voice I ran
 Through paths of vanity.'

Or Newton's :—

'Tis a point I long to know;
 Oft it causes anxious thought;
 Do I love the Lord or no?
 Am I His, or am I not?'

Can this be a legacy left us by the high-pew system, when men, curtained in oak and red baize, may have thought they came to church for their private orisons?

We leave to divines the errors of doctrine which have crept in unawares from all sides with the subtle flow of the metre,—the pill of heresy silvered with rhyme. It is a sad truth, that every one who was dissatisfied with the obvious teaching of the Prayer-book and Articles has sought a vent for his opinions in a hymn-book. The Calvinist has Calvinized, and the sympathizer with Rome has Romanized, the services of his Church by his hymns; and although good theologians would no more think of grounding an argument on a hymn than on an impassioned sermon, yet the unwary may easily imbibe false notions from either.

We leave to the working parish-priest the duty of guarding against fine writing to the detriment of that plainness of speech so essential to the poor, yet so unaccountably forgotten by those would-be specially-popular writers the Methodists, who think nothing of using 'ineffable,' 'omnipotent,' 'beauteous,' 'timorous,' and the like, instead of their common synonyms, and indulge freely in such stilted phrases as—

'Infinite grace! Almighty charms!
 Stand in amaze, ye rolling skies, &c.;

and

and often, in consequence, come down suddenly to a bathos all the worse by contrast, as—

‘Shout, O earth, in rapturous song,
Let your strains be *sweet and strong*.’
‘At sign of Him yon Seraphs bright
Exulting *clap their wings*.’

We leave to the church musician the innumerable cases of false accentuation, merely stating from experience that many lines convey a different sense, when accented musically, from that which the author, who only *read* his lines, intended; many are left with no sense at all.

It will be a pleasure to us and the reader to pass from this fault-finding, to discover, if possible, the causes on one side, and the remedy on the other. The primary cause we take to be this:—We have started to provide hymns without what military men would call ‘a basis of operations;’ and this not because we have it not, but because we have overlooked it. We have compiled hymnals *ad nauseam* upon all sorts of plans, while we had in our hands a frame-work asking to be furnished, and offering a principle for our guidance in which all agree. We went on as if a hymn-book was to be an independent service-book, instead of being a complement to the Prayer-book; and thus it happens that our hymns, in their tone, their style, their character, and their spirit, jar sadly with our prayers and lessons, whereas they ought to form with them an integral part of one well-harmonized whole. Take, for example, a hymn—one in itself unobjectionable—from the Hymn-book of the Christian Knowledge Society. Let us suppose ourselves in one of our old parish churches, the very type of liturgical worship, consistency, reverence, and solemnity, on the Sunday after Ascension, where the Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion Service are said, it may be chorally or not, so it be done in the spirit of our Church’s worship. All is in keeping until after the third collect, when Hymn 65 is given out; instantly we must shake off the sense of supplication with which we joined in the prayers, and make ready for

‘Salvation! Oh the joyful sound!
’Tis pleasure to our ears,
A sovereign balm for every wound,
A cordial for our fears.’

‘Salvation! Let the echo fly
The spacious earth around!
While all the armies of the sky
Conspire to raise the sound.’

And

And then, with equal promptitude, we must subside from this apostrophe (all well in its place) into a state of mind fitted for the solemn invocations of the Litany. Cases of this kind are common enough, if not quite so bad; and we leave it to the compilers who provide, and the clergy who select, the hymns, to decide who is most to blame. We would earnestly urge on both that every hymn to be telling must be well placed; that it must bear a relation, not only to the whole service of the day, but to that particular part which precedes or follows it.

It may seem to some that all these restrictions would result in the production of a book of which it might be said (as one compiler complacently says of his own) that any recommendations it may possess are chiefly negative (!); that so much concession to the prejudices of the many users would eliminate all that is striking and forcible. It may be asked in reply, Is this the case with our Prayer-book? Yet was not that subjected to the most rigorous revision, and does it offend in any one of the above points?

This, however, admits of no doubt, that there is much which is as it ought not to be in our present hymn-books; and the feeling is beginning to gain ground, that, if we go much longer without change for the better, we shall grow worse. A remedy has already been proposed, and it is this which has given rise to these observations. A motion was brought before the Convocation of Canterbury in the early part of last year by the Archdeacon of Coventry (and carried in the lower house, though afterwards thrown out by the Bishops) urging the formation of a Committee who should prepare the draft of a hymn-book with select paraphrases of the Book of Psalms, and with the Canticles pointed for chanting, 'which, if approved by Convocation, may be submitted to Her Majesty, with an humble prayer that she would authorise its use in such congregations as may be disposed to accept it.*' Passing over all minor questions as to the source and application of authority, we take the motion as broadly suggesting the permissive, but not enforced, use of a hymn-book bearing the 'imprimatur' of the Church of England. We are at a loss to discover whether this is meant to withdraw *de facto* the present assumed liberty of using others, and to throw back all who are not 'disposed to accept' this upon the Old and New Versions, which hitherto alone rejoice in a Royal licence.

There is no doubt at first sight something like hardship in such a use of the high hand of authority—such an arbitrary

' Overtthrow,
Crushing and pounding to dust the crowd below ;'

* The same proposition has since been submitted to the Convocation of York.

not only making of their books

‘But a mash’d heap, a hotchpotch of the slain;’

but freely selecting, revising, and rearranging the scattered materials to construct another, and setting at nought all respect for their sole proprietorship in their own labours. Their zeal, however, in the good cause, shown in their past exertions, may fairly be taken as an earnest of their public spirit, and a ground for supposing them ready to adopt the sentiment of Whitgift’s last words, prefixed by Bishop Mant to his own labours in this cause—‘*Pro Ecclesiâ Dei, pro Ecclesiâ Dei.*’ But there are other objections which have been raised to any authoritative interference in this matter; and there are good old prejudices too in favour of Tate and Brady, or the accustomed Hymn-book, which must be removed by some outweighing reasons in favour of the proposed step. Habit is second nature; and we have been so long left to ourselves, that what Mr. Blew calls ‘the patent defect of an authorised hymn-book’ is not patent to the generality of people. Yet if *purity of doctrine* is important; if the motto of our Church, ‘that we all speak the same things,’ is to be retained; if the *religious tone* of the people is to be considered, a very cursory glance at existing collections will satisfy us that some ‘regulation’ is greatly needed. And it would be but consistent that we, who have a prescribed book of prayers, should also have some restriction upon our hymns. Again: the Prayer-book is itself imperfect without its complement of hymns or anthems; for, to pass by the plain recognition of such singing in the Rubric, we may fairly test the perfection of anything by a comparison with its professed model, especially when to that model it stands in the relation of an offspring. Now it is well known that the pre-Reformation Prayer-books, after the pattern of which ours was framed, had their regular arrangement of metrical hymns throughout. And it was by no means the intention of the Reformers to deprive us of these, at once the most popular and least corrupt parts of the old services. Cranmer himself tried his hand upon the ‘*Salve festa dies,*’ but gave it up in despair, writing to the King, ‘that, as his English verses wanted the grace and faculty which he could wish they had,’ he craved of ‘his Majesty that he would cause some other to do them in more pleasant English and verse.’ It would further be difficult to discover a reason for our differing in this point from almost every national Church. Eastern and Western, Greek and Russian, Roman and Reformed, are richly provided by the constituted authorities, and why not the Anglican? One of our own offshoots, the Church in America, put forth her selection seventy years ago, and that in Scotland recently. To those
who

who think it an insuperable evil to shut out for ever, or at least for a long time, the inspirations of a future Ken, a Cowper, a Wesley, or a Keble, it may be answered that the same argument would have prevented the fixing of all prayers; and that hymns of real merit hereafter composed may be at some future time adopted by competent authority. To those again among the clergy who would say, with the late Mr. Newland, 'If I am not to be trusted in the selection of hymns, neither am I to be trusted in composing sermons,' we should say that not only does this also prove too much, for it is equally applicable to prayers; but there is a great difference between that which is spoken to the people as the expression of the preacher's thoughts, and that which is put into the mouths of the congregation to be rehearsed as the words of the Church in worship of which they are a part.

But assuming this question settled in the affirmative, and a committee of divines, poets, musicians, and ritualists appointed to this work, they have a task before them that no one can estimate until he has sounded the depth and width of the subject himself. Hymns have a history, a philosophy, and a literature of their own. Hymnology has its roots in the beginnings of history, its branches are co-extensive with Christendom, and it requires a special study which has never yet been bestowed upon it. It is a subject of no little importance to the purity and, may we add? the popularity of religion. Yet it is far from being a merely popular, transient, and superficial matter: the well-known saying of the politician, 'Let me make a people's ballads, and let who will make their laws,' has its counterpart in religion; for all leaders of religious movements, from Arius to Wesley, have borne witness to the fact that hymns are more powerful in fixing religious dogmas, and guiding religious feeling, in the minds of the people than any other mode of teaching. What is powerful for good may be, and often has been, more powerful for ill; and it is not always that which is positively evil, but frequently that which is negatively and poorly good, that works most harm. It is well then that we should keep in mind the necessity of a more extended view of hymnology in those who undertake the proposed task than has yet been generally taken of it.

A considerable number of the hymns already in use in the English language owe their origin, more or less directly, in the various degrees of 'translation,' 'paraphrase,' and 'imitation,' to the inspirations of other ages and other lands; but hitherto we have gone only as chance gleaners, and our gatherings have been scanty, and partially chosen; it is time we went as a Church and a nation, and boldly laid claim to our right, as members of

the great brotherhood, to a full participation in the common store. It will, therefore, be worth while to take a rapid general survey of the hymnology of foreign churches; and we hope our readers will not be startled when they are told that they are to be carried off to Jerusalem and Antioch, and brought home gradually by Corinth and Milan, through France, Spain, and Germany, in search of such apparently homely things as hymns.

1. The *Hebrew* hymns lay first claim to our notice, not on the right of their supreme antiquity, but as being enshrined in the Sacred Volume. They fall naturally into three classes: 1. The occasional pieces, scattered up and down the books of the Old Testament; 2. The authorized collection of the Jews themselves, known as the Psalms of David, gathered together, probably out of a vast number, of which the rest, being rejected as uninspired, have been lost; and 3. The hymns of the New Testament,—the Magnificat, the Nunc dimittis, and the Benedictus.

Of the first class Dr. Neale gives a catalogue in his 'Commentary' (Diss. I.) of more than seventy, as they are found arranged in the Mozarabic Breviary to be used as Canticles. The best known are the two Songs of Moses (Exodus xv. 1-19; Deuteronomy xxxii. 1-12), the Song of Deborah (Judges v.), of Balaam (Numbers xxiii.), of Hannah (1 Samuel ii. 1-10), and of Joseph (Genesis xix. 25-27). With the exception of the last, which is sung by the priest in our Burial Service, the Church of England has not adopted any of these; and very few are sufficiently general in their allusions to be fitted, without a somewhat strained interpretation, to our times and circumstances. Some one or two, however, have been successfully rendered in English metre, as, for instance, Isaiah's Hymn (lii. 7, 8), by Dr. Watts, in his

'How beauteous are their feet
Who stand on Zion's Hill!'

As regards the Psalms and New Testament Hymns, we are saved further trouble; for our Church has already appropriated and recast in our own tongue the whole of these glorious outpourings of the prophet-poets of the old dispensation, and, so to say, put the mark of Christianity upon them by the addition of the 'Gloria Patri Filio,' &c., at the end of each; the Psalter recited throughout by us every month, and the Canticles daily in turn. With this, then, we should have omitted further notice of Jewish hymnology; but that we fancy we hear some of our readers ask, perhaps with some indignation, whether we have forgotten the metrical versions of the Psalms. We have not forgotten them—we never shall: we know that every notion of metrical singing

in England was for two centuries founded upon and limited by 'Sternhold and Hopkins,' or 'Tate and Brady;' but surely the days of the 'versions' are numbered. Have we not already in our most beautiful Prayer-book translation all the sublimity, poetry, devotional pathos, and innate music of the Psalter, fully preserved in its original form, and that form not only the best suited to its spirit, but in its rhythmical cadence and fitness for musical recitation unequalled by the smoothest metre? The world is indebted to our own Bishop Lowth for the discovery that the Psalms (and we may add the Canticles) are written in a most complete system of rhythmical arrangement, guided not by sound but by sense—thought answering to thought, and sentence to sentence, instead of line to line, and ending to ending. The 96th Psalm and the Magnificat have been pointed out as good examples, especially the 7th and 8th verses of the latter, which are cases of antithetical parallelism:—

He hath put down from their seat	=	And hath exalted.
The mighty	=	The humble and meek.
The hungry	=	The rich.
He hath filled with good things	=	He hath sent empty away.

Most happily for us, this character of the originals has been admirably retained in our Authorized Versions, both in the Bible and Prayer-book; and one cannot help feeling the fitness of their parallel structure for the antiphonal chanting of our choirs; and, without doubt, these were written for some like method of singing (*see* 1 Samuel xviii. 7); but this very fitness for the one makes them unfit for the other method; for how improbable, and indeed impossible, it must be, as the learned and judicious Archdeacon Evans observes, that a rhythmical structure of parallel thoughts should co-exist with a metrical structure of words! Let any one, for instance, seek—it will be in vain—for any marked parallelism in Tate and Brady's metrical Magnificat.

We readily allow that here and there a happy paraphrase, whether from the Old and New Versions, or from the many others that have appeared at different times, might claim a place as an independent hymn, including of course the 'Old Hundredth;' but we must confess that we see little reason to dwell longer upon the metrical Psalms as a source for supplying any considerable portion of such a collection as we need, and still less as having any claim to stand as a distinct branch of our hymnology, as contemplated in the motion of Archdeacon Sandford mentioned above. It is, no doubt, their Scriptural origin that has led hitherto to this distinction; but this same reasoning would

include all the Scotch and other paraphrases of passages of Scripture, such as Morrison's—

‘The race that long in darkness sat;’

the hymn—

‘Thou God, all honour, glory, power,’

from the Revelations; and,

‘While shepherds watched their flocks by night.’

Indeed the fact that the Psalms form part of the Holy Scriptures ought to make us all the more unwilling to subject them to the dilution which is unavoidable in rendering them into metre.

But we cannot dismiss the metrical Psalms without calling them to account for the objectionable supremacy which the organ has established for itself over the choir and congregation: we are convinced that if the words of our old metrical Psalmody had been at all worthy of their subject, they would have coerced the music to adapt itself accordingly; and we should have been spared the incongruity of the poorest and most prosaic, as well as the most bombastic lines of psalms and hymns being made a conveyance for such tunes as Cambridge New, Devizes, Portsmouth, &c.; if indeed such tunes would ever have come into existence.

Who could endure to hear and sing hymns, the meaning and force of which he really felt—set, as they frequently have been, to melodies from the Opera, and even worse, or massacred by the repetition of the end of each stanza, no matter whether or not the grammar and sense were consistent with it?—not to mention the memorable cases of

‘—My poor pol—
My poor pol—
My poor polluted heart;’

and

‘—Our Great Sal—
Our Great Salvation comes!’

In leaving the Hebrew Psalms and Hymns we make a great stride, passing from *Jewish* to *Christian* hymnology, or, to speak more accurately, from hymns in which Christianity is latent under prophecy and figure to those in which it appears as a present fact. From the very earliest date, after the day of Pentecost, we find the Church using certain anthems, mostly, as we might expect, taken from Scripture, and forming, together with the Canticles, a link between apostolic and post-apostolic times; being

being partly inspired, partly uninspired compositions. They include the Tersanctus or Triumphal Hymn—

‘Holy, Holy, Holy,’

from Isaiah (vi. 3); the Benedicite, or Song of the Three Children, from Daniel (iii.; see Ps. cxlviii.); and the Angelic Hymn,

‘Glory to God in the highest,’

from St. Luke (ii.), with and without the additions, as in our Communion Service, which was originally, and in the Greek Church is now, used as an ordinary morning hymn: to these may be added an evening hymn* corresponding to this last, and various forms of the ‘Gloria Patri.’ All, but one, of these have been adopted, we believe, universally throughout Christendom, and are to be found in all the languages of its public worship. But for the treasures of post-apostolic hymnology we must carry our search into the various collections indigenous to each branch of the Church; and starting as we did from the Holy City, we find ourselves first in that country the metropolitical honours of which she now shared with Antioch, and whose language had been already long adopted by her own people in the place of their native Hebrew.

2. *Syria* is rich in hymns; but they are as yet little known in the West, and we are scarce able to do more than draw attention to their existence. The metrical writings of the father of Syriac sacred poetry, St. Ephraem, are accessible in some measure to English readers through the translations of Dr. Burgess and Mr. Morris; and a selection from the Service-books of various dioceses are given with Latin renderings by Daniel in his ‘The-saurus.’ The veil is, therefore, as yet only partially drawn from them; yet as it discloses many hymns of exceeding beauty, it would be at the risk of much loss that we should neglect them. Moreover, we cannot forget that this language has, in all matters of religion, a prime claim to our attention as the language of the chosen people at the time of our Lord’s appearing, and consequently that in which He spake as never man spake. ‘Hæc linguâ,’ says Bishop Beveridge in summing up its claims to our study, ‘δοξολογία Angelica modulata (utpote pastoribus intellecta): hæc promissio Spiritus et vitæ eternæ facta; hæc omnes Christi conciones prædicatæ; hæc Sacramenta instituta; hæc verba Servatoris nostri de cruce prolata; Verbo, hæc Ipsi Christo vernacula. Quis non edisceret?’

It is a remarkable fact in the history of Christian hymnology, that in more than one case the first incitement to hymn-writing

* ‘Lyra Apostolica,’ p. 79, ed. 1856; and Bingham’s ‘Origines,’ xiii. 11, 5, among

among the orthodox is said to have proceeded from the heretical communities which had separated from them. It was so in Syria. A certain Bardesanes of Edessa, founder of a school of Gnostics at the end of the second century, seeking a popular means of spreading his heresy, hit upon the experiment of hymns, of which he wrote near two hundred. His son Harmonius, a learned musician, followed vigorously his father's leading, and by the middle of the fourth century the pernicious effects upon the orthodoxy of the people had become so manifest that Ephraem, a monk and deacon of Edessa, upon the maxim that *'fais et ab hœre doceri,'* not only began to write orthodox hymns to counteract the influence of his opponents, but, turning their own weapons upon them, he set them to the tunes of Harmonius; and so successful was he that his hymns hold their place to this day, while those of his adversary are not. 'The Syrians,' says Asseman (quoted by Dr. Burgess), 'attribute to Ephraem alone 12,000 songs: the Copts 14,000.' So much for quantity. Of their quality it may be said that, tried by the standard of Greeks, Latins, or any other that we know, they will not be found wanting. Dr. Burgess only knows of two hymns extant of a date previous to Ephraem, namely, two by Simeon Bishop of Seleucia in 296; but those who followed him, Balorus his disciple, Isaac Magnus at the close of the fourth century, and Jacob Bishop of Sarug in 519, are all voluminous metrical writers, either of hymns or homilies; for these Eastern teachers poured forth their very sermons in verse, after the manner of their inspired predecessors of the same country, the prophets of Judah and Israel. Of this we have a noble example, now within reach of English readers through Dr. Burgess's translation, the 'Repentance of Nineveh.' The originals, though not these translations, are metrical. The following is an Easter Hymn of St. Ephraem:—

'Blessed be the Messiah,
Who hath given us a hope,
That the dead shall live;
And hath assured our race,
That when it hath suffered dissolution,
It shall be renewed.
Listen, O mortal men,
To the mystery of the Resurrection:
Which was once concealed:
Behold it is now proclaimed abroad
In this latter age
In the Holy Church.

For Jesus then became
A sojourner with Death
For the space of three days,
And set at liberty his captives,
And laid waste his encampment,
And returned [the spoils] to our race.
For before that time
Death by this was made arrogant,
And boasted himself of it:—
Behold Priests and Kings
Lie bound by me
In the midst of my prisons."

A mighty

A mighty war
 Came without warning
 Against the tyrant Death;
 And, as a robber,
 The shouts [of the foe] overtook
 him,
 And humbled his glory.
 The dead perceived
 A sweet savour of life
 In the midst of Hades;
 And they began to spread the glad
 tidings
 Among one another,
 That their hope was accomplished.

From the beginning [of the world]
 Death had dominion
 Over mortal men:
 Until there arose
 The Mighty One
 And abolished his pride.
 His voice then came,
 Like heavy thunder,
 Among mortal men;
 And He proclaimed the glad
 tidings,
 That they were set at liberty
 From their bondage.

Burgess's Syriac Hymns, p. 77.

There is a decided Orientalism about them, some of them having also a tendency to fall into the antithetic parallelism of the ancient Hebrews, which might interfere with their being transferred into Western metre. Some of the beautiful sentiments and figurative expressions of the Syriac hymnographers have, however, tempted us to try a metrical imitation of a baptismal hymn from the Office used at Jerusalem:—

'Glad sight! the Holy Church
 Spreads forth her wings of love,
 To welcome to her breast a child,
 Begotten from above.

Begotten at the font
 By God the Spirit's power,
 A gentle lamb from Satan snatched
 In childhood's helpless hour.

E'en now around the font,
 Unseen by mortal eye,
 Bright ministering angels watch
 The wondrous mystery.

There to receive their charge
 In readiness they stand,
 And long to guide its feeble steps
 To their own happy land.

And all the host of heaven
 Rejoice before the Lord,
 To see one child of fallen man
 A child of God restored.

How true o'er Jordan's stream
 The Baptist's words proclaim—
 "Behold, One greater shall baptize
 With spirit and with flame!"

Once by the stream discerned
 Were Gideon's chosen band;
 Now by the font Christ marks
 His own,
 Within His courts to stand.

Praise Him who made;—praise
 Him
 Who did redeem our race;
 Praise Him who us doth sanctify
 With pure baptismal grace.

Amen.—*Dan. iii. 226.*

Following the westward course of Christianity, we shall find that hymnology, like a wave of the sea swelling up in its wake, rolled successively through each country from Judæa to the Ultima Thule of Britain, rising to its height in each only when it

it was ebbing away in the last, and then falling again to culminate in the next.

We have seen that in Syria its golden age was about the fourth century, and perhaps rather later, Ephraem himself living till about 380.

3. Contemporary with him flourished the earliest *Greek* hymn-writer, St. Gregory Nazianzen; but he by no means represents the highest attainments of Greek hymnology, which did not approach its zenith till the days of Andrew Archbishop of Crete (712); St. John Damascene, *facile princeps* (about 750); his contemporary, St. Cosmas Bishop of Maiuma; and St. Theodore of the Studium (about 800). The magnificent canons, or long hymns, of these writers are the glory of the Eastern Church. Their compositions, together with those of other more voluminous writers of their own and the later and waning times of Greek Church poetry, take up nine-tenths of the contents of the sixteen large double-columned quarto volumes of Service-books almost wholly to themselves. But this immense field of research is as yet, like the last, but recently explored; and all we can do is to point it out with a few observations culled from the writings of the learned Dr. Neale, the chief English authority on the subject.

Their structure has been well designated 'harmonious prose.' They are by our standard prodigiously long; a hymn (or 'canon') consisting of eight odes, and each of these, again, of many 'troparia' or stanzas, from three to above twenty. Their character varies from the most exalted triumphal songs to the most prayerful and penitential aspirations. Take for example the first verse of an ode which has found its way already into an English hymn-book from a Christmas canon of St. Cosmas:—

'Christ is born! tell forth His fame!
Christ from Heaven! His love proclaim!
Christ on earth! exalt His name!
Sing to the Lord, O world, with exultation;
Break forth in glad thanksgiving every nation;
For He hath triumphed gloriously!' &c.

Or this, the celebrated 'Hymn of Victory,' sung immediately after midnight on Easter morning, during the symbolical ceremony of lighting of tapers:—

<p>'Tis the day of Resurrection! Earth, tell it all abroad! The Passover of gladness! The Passover of God!</p>	<p>From death to life eternal, From earth unto the sky! Our CHRIST hath brought us over, With hymns of victory!</p>
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Our

Our hearts be pure from evil,
That we may see aright
The **LORD** in rays eternal
Of Resurrection-light;
And listening to His accents,
May hear so calm and plain,
His own "All hail!" and hearing,
May raise the victor strain.

Now let the heavens be joyful;
Let earth her song begin;
Let the round world keep triumph,
And all that is therein!
Invisible or visible,
Their notes let all things blend;
For **CHRIST** the **LORD** hath risen,
Our joy that hath no end.'

St. John of Damascus.

Or again, this of St. Andrew of Crete:—

'Christian! dost thou *see* them
On the holy ground,
How the troops of Midian
Prowl and prowl around?
Christian! up and smite them,
Counting gain but loss;
Smite them by the merit
Of the Holy Cross!

Christian! dost thou *feel* them,
How they work within;
Striving, tempting, luring,
Goading into sin?

Christian! never tremble!
Never be down-cast!
Smite them by the virtue
Of the Lenten Fast!

Christian! dost thou *hear* them,
How they speak thee fair?
"Always fast and vigil?—
Always watch and prayer?"
Christian! answer boldly
"While I breathe I pray:"
Peace shall follow battle,
Night shall end in day.'—&c.

The following holds a middle place in its tone, but is an excellent example of the antithetical style of many ancient hymns. The translation is cast in the prose form of the original, and is from Dr. Neale's 'Commentary on the Psalms':—

'They cry to Him for strength,—and from Him that was wounded to the death, and weak with mortal weakness on the cross, they obtain might.

They cry to Him for wisdom,—and from Him that condescended to the ignorance of childhood they receive counsel that cannot fail.

They cry unto Him for riches,—and from Him that had not where to lay His head, that was born in the poor inn-manger, and buried in a given grave, they receive the pearl of great price.

They cry to Him for joy,—and from the man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief, they receive the pleasures that are on His right hand for evermore.'

This is a 'Kathisma' (sitting), or intercalated piece, such as occurs in long canons, when the people are allowed to sit. We cannot leave the Greek hymns without introducing our readers to the 'King of Canons,' as it is called, the Great Mid-Lent Canon of St. Andrew of Crete. But, as there are no less than 300 stanzas, it is impossible to do more than give a few from the first Ode:—

'Whence

' Whence shall my tears begin ?
 What first-fruits shall I bear
 Of earnest sorrow for my sin ?
 Or how my woe declare ?
 O Thou ! the Merciful and Gracious One,
 Forgive the foul transgressions I have done.
 With Adam I have vied,
 Yea ! passed him, in my fall ;
 And I am naked now, by pride
 And lust made bare of all—
 Of Thee, O God ! and that Celestial band,
 And all the glory of the Promised Land.
 No earthly Eve beguiled
 My body into sin :
 A spiritual temptress smiled,
 Concupiscence within.
 Unbridled passion grasped the unhallowed sweet :
 Most bitter—ever bitter—was the meat.
 If Adam's righteous doom,
 Because he dared transgress
 Thy one decree, lost Eden's bloom
 And Eden's loveliness :
 What recompence, O Lord ! must I expect,
 Who all my life Thy quickening laws neglect ?—&c.

If we might venture, upon a very short acquaintance, to name the characteristics of these canons, we should say richness and repose, and a continuous thread of Holy Scripture, especially types, woven into them. But we must move again westward, for with St. Joseph of the Studium (830), the most prolific of all, the 'Watts of Greece,' as he has been called, the full tide of hymnological power was going down in the East, while in the Latin Church it was fast rising to its future magnificence.

4. While Cosmas and his brethren were chanting with ease in the language from which the Church had from the first accepted her vocabulary, the first fathers of *Latin* hymnography, St. Ambrose, S. Hilary, Prudentius, and St. Gregory, had been struggling with the difficulty of composing in a language upon which these Greek words had to be grafted *de novo*. To make such words available in verse, they had to burst through the barriers of the old classic Latin prosody, and find some metre in which such indispensable Christian words as 'Ecclesia,' and many Latin words hitherto confined to prose, might be used to the glory of God ; but it was not till the days of Venantius Fortunatus (580), our own venerable Bede, and other still greater masters of the eighth

eighth and ninth centuries, that the new wine of Christianity, having 'burst the old bottles,' says Dean Trench, 'was gathered into nobler chalices, vessels more fit to contain it,' than the artificial measures of quantity and feet. After the invention of what may be called Church metres (ruled by accent) and the introduction of rhymes, the flood of sacred Latin poetry mounted steadily to its height, lifting up with it, for the admiration of all ages, the names of St. Peter Damian, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and his uncanonised namesake Bernard the monk of Clugny, Hildebert Archbishop of Tours, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Adam of St. Victor, and the works of many more, whose names are lost to us; for it is a curious fact that, whereas in the East the names of the authors have been almost universally preserved with their hymns in the Service-books, the Western hymns whose authors are known are the exception. The wonderful sequence attributed to Thomas of Celano, 'Dies iræ, dies illa,' 'the most sublime'—we give the epithets accorded by Dr. Neale—the 'Stabat Mater Dolorosa' (attributed to Jacopone), the 'most pathetic,' and that 'most lovely' poem of the Clugniac monk, so marvellously sustained through three thousand lines of rhymed dactylic hexameters, *c. g.*

'Hic breve vivitur, hic breve plangitur, hic breve fletur,
Non breve vivere, non breve plangere, retribuetur,'—

are all so well known through the translations respectively of Dr. Irons, Mr. Caswall, and Mr. Neale, that we need only mark down, for those who are not 'Latiners,' the first lines of each to remind them of these old-established favourites:—

'Day of wrath, O day of mourning.'

'By the cross her station keeping,
Stood the mournful mother weeping.'

And

'Brief life is here our portion.'

'To thee, O dear country.'

'Jerusalem the golden.'

All the last three being from different portions of the monk's poem.

The hymn of King Robert the Pious, of France, which seems to be considered by Dean Trench to contest the palm of loveliness with the last, is less known, and deserves full notice:—

'Come, Thou Holy Spirit! come;
And, from Thine eternal home,
Shed the ray of light divine;
Come, Thou Father of the poor!
Come, Thou source of all our store!
Come, within our bosom shine.

Thou of Comforters the best!
Thou the soul's most welcome Guest!
Sweet Refreshment here below!
In our labour rest most sweet,
Grateful shadow from the heat,
Solace in the midst of woe!

O most

O most Blessed Light Divine!
Shine within these hearts of Thine,
And our inmost being fill.
If Thou take Thy grace away,
Nothing pure in man will stay,
All our good is turned to ill.

Heal our wounds; our strength renew;
On our dryness pour Thy dew;
Wash the stains of guilt away;
Bend the stubborn heart and will,
Melt the frozen, warm the chill,
Guide the steps that go astray.

On the faithful, who adore
And confess Thee, evermore
In Thy sevenfold gifts descend;
Give them virtue's sure reward,
Give them Thy salvation, Lord,
Give them joys that never end. Amen.

Hymns Ancient and Modern.

Of hymns and sequences together the Latin Churches have an immense store. Not only have the Roman Breviary, Missal, &c., their full complement of them, but the numerous peculiar 'uses' of different dioceses in France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and England, afford a large additional number—some of very great beauty.

It is not so much our object to introduce the reader to the poetry of these hymns, as to suggest an inquiry into their fitness for our English services. For this purpose the plain, simple Christian songs of unpolished versifiers, deeply imbued with religious feeling, serve often far better than really beautiful poetry; and it has been truly said by John Newton that there is that in hymns which comes more readily from the verse-writer than the poet. It is necessary to bear this in mind in judging of the few hymns that follow.

The chief value of the Latin hymns, as a source whence we may supply our need, consists in the narrative hymns, a class in which we are singularly deficient. 'We cannot estimate fully the effect of the narrative hymns in keeping up a knowledge of the facts of Christianity among the people through the middle ages.'* Happy would it be for England if this 'knowledge of the facts' was not still sadly lacking among her poor, and among others too who have not the plea of poverty to excuse their ignorance. But it is so, in spite of national schools and Government grants; and good men have in consequence hailed with delight the translation and adoption of the narrative hymns of old, hoping to combine with the grateful praising of God for His dealings with man a more intimate knowledge and appreciation of those dealings in the worshippers.

The following verses from the 'Pange Lingua Gloriosi' of Venantius Fortunatus, as they appear in some of our modern hymn-books, are a good specimen of a narrative hymn, the original being placed in the 'first class' by Dr. Neale:—

* 'Christian Life in Song.'

*Sing,

'Sing, my tongue, the Saviour's glory;
Tell His triumph far and wide;
Tell aloud the wondrous story
Of His body crucified;
How upon the cross a victim
Vanquishing in death He died.

Eating of the tree forbidden
Man had fallen by Satan's snare,
When our pitying Creator
Did this second tree prepare,
Destined many ages later
That first evil to repair.

So when now at length the fulness
Of the time foretold drew nigh,
Then the Son, the World's Creator,
Left His Father's throne on high,
From a Virgin's womb appearing,
Clothed in our mortality.

Thus did Christ to perfect manhood
In our mortal flesh attain,
Then of His free choice He goeth
To a death of bitter pain;
He, the Lamb upon the altar
Of the cross, for us is slain.

Lo! with gall His thirst He quenches;
See the thorns upon His brow;
Nails His hands and feet are rending,
See His side is open now!
Whence, to cleanse the whole creation,
Streams of blood and water flow.

Blessing, honour everlasting,
To the immortal Deity;
To the Father, Son, and Spirit
Equal praises ever be;
Glory through the earth and heaven
To the blessed Trinity. Amen.

The next, from the Paris Breviary, is a beautiful Christmas hymn, narrating the scene at Bethlehem:—

'Jam desinant suspiria.'

'God from on high hath heard;
Let sighs and sorrow cease;
Lo! from the opening heaven descends
To man the Promised Peace.

Hark, through the silent night
Angelic voices swell;
Their joyful songs proclaim that "God
Is born on earth to dwell."

See how the shepherd-band
Speed on with eager feet!
Come to the hallowed cave with them
The holy Babe to greet.

But oh! what sight appears
Within that lowly door!
A manger, stall, and swaddling-clothes,
A Child and Mother poor!

Art Thou the Christ? the Son?
The Father's Image bright?
And see we Him Whose arm upholds
Earth and the starry height?

Yea! faith can pierce the cloud
Which veils Thy glory now;
We hail Thee God, before Whose Throne
The angels prostrate bow.

A silent Teacher, Lord,
Thou bidd'st us not refuse
To bear what flesh would have us shun,
To shun what flesh would choose.

Our swelling pride to cure
With that pure love of Thine,
O be Thou born within our hearts,
Most holy Child Divine! Amen.

Hymns Ancient and Modern,

Not even the most stirring experimental hymn could be more, if so much, to edification, or more expressive of thankful praise, than these touching renderings of the Bible story.

Let us give one more example; not a narrative, but a meditative hymn, from the commencement of the long poem of St. Bernard, '*Jesu, dulcis memoria*,' of which Dean Trench observes that it is, 'of all his poems, the most eminently characteristic of its author;' it is found as a hymn in the Sarum Breviary, '*On the Feast of the Name of Jesus*':—

'Jesu! the very thought of Thee
With sweetness fills the breast;
But sweeter far Thy Face to see,
And in Thy Presence rest.

No voice can sing, no heart can frame,
 Nor can the memory find,
 A sweeter sound than Jesu's Name,
 The Saviour of mankind.

O Hope of every contrite heart!
 O Joy of all the meek!
 To those who fall how kind Thou art!
 How good to those who seek!

But what to those who find? Ah! this
 No tongue nor pen can show;
 The love of Jesus, what it is,
 None but His loved ones know, &c. &c.*

Hymns Ancient and Modern.

The Latin hymns are, then, of that very character which is so rare in our English collections; they include a greater variety of subjects and modes of handling them than those of other nations; perhaps because their growth extended over a longer period—more than a thousand years—and over a larger area; and because, as is probable, they were the work of a greater number of writers; to them, too, belong the hymns which adorned the Old English Service-books, and in which our forefathers for many generations found a channel for their praises; and hence, probably, in them we find a greater harmony in tone and language with our present prayers, which owe their origin to the same books. Further, if our Church may be said to have pointed out any source from which her children should look for hymns, it is this; for the only hymn in metre which bears her authority is the 'Veni Creator' in the Ordination Service.

But our course now brings us to the decline of Latin sacred poetry, and we must be passing on to other peoples and languages.

One of the accompanying marks of corruption in the Court and Church of Rome and its dependencies was a return in art and literature—hymns not excepted—to the 'slavish bondage of a revived paganism.*' Not only did hymn-writers of the sixteenth century strive to write classical hymns, in imitation of Horace and his contemporaries, but the Roman authorities, with Leo X. at their head, set to work to reform, 'or rather,' says one writer, 'to deform,' the old hymns upon the same artificial model; and in the next century the vain and worldly prince Pope Urban VIII. was so eaten up with his classical and poetical attainments, that, not content with carrying on the follies of his predecessors, he attempted to remodel, in Horatian metres, even the songs and

* Neale.

apophthegms of the Bible, actually 'forcing the song of praise of the aged Simeon into two Sapphic strophes?'—*Ranke*, vol. ii., p. 128.

5. From such doings one is glad to be able to turn at this period to the honest, hearty, and real, if not over-delicate, outbursts of Luther's muse in *Germany*. Yet after all the transition is not very abrupt; for, although Germany (as also England) in the sixteenth century threw off with the Papal yoke the Roman Latin hymns, yet their leader, unlike the English reformers, applied himself at once to reproduce them in his native tongue; feeling, perhaps, that a musical nation must not be kept without musical expression for their religious sentiments, and that the old familiar melodies would carry their affections into the scale of reformation better than any new compositions. And so gradual and partial was the transfer of the Latin hymns into German, that there remain to this day several translated hymns and carols retaining their refrain, and sometimes interspersed lines and words, in the original Latin, as for example:—

‘*In dulci jubilo*
Nun singet und seyd fro,
Unsers Herzen wonne
Ligt in *præsepio*,
Und leuchtet als die onne
Matris in gremio.
Alpha es et O,
Alpha es et O.’ &c. &c.

The consequence of this is seen in a comparative scarcity of native German hymns written in the early period of the Reformation. Luther himself, however, besides translating or imitating the Latin hymns, some of the Psalms, the *Te Deum*, *Lord's Prayer*, &c., wrote several original hymns. The most notable of his paraphrases is that of the 46th Psalm, a rough, bold piece, which, with its glorious chorale,* is still the national hymn of German Protestants. A sequence of Notker (912), translated by Luther,† has an interest for us, as being used in English in our Burial Service; and we must not omit all mention of his original and striking hymn for Easter, ‘Christ lag in Todesbadem.’‡

From Luther till the seventeenth century Paul Eber and Nicholas Hermann were the only memorable writers; but then the pent-up stream, agitated and driven onward by the storm of the Thirty Years' War, rose rapidly to an overwhelming flood, of which Miss Winkworth's two goodly volumes are but a few

* No. 381 in Mr. Mercer's book, where it is divorced from its proper words, of which a translation is given in the ‘*Lyra Germanica*,’ i. 175.

† ‘*Lyra Germanica*,’ i. 237.

‡ ‘*Lyra Germanica*,’ i. 87.

drops. The most celebrated hymnographers of Germany are, during the seventeenth century, Heermann, Rist, Paul Gerhardt, Angelus, Joachim Neander; and; in the eighteenth, Tersteegen and Franck.

The translations of Miss Winkworth are now in every one's hands, and, together with those of her precursors, Miss Cox and Mr. Massie, have made German sacred poetry so familiar to English people that it is almost superfluous to give at length any examples, except by way of comparison with the Latin and other foreign hymnology. The chief characteristic of the earlier German hymns is a certain energy of expression, the impress, probably, of the rough and turbulent times in which they were written: this is especially marked in Luther and in Von Lowenstern, and others who bore the brunt of the religious wars. The following is said to be by Louisa Henrietta, Electress of Brandenburg in 1635, and is a general favourite:—

‘ Jesus lives! no longer now
Can thy terrors, Death, appal us;
Jesus lives! by this we know
Thou, O Grave, canst not enthrall us.
Alleluia!

Jesus lives! henceforth is death
But the gate of Life immortal;
This shall calm our trembling breath
When we pass its gloomy portal.
Alleluia!

Jesus lives! for us He died:
Then, alone to Jesus living,
Pure in heart may we abide,
Glory to our Saviour giving.
Alleluia!

Jesus lives! our hearts know well
Nought from us His Love shall sever:
Life, nor death, nor powers of hell,
Tear us from His keeping ever.
Alleluia!

Jesus lives! to Him the Throne
Over all the world is given:
May we go where He is gone,
Rest and reign with Him in Heaven.
Alleluia!

Praise the Father; praise the Son,
Who to us new life hath given;
Praise the Spirit, Three in One,
All in earth, and all in Heaven.
Alleluia! Amen.’

Hymns Ancient and Modern.

This

This hymn, too, which is said by Miss Winkworth to 'hold the same place in Germany that the Hundredth Psalm does with us,' takes one by storm with its buoyant joyfulness, and excites a strong desire to hear it sung to 'its fine old tune :'*—

'Now thank we all our God,
With hearts and hands and voices,
Who wondrous things hath done,
In whom His world rejoices !
Who from our mothers' arms
Hath bless'd us on our way
With countless gifts of love,
And still is ours to-day.

Oh ! may this bounteous God
Through all our life be near us,
With ever joyful hearts,
And blessed peace to cheer us,
And keep us in His grace,
And guide us when perplexed,
And free us from all ill,
In this world and the next.

All praise and thanks to God,
The Father, now be given,
The Son, and Him Who reigns
With them in highest heaven,
The One Eternal God,
Whom earth and heaven adore,
For thus it was, is now,
And shall be evermore. Amen.'

Hymns Ancient and Modern.

It is observable that, as the time approaches when in any nation the sacred muse is to depart, a tendency to personal, meditative, subjective writing begins to show itself; the truth of this with the Latins is recorded incidentally by Mr. Neale, and Miss Winkworth bears witness to the same at the present day in Germany. It began there as far back as the close of the seventeenth century with Johann Franck and Angelus, and was a distinguishing mark of that inimitable writer Tersteegen; this school is well represented in the second volume of the '*Lyra Germanica*,' from which the following, by Angelus, is taken :—

'O Love, Who formedst me to wear
The image of Thy Godhead here ;
Who soughtest me with tender care
Through all my wanderings wild and drear ;
O Love, I give myself to Thee,
Thine ever, only Thine to be.'

* '*Lyra Germanica*,' ii. preface, p. 6.

It would be an omission to pass unnoticed a collection of German hymns, emanating from a body whose influence had so great a share in exciting the Wesleyan movement in England, and especially in moulding its hymnology, as the Moravians or *Unitas Fratrum*. It was while sailing to America in 1736 that Wesley first fell in with some members of this community; two years afterwards he spent some time in Germany under the roof of their leader, Count Zinzendorf, himself a hymn-writer. Deeply impressed with their piety, he was the means in return of introducing them into England. Mr. William Burgess traces twenty-four of John Wesley's translations to Moravian and other German sources. If any of our readers have a taste for the curious, we can promise them a treat in an old book, published in 1754, by one of the so-called Bishops of the Moravians in England, entitled 'A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages.' It includes, among many eccentricities, a versification of our XXXIX Articles!

Doubtless there is much to interest any one who should trace the subject of hymns through the *Asiatic* branches, springing from the Syriac; and we know that the Greek hymnologists have their successors in *Russia* even to this day: witness the Canon by the late Archbishop of Odessa in his 'Acahiston,' translated in 'Voices from the East.' By far the richest treasures of Latin hymnology are found, not in the Roman Service-books, but in the outlying provincial and diocesan Breviaries, the Ambrosian (Milan), the Mozarabic (Old Spanish), the Gallican and German, as those of Amiens, Noyon, Maintz, Liège, the Old English 'Uses' of Salisbury, York, Hereford, and very many more. The author of 'Christian Life in Song' conducts his readers from Germany to her Lutheran offshoot in *Sweden*, and there introduces them to the original of Gustavus Adolphus' battle-hymn, composed on the field of Lützen—known better through its German translation of Altenburg (unless, as is sometimes held, this is the original), and to us through the English of Miss Winkworth—

'Fear not, O little flock, the foe;'

and to two hymns, not without considerable merit, one by Spegel, Archbishop of Upsala, 1714, the other by Franzén, Bishop of Hernösand, 1818. The author tells also of a 'fresh stream of song' now flowing in Sweden 'in a language which combines the homely strength of the German with the liquid music of the Italian.' But to proceed on our course,

6. In the rise of *English* hymns we find a remarkable illustration of the difference of character between the German Reformation and

and our own. In Germany the whole movement came from the middle and lower classes, and was only afterwards taken up by secular princes, and not at all by the hierarchy: consequently its leaders had to assume the guidance and furtherance of it as best they could, and to make way with weapons of their own making; and one of the most obvious means of grafting their doctrines on the masses was by giving them ready formulas in hymns. In our case, on the contrary, royal and political difficulties first blew into a flame the smouldering discontent; Kings, therefore, and Chancellors, Archbishops and Bishops, were its ruling agents; the people's grievances were considered, but their support and their consent were not needed; their feelings, therefore, were checked rather than roused, and very little was done for them at first beyond giving them the prayers and lessons in English. This, instead of increasing, rather diminished the popular element in public worship, as it took away the Latin hymns and did not replace them by others. Why they were not translated with the prayers—whether because there were no poets (Sternhold and Hopkins forgive us!), or because questions of doctrine and discipline engrossed all attention, or whether hymns were thought of no consequence, we cannot tell. This, however, is clear, that, the old channels of devotional poetry being shut off with the Latin hymns, our forefathers were left stranded, if we may so say, on the dry land of prose; and patiently they seem to have borne it. Crammer gave up, and no one else undertook, the task of translating the old hymns; and it was well left undone, if we may judge from the specimens of translations made at the period, and found in the Primers of 1545 and 1559, from the latter of which the following Morning Hymn is taken:—

‘Ales diei nuntius.

‘The bird of day Messenger
Croweth, and showeth that light is near.
Christ the stirrer of the heart
Would we should to life convert.
Upon Jesus let us cry,
Weeping, praying, soberly,
Devout prayer ment [mixed] with weep
Suffereth not our heart to sleep.
Christ shake off our heavy sleep,
Break the bonds of night so deep,
Our old sins cleanse and scour,
Life and grace into us pour. Amen.’

It appears, then, that even if unlicensed singing was used—and some think it was—during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., it was to a very trifling extent; and at any rate,

those who might refuse to indulge their love of singing at the expense of obedience were left without hymns till the reign of Elizabeth. And even then they obtained only a metrical version of the Psalms of David, by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others, which was published in 1562, and received the permissive authorization of the Queen. The qualifications of Sternhold for the task—which, considering his times, were not to be despised, including as they did a knowledge of the original Hebrew—are rather surprising in a Groom of the King's Bedchamber; yet at the same time, or perhaps rather earlier, Clement Marot, holding a corresponding office in the Court of Francis I., executed a similar work in French.

After this first attempt to versify the Psalms, for a very long period all the energies of England's sacred poets seem to have been expended upon a succession of new versions. Archbishop Matthew Parker* within ten years printed his, but it was never published. The versatile King James I.* was found at his death to have versified the whole Psalter, and his son Charles published and authorised it for use; Sir Philip Sidney and his sister the Countess of Pembroke—about 1580; Francis Rouse* in 1641; William Barton* in 1654; Tate and Brady* in 1696; Dr. Patrick in 1715; Dr. Watts in 1719; Sir Richard Blackmore* in 1721; Archdeacon Churton ('the Cleveland Psalter'); two anonymous translators—one in Oxford,† the other in Cambridge—and Mr. Cayley, among living writers, and others, to the number of thirty-two in all, have taken in hand the task—confessed by more than one of them at the outset to be *impossible*—of making an entire metrical Psalter. Besides these, the attempts, many of them very successful, to versify detached Psalms, are beyond number.‡

But to return, in search of original hymn-writers or translators of hymns; one of Sternhold's coadjutors, John Mardley (others say Sternhold himself, 'in a moment of unusual inspiration'), wrote the well-known 'Lamentation of a Sinner,' generally printed with the Old and New Versions. The metrical Psalms, however, seem to have monopolized all the talent for hymnography during Elizabeth's reign; for in a Collection of Sacred Poetry of that time, published by the Parker Society, there are very few other pieces written for singing, and none of them calling for special notice. Bishop Cosin has given us in his Book of Devotions both translations of Latin hymns (very little better than

* Besides Sternhold's version, all those marked with an asterisk have been by some sort of authority 'allowed to be used in churches.'

† Now known to be the author of the 'Christian Year.'

‡ Holland in his 'Psalmists of Britain' gives 'Records Biographical and Literary of upwards of 150 authors who rendered the whole or parts of the Book of Psalms into English verse.'

those in the Primers) and original hymns, of which the following is a fair example :—

‘ Who more can crave
 Than God for me hath done,
 To free a slave
 That gave His only Son ?
 Blest be that hour
 When He repaired my loss,
 I never will forget
 My Saviour’s Cross,
 Whose death revives
 My soul. Once was I dead,
 But now I’ll raise
 Again my drooping head ;
 And singing say,
 And saying sing for ever,
 Blest be my Lord
 That did my soul deliver. Amen.’

During the early part of the reign of Charles I. lived and wrote George Wither, and that sweet singer of the Temple, Master George Herbert, whose whole life was melody, and ‘ who sung on earth,’ says his biographer, ‘ such hymns and anthems as the angels and he now sing in heaven.’ Still almost every hymn of this period is excluded from modern Hymn-books by the complicated metres which were then in vogue, or by language no longer current among us. One hymn only of Herbert’s is, we believe, sung now, and that only in certain localities, beyond which its use never has, and probably never will be, extended. It begins :—

‘ Throw away Thy rod,
 Throw away Thy wrath,
 O my God,
 Take the gentle path.’—*The Temple*, 151.

The nation was not yet weary of Sternhold’s Psalms, and there was therefore no demand for hymns, except as aids to private meditation, and of such we find plenty ; for sacred poetry flourished very especially in those times, and rather later, in the writings of George Sandys, Browne, Crashaw, Giles Fletcher, and the great Milton ; and during the Protectorate, Bishop Jeremy Taylor in his retreat at Lord Carbery’s, Henry Vaughan, Francis Quarles, and others, kept up the succession, but more as poets than as hymn-writers.

Neither the supremacy of the Puritans, nor the return of the Stuarts, seems to have been favourable to the rise of hymnology. In the first it received a direct blow from the general overthrow

of

of the Church, and the introduction of Scotch paraphrases and John Knox's Psalms from over the Border; and in the second it probably found too little encouragement from the dissolute spirit of the times to enable it to recover from its depression. For so completely had the Puritans silenced Church music, and crushed it out, that at the Restoration it was found necessary to bring over a choir from Paris to conduct the services in the King's Chapel.* In 1668 John Austin, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn (whose brother William also had published his '*Devotionis Austinianæ Flamina*' in the last reign), published his well-known '*Devotions after the way of Antient Offices*.' They contain, besides prayers, a great number of '*Psalms*' of his own composing, after the model of those of David, in the same musical prose; of which Dr. Orton says, that '*such noble and sublime strains of devotion are not to be met with anywhere else but in the Bible*;' and placed at intervals are also metrical hymns, mostly his own,† of great beauty and still greater fervour, such as might be expected from one so transported with the love of his Maker as to welcome his approaching death with the repeated exclamation, '*Satiabor, Satiabor, cum apparebit gloria tua*;' and to meet it when it came with the cry, '*Now, heartily for heaven through Jesus Christ*.' One hymn of this period which deserves more favour than compilers in general have conferred upon it is that of the celebrated Richard Baxter:—

‘Lord, it is not for us to care
Whether we live or die.’

The saintly Bishop Ken was the only other whose hymns, written in this century, have formed for themselves any position among us; and of these, few are familiar with any besides his Morning and Evening Hymns, suggested, it is thought, by the memory of the '*Jam lucis orto sidere*' of St. Ambrose, which, as a Winchester boy, he had been accustomed to sing in the college, and to which his hymns certainly bear some affinity in character.

For the first fifty years after the Revolution the cold and worldly spirit which prevailed was calculated to stunt rather than assist the growth of *original* Church poetry. The old version of the Psalms, however, was beginning to loose its hold, and King William's chaplain and poet-laureate, after a sharp struggle, obtained the mastery for their '*New Version*.' But still the Church produced scarcely anything original; the '*Court*' approved of '*Tate and Brady*,'

* Newland, '*Confirmation Lectures*.'

† He adopted Crashaw's translation of the '*Lauda Zion*.' This book was '*reformed*' (for Austin was a Romanist) by Lady Hopetoun, and was afterwards edited more than once by Dean Hickey, who added several hymns of his own.

and the Church was content: with the exception of Addison's well-known 'When all thy mercies, O my God,' nothing occurs to us as having appeared at this time. Not so with the Non-conformists: hitherto they had patiently shared with Church-people the infliction, by prescription, of the old Psalms; but Tate and Brady had dispelled the charm; and Isaac Watts, as we have already said, unfettered by any feelings of respect for Court-influence, struck the note of freedom at once with his Psalms and Hymns, which Bishop Compton and Dr. Johnson could condescend to praise, but not to adopt. The prolific yield of hymns which followed this first opening, and increased tenfold with the Wesleyan revival, has been already spoken of in its bearing upon collections now in use in the Church; but there are some features in the rise and character of these hymns worthy of further remark. The multitude not only of hymns but of writers was marvellous. Independent of the labours of those unwearied Sisyphe who persisted one after another in the impossible task of versifying the Psalter, the number of original writers who put into the treasury of sacred rhyme, some their mites, but more their shekels, if not 'talents,' from the time when the Wesleys first moved, in 1739, to the time of their deaths, about fifty years afterwards, cannot be less, and is probably much more, than two hundred. Of course, the gold is scarce; but there are some exceedingly fine contributions to be picked out; and, considering the very narrow range of thought, which Mr. Montgomery attributes to 'a predilection for certain views of the Gospel,' their want of variety is not surprising. 'The high calling of Methodism,' writes one of their eulogists, 'is experimental religion. To *depict* experimental religion was the high calling of the *bard of Methodism*.' This title belongs *par excellence* to Charles Wesley, but the above statement will apply to all their hymn-writers. It was this personal and subjective side of the Gospel which they strove to bring into prominence by their hymns; and this is curiously illustrated by Mr. Burgess, though unconsciously, in his 'Wesleyan Hymnology,' where he expresses his gratitude to the writers, for that 'he has often been instructed and admonished, reprov'd and stimulated, comforted and animated, while singing these songs of Zion.' He measures a hymn by the same standard as he would a sermon, by its effects upon the feelings of the congregation; he does not look for—so does not miss—the 'Dei' of S. Augustine's canon; it appears to be but a secondary part of the Methodist notion of a hymn, that it is a *channel of praise from man to God*. One consequence of this reflective character in these hymns is, that a large majority

majority of them are written in the singular number, a thing consistent enough with this self-inspection by each person, but not with the united song of a congregation looking Godward; it is a sure mark of the late date of a hymn, being a point in which the moderns 'a moribus Ecclesiæ antiquioris quam maxime abhorrent.*' Even within the period of the Wesleyan movement this deteriorating tendency to personal hymns is visible; for in the earlier publications of John and Charles, especially in the 'Sacramental Hymns' (which, by the way, are so 'high' in their doctrine that their followers now repudiate them), the hymns are much more congregational.

In spite of these drawbacks English hymnology owes much to Wesleyanism, and not a little to other denominations. To Dr. Watts we are indebted for that famous hymn, the language of which unhappily is as open to criticism as its spirit is above it—'When I survey the wondrous cross;' and to another Calvinist, though a Churchman, Augustus Toplady, for 'the most deservedly popular hymn; perhaps the very favourite—very beautiful it is.' For such is Dr. Pusey's encomium, quoted by Mr. Pearson,† upon the hymn—

'Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee,' &c.

Dr. Doddridge, Cowper and Newton, and other voluminous writers of different denominations, must not be forgotten, though their number is too great for us to notice them individually.

From the Wesleyans themselves, as represented in their 'poetical Bible,' as their collection has been called, compilers for the Church have drawn freely; no church in England probably has not resounded with the hymn of the Welsh blacksmith, Thomas Olivers, and its popular, but questionable, tune—

'Lo! He comes with clouds descending.'

Olivers also wrote the fine lyric stanzas beginning, 'The God of Abraham praise;' and the origin of another hymn is traced to two brothers, also in a humble situation in life, the one an itinerant preacher, the other a porter, of whom the following story is told in reference to the composition of the hymn. The preacher desired the porter to carry him a letter. 'I can't go,' he replied; 'I am writing a hymn.' 'You write a hymn, indeed! nonsense! go with the letter, and I will finish the hymn.' He went, and

* 'Hymni Ecclesiæ,' p. 243. It has been contested in favour of hymns in the first person that many of the Psalms of David are so written; this was satisfactorily answered by the writer of the Article in the 'Quarterly,' July, 1828.

† 'Oxford Essays,' 1858.

returned. The preacher had taken it up at the third verse, and his muse had forsaken him at the eighth. 'Give me the pen,' said the porter, and wrote off:—

'They brought His chariot from above
To bear Him to His throne,
Clapped their triumphant wings, and cried,
"The glorious work is done."'

But we must proceed. In the beginning of the present century the impetus of the Methodist revival had expended itself; there was a lull, and then another stirring of the waters, but this time chiefly within the Church of England, by Bishop Heber, Dean Milman, Sir Robert Grant, Lyte, and Bishop Mant. But to the last-named prelate we owe a change which has gone far to revolutionize our hymnology, though in a good direction. Here and there along the course we have been following since the Reformation we might have found isolated attempts to translate some choice Latin hymn; Crashaw, Drummond, Dryden, and Hickes had each contributed one or two; but Bishop Mant went a step further, and, taking the Roman Breviary, translated, with few exceptions, all that it contained. This leading was followed with such zeal by Mr. Williams (who did the same by the Paris Breviary), by Mr. Copeland, Mr. Chandler, Dr. Pusey, Mr. Caswall, Mr. Wackerbarth, Mr. Blew, Dr. Neale, and many more, that there have been produced almost as many Anglo-Latin as new and original English hymns during the last thirty years.

And here several curious reflections arise. This resuscitation of the Latin hymns coincided in time with the remarkable Church movement at Oxford, identified with the 'Tracts for the Times.' As was the case with the Wesleyan revival in the last century, so with this Church revival, it gave an unusual impulse to hymnology, leading to the conclusion that there is a peculiar aptitude in hymns on the one hand for giving expression to the religious feelings of the writer, and on the other for the propagation of those feelings among others. Again, the Oxford movement was to a great extent a counter-movement, not in the sense of an opposition, but a reaction, or rather readjustment; therefore, whereas the Wesleyans, who sought new paths for themselves, sought also new hymns of a new character, the Church party, who aimed at recovering the old paths that had been lost, were naturally led to take up the ancient hymns. The Wesleyan, again, with a predilection for the experimental side of Christianity, found the spiritual food most congenial to him in the ecstatic raptures of the Methodist hymns; the Churchman, on the contrary, restoring, perhaps unconsciously, the balance, by
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leaning more to the objective expression of truth, welcomed the calm narrative songs of primitive and mediæval times.

It is not meant by this that the productions of modern Church hymn-writers are exclusively translations; far from it: the names of Keble, Neale, Moultrie, Monsell, Alford, Archer Gurney, J. H. Gurney, are of themselves sufficient to vindicate the claim of the Church in these days to originality; but this may be said truly, that the study of the ancient models has had a marked influence on these modern hymns.

Our own space and our reader's patience would fail us if we attempted to push out now into the Atlantic, and follow our emigrant hymn-writers in the New World, or even to dive into the recesses of the Scotch and Welsh glens; yet there they are to be found. The late venerable Bishop Doane, of New Jersey; the Rev. A. C. Coxe, of Baltimore; and Mr. Bullock, of Nova Scotia, are all claimants on our gratitude, for their hymns are found in several of our collections. From the Welsh Methodist, W. Williams, we have (a translation by him of his own Welsh original) the well-known missionary hymn, 'O'er the gloomy hills of darkness,' and 'Shepherd of Thine Israel, guide us.' From Scotland we have Logan's 'O God of Abraham, by whose hand,' and several others; and the Kirk is largely supplied with her vigorous paraphrases.

Our travels are over. We have spied out, not, we think, the nakedness, but the richness, of the lands. We have seen the works of the Anakim of sacred song; we have brought home of the grapes and pomegranates, not as thieves, but as having a right in them. Cut off though we be geographically from the rest of mankind, and separated, too, as to external communion, from the Churches of the Old World, still, we repeat, we must never surrender our claim as true Catholics to the common store of Christendom. Like Tennyson's Ulysses, we return home to our Ithaca to feel—

'I am a part of all that I have met.'

But with special reference to the practical purpose with which we set out—what is the conclusion to be drawn from all this as to the feasibility of some regulation and amendment of our present condition? Assuming that it must be brought about by the preparation of an approved and authorised hymn-book, there is little doubt that good as well as bad has come of past delay, if it is only that it has given us time and opportunity to look round us. But it is not less certain—as this hasty and superficial sketch will have shown—that our knowledge of the subject
is

is yet far from ripe; even the materials that now lie within reach are rough and unfit, without much more revision and rearrangement, to be worked up satisfactorily.

But let the English Church appreciate her position in this matter—a position such as no Church ever held before for undertaking this work; let her lay the whole world under tribute; let her rejoice in being able to take as she will of the soft utterances of Asia, and the deep teaching of the Greek odes, the terse diction and subdued fire of the Latins, and the bold energy of the Germans, and to weld them together with the fervent raptures of those at home who have wandered from her fold, and the chastened devotion of her more dutiful children. It is a great work; it is a great opportunity; we cannot but long for its accomplishment; yet we dread a failure. There is just so much already at hand as to tempt us into action; there is just that amount of half-preparedness to make us act in haste, and repent at leisure. There is a proverb—and we would write it over this subject—‘Wait a little, and make an end the sooner.’ It is unbecoming the dignity and high character of our Church to be ever making and unmaking her formulas; let her bishops and doctors then begin, if they will, at once, but with the determination to spare neither labour nor time, even if years pass away before they can with confidence lay before us a ‘Hymnarium’ worthy of our history and our language; thoroughly consonant with the tone and teaching of our Prayer-book; and such that the Church of our time may set to it her seal, and hand it down to posterity, a *κτῆμα εἰς αἰὲν* to future generations, and a lasting monument of the present.

ART. III.—1. *Papers relating to Administrative and Financial Reforms in Turkey.* 1858-61.

2. *The Turkish Empire in its Relations with Christianity.* By R. R. Madden. 2 Vols. London, 1862.

IN this nether world of ours it often happens that what is most talked of is least known. We like to have the sources of wonder well stirred within us. Life, in a physical point of view, is excitement. Emotions of wonder, by exciting our curiosity, quicken the consciousness of existence, and nothing is more productive of wonder than ignorance and mystery. Was ever country, for instance, more talked of, and written about, than Turkey? Yet in some respects, and those not the least important, Japan and New Zealand are better known to us than the Sultan's Empire.

Geographically,

Geographically, we have a fair notion of its outline by sea and by land. Historically, we are not without the means of learning by what succession of events, and by what inspiration, the Turks acquired so immense an extent of dominion. Commercially, we are acquainted with the principal products of Turkey and with those foreign articles which enter most into the consumption of its inhabitants. We possess even a general idea of the religious tenets and national usages which give more or less a peculiar form and colour to that complicated texture of races, creeds, languages, and costumes, which is pictured on our mind's eye as often as we think of the Levant. But when some passing occurrence, some political movement, forces our attention into a closer examination of the actual state of Turkey—of the relations, for instance, in which the Sultan and his people, the several classes of society, the Government and foreign Powers stand, respectively, towards each other—we find it no easy matter to obtain a clear insight into these various departments of so extensive and complicated a subject. Have we occasion to appreciate with correctness the causes of weakness, disturbance, and decay, which operate so powerfully on the Ottoman Empire, or the character and extent of those undeveloped resources on which the advocates of Turkish regeneration rest their hopes, we are sadly at a loss for information sufficient to enlighten our minds and enable us to fix our opinion on solid and practical grounds.

Our marked deficiency in these respects can hardly fail to expose us to serious errors. We are liable in consequence to form a mistaken estimate of the great interests which may at any moment be irretrievably compromised by our ignorance; and we are led to neglect the timely adoption of measures which might avert, or at least indefinitely postpone, a dangerous and threatening contingency.

As a proof of the extreme need of better information and more patient thought upon this subject, we are tempted to adduce the following passages (which we quote with the brevity prescribed by our limits), as giving a fair specimen of the temper in which this subject has been treated by Mr. Madden, not a stray occasional writer upon Turkey, but one who professes to appreciate the importance of the questions connected with the Turkish Empire, and has dedicated to them a fresh offering of two highly fattened and garlanded volumes, in addition to sundry minor antecedent publications:—

‘It is indeed a terrible calamity for mankind that the most powerful nation of the world, the one that could exercise by far the greatest amount of influence in favour of the interests of humanity in every quarter

quarter of the globe, should be disposed to adopt a policy, in its relations with Turkey, that its rulers dare not attempt to justify to themselves or to the world. . . .

'The cause of Turkey is, however, espoused, the character of its institutions vindicated, the tolerant spirit of its government extolled, the injured innocence of its religion in all its relations with the condition of rayahs strenuously contended for by Ministers of State—alas! for Christianity, even by ministers of religion, asserted in Parliament and in the Press, on the plea that British interests, which are those of civilization, are presumed to be indissolubly connected with those of the Turkish Empire. That maxim of *haute politique* was first propounded in the British Parliament by Mr. Pitt at the time of an apprehended rupture with the Empress Catherine; reduced to an official formula, in which all State wisdom devoted to our policy in the East is concentrated, it has been adopted ever since Mr. Pitt's administration by each successive government, to the great injury of the true interests of England and civilization. . . .

'It is high time, I say, for the people of England to determine that they will no longer suffer their understanding to be imposed on and insulted by the miserable sophistry and unmeaning jargon of the policy which this formula professes to express; to resolve they will not approve, and can no longer acquiesce in, statements made even by the ablest veteran statesmen of our times—that it is necessary for Great Britain, for the sake of the interests of civilization, to defend and maintain—and in that just and necessary defence and maintenance to fight for—the Turkish Empire.' *

Now we are not disposed to quarrel with Mr. Madden for having brought into strong relief the antichristian tendencies of Islamism, the personal vices of its founder, and the corrupt oppression which it has practically engendered wherever it has become the law of the land. But still less are we inclined to delve with him into the accumulated rubbish, the *testacean hill*, of antiquated prejudices and barbarous atrocities, which, even when they raged, were by no means confined in practice to the followers of Mahomet, and which the progress of civilization, and sounder notions of international interest, have at least thrown into abeyance. We cannot close our understandings against the natural innovations of time. The Turkish Empire has freely and formally taken its place among the civilized nations of Europe. Can we then in reason deny it those means of improvement to which even the remote regions of China and India are becoming from year to year more evidently accessible? If it be true, as we believe, that Christianity is the religion of civilization, are not its doctrines more likely to obtain a footing amongst the Mahometans when friendly intercourse

* 'The Turkish Empire,' &c., vol. ii. pp. 17 *et seqq.*

with them is conducted on principles of mutual advantage? Exposed as those of Turkey are to dangers and frequent collisions both within and from without,—insulated, moreover, by their creed when taken as the guide of their policy,—whither is a blind obedience to their traditional maxims calculated to lead them? When they shall have reached that stage of weakness and confusion which would infallibly tempt the ambition of powerful neighbours, where should we find a shelter for our commercial or political interests in that quarter, or how should we avert the war which duty, policy, and humanity would then concur to force upon us?

We should not deal fairly by the public if we pretended to supply the amount of knowledge required to enable them to comprehend in all its details the condition of the Turkish Empire. We can only hope to bring more prominently and distinctly into view such circumstances in the state of Turkey as are essential to a clear apprehension of the subject, and to place in their proper light those leading considerations which are best calculated to settle our judgment as to the affairs of that country.

We are stimulated by recent events to undertake this task, particularly by the death of Sultan Abdul Mehjid, and his brother's accession to the Ottoman throne. These unexpected changes have more than ever attracted public attention towards the seat of power in Turkey, and it is by no means improbable that a crisis of vital importance to ourselves, and to all Europe, may eventually arise out of their consequences.

The Turks are separated from us by so many barriers that, when we are summoned to give them a thought, our first impression is one of surprise that we should have any interests in common with them, or that we should entertain any wish either to press our advice upon them, or to step forward, at our own cost and peril, in their defence. Why, it may naturally be asked, even by those who can think more calmly than Mr. Madden, should a Christian state concern itself about the welfare of a people whose rule of action is the Koran? Why should those who live under a free constitution desire the maintenance of an empire governed on despotic principles? Why should a nation whose Saxon literature embraces the whole circle of knowledge, ally itself with a horde of Tartars—for such the Turks originally were—whose written idiom is almost exclusively confined to tracts and commentaries steeped in bigotry and alien from our conceptions of truth?

Yet, obvious and rational as these impressions may in appearance be, we cannot with prudence or safety adopt them as the ground

ground of our national policy in the Levant. Long before we had acquired any territorial footing in the Mediterranean, that spirit of trade and navigation, which belongs so emphatically to the British Isles, impelled us into commercial intercourse with the shores of Turkey. Those who embarked in the trade with that country required protection for their persons and properties against the violence of a despotic government, the cupidity of local authorities, and the prejudices of a fanatical population. We are indebted to one and the same great Princess for the Levant and East India Companies, which in their day, though now consigned to the common resting-place of human inventions, rendered good service to the State on no common scale of magnitude. It was in connection with the former of those companies, and in support of its establishments, that our first ostensible engagements with the Porte were contracted under the name of Capitulations. These and some additional treaties, which are still in vigour, constitute the legal securities of our countrymen for the enjoyment of justice and friendly treatment wherever the Sultan's power is practically maintained.

The charter of the Levant Company, though it originated in the year 1581, dates in its improved shape from the reigns of James I. and Charles II. The Capitulations, as now existing, date from the year 1675, but refer in several of their preliminary clauses to earlier periods, beginning with the reign of Elizabeth. The trade, which, thus protected, took root and gradually spread through the Levant, has, we all know, of late years taken much larger proportions. It now comprises the transit trade with Persia, and altogether stands at a high figure in our table of imports and exports, as annually presented to the two Houses of Parliament. It also includes our traffic in grain and other important articles of produce with the Danubian provinces and the neighbouring districts of Russia. The shipping employed in conveying such articles of export from those quarters, as well as the corresponding articles of exchange manufactured in Great Britain, must of necessity thread its way through the narrow, well-fortified channels of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. No inconsiderable portion of our trade with Hungary, and in general with the States of Austria, inclines to follow the same direction, and that tendency can hardly fail to be increased by the new and shorter lines of communication which, as in the recent instance of Kustandjee, promise to facilitate our means of commercial intercourse on that side, whether by rail or by canal.

MacCulloch in his valuable work, the '*Dictionary of Commercial Navigation*,' remarks that 'the trade between England and Turkey is of much greater value and importance than is generally

generally supposed, and it appears to be susceptible of an almost indefinite increase.'

He goes on to say that 'in 1825 we exported direct to Turkey, including what is now the kingdom of Greece, 13,674,000 yards of cotton cloth, and 446,462 lbs. of cotton twist; that in 1831 we exported to Turkey, exclusive of the Morea, 24,556,000 yards of cloth, and 1,735,760 lbs. of twist.'

'Plain goods,' he remarks, in speaking of Manchester, 'now form the half of our investments for Turkey; and it is impossible, seeing the extent to which articles of this sort are made use of in all parts of the empire, to form any clear idea of the magnitude of this trade.'

Ubicini, in his able 'Letters on Turkey,'* anticipates the eventual concession by the Sultan's Government to European foreigners of the power to hold land, as property, in the Ottoman dominions: 'Calculez,' says he in pursuing this idea, 'l'essor prodigieux que peuvent prendre en peu d'années l'agriculture et le commerce de la Turquie, sortie de son état précaire, dégagée des entraves qui la gênent, maîtresse de ses populations, et fécondée à l'intérieur par l'industrie et les capitaux de l'Europe, dont les armes la défendront contre les attaques du dehors.' '*Consider what a prodigious flight may be taken in a few years by the trade and agriculture of Turkey, released from its precarious condition, disengaged from the difficulties which embarrass it, mistress of its whole population, and fertilized throughout its territories by the industry and capital of Europe, whose arms will defend it from all external attacks.*'

In confirmation of these prospects, even under the existing system of Turkish law, we learn from the returns presented officially to Parliament that in the year 1854 our imports from Turkey, Moldavia, Wallachia, and Syria amounted in real declared value to 6,131,110*l.*, and from Turkey alone to 2,219,298*l.*; that four years later, namely, in 1858, the former of those two amounts had increased to 9,786,299*l.*, and the latter to 2,632,716*l.*; that, moreover, taking the account of exports of British and Irish produce to the countries specified above for the same years respectively, in real declared value, the amount for 1854 was 4,475,483*l.*, for 1858 7,188,528*l.*; and for Turkey alone 2,758,605*l.* in 1854; 4,256,406*l.* in 1858.

Experience and conjecture, facts and appearances, thus converge towards the same point, and warrant a steady belief that the interest our country has in the welfare of Turkey is not imaginary, but well-grounded, substantial, and progressive. Be it remembered at the same time, that in giving our support to the main-

* See 'Quarterly Review,' vol. xcviii.

tenance of the Ottoman Empire, to the improvement of its administration, and to the expansion of its resources, we promote the interests of a state whose commercial policy, at all times singularly liberal, was from an early period in advance of European legislation. MacCulloch, in his work already quoted, observes that, 'In almost all that relates to her commercial regulations Turkey is entitled to read a lesson to the most civilised European Powers.' Whatever may have been the cause of it, any superiority in so important a respect is highly to the credit of a government so constituted as that of Turkey. Ascribe it, if you please, to ignorance or to indifference—we must, nevertheless, admit that ignorance, which steps instinctively before others into the right course, possesses a claim to our good will, and that indifference, which opened a great empire to useful intercourse with all friendly countries, had at least the merit of not being repulsive in its character, or unproductive of much international benefit. But on either of these suppositions how are we to explain the positive encouragement given by the Porte to commercial adventurers from abroad, and carried even to the extreme of allowing the Ambassador and Consuls of each friendly nation to exercise an independent judicial authority within the Turkish dominions?

At all events, in so far as the Porte, however mechanically, acted on the principles of free trade, the advantage, which her adoption of them conferred on foreign countries, had the effect of diminishing that estrangement which mutual fanaticism had long engendered between the followers of Mahomet and the professors of Christianity. England and France, in particular, were not slow to improve the opening afforded by such liberality to a more cordial understanding between their respective subjects and the inhabitants of Turkey. The British Cabinet appears to have lost no opportunity of cultivating friendly relations with the Sultan. Its endeavours from an early period were directed, as occasion offered, towards the maintenance or the restoration of a state of peace in the Levant, and those endeavours became more frequent and active in proportion as the declining strength of Turkey yielded to the pressure of neighbouring Powers. Even the apparent exceptions offered by our policy in 1806, when in league with the Russians we sent a squadron to the Bosphorus, and in 1827, when we joined with the Czar and the Bourbon in founding the constitutional monarchy of Greece, were not the results of any unfriendly sentiment towards Turkey. In the former case, which was that of a fearful crisis in European affairs, we had to detach the Porte from a dangerous and unwilling subserviency to France; in the latter we aimed at bringing the

Porte into an arrangement which promised to have the effect of closing a breach in her dominions favourable to Russian aggression, and of realizing a system of reform required for the recovery of her independence and internal prosperity.)

Knolles, in his '*History of the Turks*,' which was praised so highly by Dr. Johnson, relates that in the year 1621 Sir Thomas Rowe, a distinguished diplomatist of that time, arrived at Constantinople with the character of Ambassador in Ordinary from King James the First. Among the important objects which Sir Thomas was instructed to submit to Sultan Osman, there figures an offer of British mediation between His Highness and the King of Poland, who were then at war with each other. In the discharge of this duty the Ambassador is stated to have used the following words on his Sovereign's behalf:—

'His Majesty hath commanded me to offer himself as a mediator of peace, to accommodate the late breach with the kingdom of Poland . . . which, if your Majesty shall hearken unto the rather for his sake, as your royal ancestor hath done in the like occasion, His Majesty will accept it as a respect of your love, which will assure and increase the commerce and friendship of your dominions.'

The Sultan, replying to the King of England, declares his pleasure in the following terms:—

'Whensoever on behalf of the Polacks an ambassador shall arrive at our high court . . . and shall desire our favour and amity, by the mediation of your resident now in our Imperial Porte, all matters shall be pacified and ended, and with a pen we will blot out all former differences; and the peace being so established, your instances and desires for them shall have grateful acceptance with us.'

His Highness's letter concludes with the warmest assurances of good-will and friendship on his part towards the King. It expresses a confident expectation that, 'as in times past,' the 'ancient, perfect, and acceptable course of friendship will be always observed and maintained.' In short, it is evident from a perusal of these passages that the mediation of England was acceptable to the Porte, that it had been used on previous occasions, and that both parties felt the value of each other's friendship—the one as taking a lively interest in the peace and welfare of Turkey, the other as liking to have an instrument of accommodation on which reliance could be placed in times of emergency.

The Turkish Empire, in proportion as its power declines, is exposed on every side to the encroachment of its neighbours. Even Persia, though a Mahometan country, yet differing from Turkey on points of religious belief, and greatly inferior to it in extent and population, is not a rival who can be safely despised.

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Since the last retreat of the Turks from before Vienna, Austria has succeeded in recovering much of the territory which she had previously lost in her wars with them; and although her habitual policy on that side is far from being aggressive, she would not be wanting in power to share the spoil, should Turkey ever be marked by others for dismemberment. Justly or not, the impression is general that France may eventually have an eye to Syria and Egypt; nor can any one be reasonably surprised when Russia betrays her impatience to possess the golden key of the sick man's chamber-door. For other Powers, who either participate generally in the Levant trade, or have a special share in that of the Black Sea, there would be little satisfaction in the transfer of the entire course of the Danube to Austria, or in that of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to Russia, whose commercial policy differs so widely from the commercial practice of Turkey. For us, who have strong inducements not to sympathise with Powers liable to such temptations, and who, moreover, are bound, in virtue of our East Indian possessions, to prevent the Isthmus of Suez from falling into other and rival hands, there can be no prospect less attractive than that of a dissolution of the Turkish Empire. Any compensation, which we might find it necessary in such case to seek for ourselves on the ground of international equipoise, would probably cost us dear, and prove, at the last, but little adequate to our wants.

Considerations of this kind have manifestly weighed with those who successively administered the affairs of England after the Revolution of 1688. We have already cited an early example of the policy thus recommended to the British Government by circumstances which are traceable to natural causes, or, at least, to causes independent of our control. Another, on a larger scale, is to be found in the later annals of Europe.

During many years—scarce less than twenty—the Turks had been engaged with Austria, or rather the Emperor of Germany, in hostilities generally disastrous to themselves, when England, in the reign of William and Mary, seconded by the States-General of Holland, mediated a peace between the belligerent parties. The treaty, which was not definitively signed till January, 1699, was accompanied with separate treaties between Poland, Russia, Venice respectively, and the Porte. The names of the mediating plenipotentiaries were formally inserted in each of the preambles.

Again, in 1712, it appears from a letter addressed by Sultan Achmet III. to Charles XII. of Sweden,* that England, together

* Cited in the fifth volume of Russell's '*Modern Europe*.'

with the States-General, had offered their mediation to effect a lasting treaty of peace between the Porte and Russia, which treaty is described as having received a full ratification from the two contracting parties. England and her colleague in the mediation are styled in this letter the 'ancient allies' of the Porte.

In 1739 the war, which had commenced between Russia and the Porte three years before, and somewhat later between the Porte and Austria, was brought to a conclusion, not indeed by the mediation of England, but with the assistance of France. The terms of peace were advantageous to the Sultan, whose arms had previously obtained more than one important success in battle over the Austrians; and hence it may be inferred that, if the British Government abstained from taking part in the negotiations for peace, they were actuated less by indifference to the interests of Turkey than by a well-grounded reliance on the strength of the Sultan's position.

The war, which broke out in 1787 between the Turks and the Russians, afforded the British Government an opportunity of displaying a very remarkable consideration for the interests of the former. They mediated between the belligerents, and even went so far as to arm in support of their own proposition—that the Porte should not be compelled to cede the fortress of Ocza-koff to Russia. In the Parliamentary debates of 1791-2 there is evidence of no small difference of opinion on this subject between the Ministry and the Opposition of the day. But the views of the Minister were supported by decisive majorities, and much of the difference is to be attributed to party spirit, then running high.

In tracing the policy of England towards the Ottoman Empire from early times, we now reach a period when new opinions on the most important social questions, raised chiefly in France during the last century, and brought practically into play by the Revolution of 1789, gave their own peculiar character to passing events, and when everything in public life took colour from the passions engaged on the one side or on the other. Our expedition to Egypt at the close of the last century originated, no doubt, in our state of war with France. But would not our friendly concern for Turkey, and the interest we felt in preventing the transfer of Egypt to another Power, have alone induced us to oppose the progress of Buonaparte's arms? The Turks, at least, evinced no jealousy of our successes, and the co-operation of their forces with ours appears to have been cordial and effective. A few years later, indeed, the increased necessity of making head against a Power which set no bounds to its ambition and hatred

hatred of British independence, engaged us for Russian objects in a quarrel with our old Mahometan allies. Yet history shows that no sooner had Russia been forced by the French Emperor to abandon her connection with us than we hastened to open negotiations for peace with the Turks, and that, much as they stood in fear of France, they finally received our plenipotentiary, and concluded a treaty with him. Nor can it be forgotten that, while we were still in a formal state of war with Russia, the Porte requested our mediation for the settlement of her own differences with the Czar, and that, by aid of confidential communications between the British Embassy at Constantinople and the Russian commanders in Wallachia, the Treaty of Bucharest was concluded in May, 1812.

The events which accompanied the Hellenic war of independence, though often in appearance and in effect hostile to Turkey, were certainly not so in spirit on the part of England. The war in its origin was kindled by internal fermentation, fanned, it may well be supposed, by Russian sympathy, and something more. Our intervention, though friendly to the Greeks, was in truth still more friendly to the Turks, inasmuch as it was directed to the acceptance of a proposition calculated to limit sacrifices which could not be entirely avoided on their part. The Porte, notwithstanding the massacres committed under her authority at Constantinople and Scio, might have settled the affairs of Greece by accepting conditions grounded on the concession of an independent administration for the Morea, with the establishment of Turkish garrisons in the strong places of that peninsula. Sultan Mahmoud, deceived by diplomatic misrepresentations and his own self-confidence, determined otherwise, and the results were not only the institution of a Greek monarchy, but to our great regret the battle of Navarino and the Treaty of Adrianople as preliminaries to that event.

It was not long before we displayed the true character of our policy in the Levant. In the year 1840, at the imminent risk of a war with France, we bombarded St. Jean d'Acre, and helped to drive the forces of Mehemet Ali out of Syria. Fourteen years later, at the price of much blood and treasure, we declared war against Russia for the protection of the Porte, and undertook, in concert with France, those powerful expeditions to the Crimea which terminated so brilliantly for us and our allies.

The fall of Sebastopol, and the act of pacification which followed, have had the effect of placing us in a new position towards the Ottoman Empire. For the first time in history the Porte associated itself by means of a solemn treaty with that international system of policy which has long prevailed among the

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Powers of Christendom, and we contracted an express and formal engagement to maintain the independence and integrity of the Sultan's recognised dominions. We are no longer exposed, as heretofore, to the mere hazard of having, in virtue of a traditional policy, to step forward at our own convenience and discretion in support of Turkish interests when threatened with some impending danger. We are henceforward bound by the distinct, imperative obligation of a guaranty, as in the case of Portugal, to redeem the pledge we have given in concert with our allies. Should any aggression be made on the territories of Turkey, we could not in honour evade the appeal which would doubtless be made to our good faith, even if it were to involve us in hostilities with an aggressive Power, or an aggressive Coalition. It may be said that such a contingency is remote or improbable. But let us remember that what has happened already more than once may at any time happen again. What in earlier times required a long period and an unusual concurrence of circumstances to bring about, may in these days of frequent innovation, of rapid movement, and of almost morbid impatience, be at our very doors before we are more than vaguely warned of its approach. Is this a fanciful representation? Let us test it by the experience of facts. Who in the first week of February, 1848, foresaw that the political movement in France announced more than the overthrow of a ministry and some extension of the popular franchise; that before the close of the month not only a sovereign but a dynasty would be expelled from the throne and realm of France; and that a republic would as suddenly be established on the ruins of the exploded monarchy? Who could have imagined that in little more than eight weeks from the period of those events Berlin would be in the hands of its populace, Vienna at the mercy of its students and volunteers, Metternich an exile and the Pope a fugitive? Who among those who went to bed in authority on the night which preceded the famous *coup d'état* at Paris suspected that by daylight next morning he would be a prisoner or a convict, holding his liberty and his life at the will of a citizen, who had just before sworn fidelity to the Commonwealth over which he presided? Let us not forget that a few words addressed by the French Emperor to the Austrian ambassador at his Court on New-Year's Day in 1859 gave to Europe the first intimation of a war which in less than six months made the dream of Italian resurrection a reality; and that the colossal struggle, now frantically raging in America from one end of the Union to the other, was unperceived by European forethought less than a year ago, and was then, even to American vigilance, no bigger than the prophet's embryo cloud on a remote horizon.

horizon. Did not the massacres in Syria come upon us by surprise? Did we not feel the necessity of hastening to assist in their suppression? Were we not placed in the alternative of either sending out an expedition ourselves, or relying on the arms and good faith of a rival Power? Have we now any substantial security against the recurrence of similar horrors, of a similar necessity, and a similar hazard?

But those who respect the faith of treaties, and acknowledge the claims of international law, may give full credit to others for acting upon the same principles. Such parties may consequently find in the terms agreed upon at Paris a sufficient barrier against any danger to which the Ottoman Empire might otherwise be liable from inherent weakness or habitual misgovernment. For our own part, we should be glad to share this confidence, and to find it borne out by the consistent practice of nations. We fear, however, that experience, which cannot be discarded from political calculations with safety, points but too often in a contrary direction. Some temporary pressure or change of political relations will never be wanting to excuse a loose attention to formal engagements. Duty has the pliancy of a sentiment; interest operates with the force of a natural law. When the wind is too strong for plain sailing, we take in our canvas, and drive before the gale sometimes even under bare poles. The Congress of Vienna has something to teach us in this respect. Never were the interests of human society more generally or more deeply concerned than when that imposing assembly sat in judgment on the collisions of Europe. Never did plenipotentiaries meet under circumstances of greater solemnity. Never was there a louder call for honest dealing and durable settlement—for that kind of policy, wise as generous, which lays a broad foundation on interests common to all the parties, and of which it must be allowed that our own country set an example worthy of more general imitation. Lo! half a century has not elapsed since the completion of its labours, and where are now the results of them? Can any one deny that they have become little more than a record and a name? Have they held good in Italy? Have they prevented the territorial aggrandisement of France? Have they protected the rights of Switzerland? Have they not been openly violated or tacitly disregarded in favour of the very parties whom they were expressly intended to restrain? When the Emperor Nicholas suggested the dismemberment of Turkey, was he not bound to that treaty which in 1841 declared the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in its integrity to be a point of solemn agreement amongst the parties who signed it? During the negotiation of the last Treaty of Paris, in 1856, and since its conclu-

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sion, have not appearances in some measure warranted the prevailing impression that France and Russia were prepared, however cautiously, to act in concert, and by a joint clandestine action to bring on a solution of the Eastern question in their own sense? On a distant and very different theatre, have more than seventy years of brotherhood in the same constitutional system prevented the two great divisions of Washington's Union from tearing their closest ties asunder, and treating each other, respectively, as tyrants and rebels, the former enforcing and the latter dissolving their mutual obligations, with equal injustice and questionable faith?

There is but too much reason, moreover, to apprehend that the guaranty of 1856, far from holding good in the hour of trial, may prove a snare to the Turks as well as to ourselves, without furnishing any real security against the dangers to which their dilapidated empire is exposed from other quarters. They, in their reliance on the treaty, are tempted to neglect the improvement of their internal resources, while we, confiding in the honest sincerity of our purpose, are disinclined to counteract their negligence by our own effective and well-timed exertions.

A very important interest comes in aid of the duties prescribed to us on behalf of Turkey by our own obligations under the late treaty of peace. We are dependent on the Porte for our most direct and speedy communications with India. In proportion as Her Majesty's dominions in that country become identified with the Government at home, it is desirable that the establishment of intercourse between both should be, as much as possible, rapid and sure. Whether the telegraphic wires, and eventually the conveyance by steam, be carried over the Isthmus of Suez, or along the valley of the Euphrates, both lines must stand in need of Turkish protection; and it is evident that whatever tends to weaken or endanger that protection must be injurious to our interests in no common degree.

Let us imagine Egypt in the possession of a Power whose population, active, warlike, intelligent, and ambitious, is ever prone to entertain a jealous and not unfrequently a hostile feeling towards England. The Mediterranean shores of Egypt are so well fortified—thanks to the skill of French engineers—that whether the Viceroy were to raise the standard of independence, or to be overpowered by foreign stratagem, we should have little chance, and the Porte still less, either of bringing him to order, or of rescuing him from the toils, except, perhaps, from the side of Syria, and not even there, if the famous canal, with its intended system of defences and its magnificent breadth of water, were brought into complete operation.

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In the time of the late tremendous mutiny in India we should have acted with more immediate effect if a continuous line of electric wires had been at our disposal; and how much greater would have been our difficulties, had the passage by Suez been closed to our despatches and our officers—had Sir Colin Campbell, for instance, been compelled to reach the scene of his future triumphs by a voyage round the Cape! The case, as here supposed, may be improbable; the very supposition of it may be unjust: but, when such momentous interests are at stake, it is our business to keep a good look-out, and our bounden duty to take early precautions against the worst that may happen in course of time.

These eventualities, remember, are to be taken in connection with the magnitude of their consequences, should they at any time occur. We must take them also in connection with the requirements of our trade in those inland seas which bathe the extensive coasts of European and Asiatic Turkey, with the vast political interests which may be said to constitute us the natural supporters of the Ottoman Empire, and with the treaty obligations which, if they be allowed to come practically into force, must sooner or later involve us in many perilous embarrassments and costly sacrifices. Our minds are thus involuntarily driven into an inquiry, bristling indeed with obstacles, but also full of interest and instruction. What, we ask, is the real condition of that empire, in whose destiny we cannot but feel that our country is deeply concerned? How far is the prevailing opinion of its decay and approaching downfall borne out by facts? What are the nature and extent of its remaining resources? By what means can they be so drawn out as to avert or postpone indefinitely its utter ruin and dismemberment? These questions, in truth, are not of easy solution; but they lie in our path, and must be examined, before we can hope to arrive at any distinct and satisfactory conclusion.

We owe to one, who is generally considered to be a profound though an unprincipled writer, the remark which, no doubt, possesses much truth, that 'a conqueror has no middle course between the two extremes of mixing his own people with the vanquished race, or exterminating the latter.' The Turkish camp in its conquering period, with a sultan on horseback for its leader, acted neither on the one nor on the other of these two principles. Jew, Christian, Hindoo, idolater, all, on submission and payment of tribute to the conquering Mussulman, were left in the enjoyment of their respective properties, in the exercise of their respective forms of worship, and, to a certain degree, under the local authority of magistrates belonging,

belonging, in each case, to their own race and creed. 'Machiavelli's maxim is vividly illustrated by the consequences of this undecided policy, and the Sultan's government is now reaping in progressive weakness what it originally sowed in the plenitude of self-relying power. Its Christian subjects, those of the Greek Church in particular, live, and may, in despite of much past oppression and continued humiliation, thrive, apart from their Mussulman fellow-subjects, by whom they are viewed rather as objects of mistrust than as sources of strength to the empire at large. The changes adopted of late years in their favour, though mitigating in practice the disadvantages, have not essentially altered the character of their political position. Their numbers, wealth, and knowledge are generally on the increase, while the professors of Islamism decline for the most part in those respects, under the influence of circumstances peculiar to their social condition.

The Sultan exercises a supreme sovereign authority over all classes of the population in his empire. He is at the same time a caliph, hereditary successor of the Prophet, and, in our language, commander of the faithful. The laws, by which he governs and distributes justice through his ministers, are fundamentally those of the Koran and its supplementary traditions, constituting, in the estimation of Mussulmans, as we all know, the revealed will of God, immutable and all-sufficient. This rule of administration derives an obstructive character from its want of ability to adapt itself to the variable necessities of society, and to the expanding views of mankind. It operates, moreover, as an ever-growing source of discontent among those portions of the population in Turkey who have no religious convictions capable of reconciling them to an arbitrament disposing of life, property, and honour, without any fixed adherence to the rules of sound reason or of common experience, and gradually becoming more and more discredited by the evasions and corruptions which stain, while they facilitate, its administration.

The original mission of Islamism, which was to force all nations into its pale, either as conformists or as tributary subjects, had naturally the effect of placing its professors in a state of hostility felt, if not declared, with all their independent neighbours. For the former it sanctified acts of aggression, not otherwise justified, on the rights of every non-Mussulman country, and made resistance, even of the preventive kind, a duty and a necessity on the part of such country's inhabitants. The process, impulsive as it was, and long most wonderfully successful, carried in its bosom a principle of exhaustion which eventually
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made its further progress impossible, and reduced the tide of conquest to a state of stagnation rather fatal to its energy than productive of any sounder vitality. The same development of intelligence and power among the border states, which enabled them to say to the Turkish empire, 'Hitherto and no further,' rendered more apparent and less tolerable the vices of its internal system of government. The Christians within and the Christians without derived encouragement from their mutual sympathies, which gave fresh aliment to the hopes of the former and a higher motive to the ambition of the latter.

It may readily occur to any one who compares the East with the West in point of public administration, that, as a general, though varying distinction between them, in Eastern communities the people are held to exist for the Government, and in Western the Government for the people. In this respect the Porte does not belie its Oriental origin. Simplicity of form, and constitutional indolence, when there is no immediate stimulant to rouse it, serve, however, to qualify the action of Ottoman authority; and since the introduction of certain reforms, the Sultan's Government are less insensible than of yore to the claims of humanity and the welfare of their subjects. But enough remains of the old leaven to excite our entertaining some anxiety as to what principles and what measures are likely to impress a permanent character on the reign of Abdul Aziz. The first appearances on his accession announced, no doubt, a desire of improvement, but whether in a Turkish sense or according to the notions of Europe—whether reactionary or progressive—is by no means so clear. A few months, or even a few weeks, may determine the question. Whatever the determination may be, it can hardly fail to give a decisive turn to the fate of the Turkish empire.

Education, as directed among the Turks, the practice of domestic slavery, and, above all, the influence of the harem, are matters not to be overlooked by any one who seeks with conscientious earnestness to form a correct opinion on this momentous subject. It cannot be denied that they are so many obstacles to the social and political regeneration of Turkey. Each of the enumerated difficulties must be taken into account, as affecting, more or less, the whole population of the country, as well the families who live by their skill, their trade, or their labour, as those who either belong to the several professions, or who enjoy the advantages of wealth and station alike in town or in country.

The Turkish children of both sexes are brought up together in the harem to an age which immediately precedes puberty. The boys are then submitted to a separate treatment. Most parents in easy, and all in opulent circumstances, have a tutor at
home

home for their sons. Others resort to such instruction as can be obtained at the established schools, where, with scarcely an exception, the teaching is confined to religious doctrine, and the simplest elements of secular knowledge, with no language but Turkish or Arabic. What passes in the harem is little known without ; but the girls, at best, are sure not to learn more than the boys, unless it be needlework and the details of household economy. To ride, to throw the djerid, and to shoot at a target, are manly exercises reserved, or nearly so, for youths of condition and their principal attendants.

Of slavery little need be said. The moral effect, especially on young people, of having for servants or companions unhappy creatures possessing no will of their own, and regarded in law as hardly better than cattle, may be easily conceived, though the records of antiquity prove that, notwithstanding its evil tendency, that element of corruption may co-exist in the same minds with much intellectual vigour and a high sense of public duty.

The harem operates far more perniciously on the interests of society. It confines to the narrow circle of each family those holy influences of the wife, the mother, and the daughter, which in Christian countries purify and irradiate the whole sphere of social life, in so far as human infirmities allow. It taints, moreover, and degrades those influences within its own contracted limits ; it entertains an atmosphere in which the low, ungenerous passions grow into luxuriance, and it tends even to counteract by their indulgence the purposes of a beneficent Creator.

Mahometan Turkey is thus infected with a poison which circulates with its blood, and goes far to explain those signs of a declining population, which, except in the capital, and at some few favoured points elsewhere, attract the attention and excite the wonder of foreigners in that country. More than a century has passed away since tokens of depopulation were noticed there. If we remember right, they did not escape the observant researches of Montesquieu. Fifty years ago, as now, houses tumbling into ruin, or spaces cumbered with fragments of building, were remarked by travellers in town and village. Graveyards with Turkish tombstones were seen by the way-side, or in open fields, apart and far away from inhabited places. Both in Europe and in Asia large tracts of desolation, marked here and there by traces of the plough nearly obliterated, gave evidence of a declining empire. Whatever increase of buildings and inhabitants may be observed at Constantinople or at Smyrna, we cannot venture to take it as any proof to the contrary, since it is well known that, whenever the means of living, or of living securely, in the provinces fall off without a prospect of revival, the rural

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or provincial population flows in upon the capital, and produces there a fallacious appearance of prosperity. Think of a freehold estate comprising some forty thousand acres in surface, with a large proportion of it arable, and much timber, conveniently situated near a port and market town, within eighty miles of Constantinople by water, having been sold not long since for 1600*l.*, after being possessed during several years by English proprietors, and improved through the management of an English bailiff!

The decrease of population affects the revenue and the army, as well as the agriculture of the empire. The taxes on land and produce are generally assessed for periods of not less than four or five years. The proprietors in every separate district of assessment are made responsible for the whole amount, and consequently, as they diminish in number, a greater burthen is thrown upon each, together with less capability of meeting the demand and farming with profit. In regard to the army, which is recruited by conscription from among the Mahometans, a failure in the required number of men has been felt for several years. This deficiency makes it difficult for the Government to spare those youths who, in many cases, are wanted for agriculture or the support of a family. Owing to the same cause two thirds of the Ottoman army exist only on paper, and there follows not merely a greater disposition to disorder in the provinces, but also a more exhausting pressure on the service, and less preparation for defence against external enemies. Many parts of Turkey are highlands inhabited by wild tribes, warlike in character, independent in their habits, and brought very imperfectly, if at all, under subjection to the Porte. Such for instance are the Koords, the Albanians, the Bosnians, the mountaineers of Taurus, Lebanon, and Montenegro. Such were those who under the command of Scanderbeg so long resisted whole armies sent or led against them by renowned viziers or the Sultan himself in person. Such were the progenitors of Druse and Maronite, opposed in quenchless hatred to each other, but capable of forming an impenetrable barrier against the Turks. The Sultan's troops, who may be said to act as a police with respect to these unruly populations, would have no lack of employment, were military conscription carried out even to the whole of its intended extent.

The various defects and sources of incalculable evil, thus rather enumerated than drawn out into their full proportions, are the more ruinous in a country where a low standard of knowledge, a rude system of finance, a loose method of collecting the revenue, and the want of internal communications, go far of themselves to
neutralize

neutralize the advantages of a splendid climate, a productive soil, and an unrivalled position as well for power as for trade.

The practice of forcing a debased coinage into circulation has been long a source of disorder and discredit with consequent weakness in Turkey. That of issuing bonds or assignats on the faith of an arbitrary government has of late increased the mischief. The exposure of the Mirès loan has made it extremely difficult for the Porte to seek any immediate relief in the money-markets of Europe. Her ministers therefore resorted to a fresh and very extensive issue of paper money under the name of *Kaimès*, not, as heretofore, confined to the capital, but constituting a legal tender in all parts of the empire. Necessity may excuse the measure, but its effect, especially if the *Kaimès* should be used for paying up the arrears of the army, was not the less to be apprehended as a further source of distress and disorder.

Another evil in the department of finance is the habit of farming the principal branches of revenue. This practice has nothing to recommend it but the ministerial convenience of having more positive and earlier data for the estimates of the year. Farming embraces sub-farming, and this part of the system weighs with peculiar severity on the tax-payer without augmenting the receipts of the treasury. Every artifice is employed by the lowest grade of farmers in order to realize a profit on their purchase-money, and the exactions they resort to for this purpose must be supported by authority as a necessary condition of the system.

No country has more need of railways than Turkey. Nowhere can they be introduced with less sacrifice. When they were first adopted in England, the countless millions spent on turnpike-roads, if not entirely confiscated, were at least superseded by the new invention. In the Sultan's dominions, with scarcely an exception, there are no roads. The inland communications are mere tracks, wide enough in some parts, and in fine weather levelled enough by use, for carts and small waggons, but generally more fit for horses and camels. Wherever by exception a causeway has been laid down, for the passage, perhaps, of troops and artillery, it belongs to earlier times, and now rather interrupts than assists communication by its broken pavement and clumsy construction. There are districts in Asia Minor—that of Sivas, for instance—where grain is so abundant as to sell for an old song; while on the Black Sea coast, not a hundred miles off, the rival produce of Russia commands a high price. For this advantage the Russians are indebted to the bad policy of the Turks in providing no carriageable road between Sivas and the port of shipment. No objection to railways can be charged to the Koran.

Contracts

Contracts for several have been made by the Porte with companies or enterprising individuals. With the exception, however, of thirty miles at Kustandjee on the Black Sea, and about as much at Smyrna, none have yet been carried into effect.

Local wants, if not supplied from the seat of government, have little chance of being supplied at all. No great hereditary properties, no constituted aristocracy, no powerful municipalities, exercise that influence which elsewhere gives weight to provincial applications. Some years ago it was decided that a road should be made between Broussa, the capital of what was anciently Bithynia, and the Sea of Marmora. The whole distance was not greater than twenty, or, it might be, twenty-five miles. The necessary orders were given, the necessary funds were appropriated. The Pasha of Broussa was empowered to carry the Government plan into effect, and the neighbouring population was required to devote its labour to the work for little or nothing. To this hour a good half of the road remains to be made. The works, for no apparent reason, came to a standstill, even before the great earthquake had furnished an excuse for their suspension.

If such and so many are the causes of decline within the Turkish empire, they are only in due proportion with the dangers which threaten its existence from without. These dangers are by no means confined to the ambition of powerful princes, or to the working of adverse opinions in Christendom. They spring in great part from causes more strictly natural, from the geographical position occupied by Turkey, and the circumstances which attended its political growth as an empire. Consider the length of frontier which separates the Sultan's dominions from those of Austria, Russia, and Persia, to say nothing of Greece, Egypt, and Barbary. The waters of the Euxine alone break the continuity of a line extending from the Adriatic to the Persian Gulf. The traditions of that old aggressive policy, which was originally founded on views of religious propagation, and which at length was not so much resigned by choice as dropped through necessity, operate even now so far as to keep up a jealous attention at the Porte to all frontier interests. The Colossus stands on fragile feet, and therefore naturally makes them the principal object of its care. Head and heart may shift for themselves, provided the extremities be secured from encroachment. The Porte is thus continually brought into sensitive contact with its neighbours at a thousand points. Subjects of discussion, motives for quarrel, are seldom wanting; intrigues and sympathies work together for the 'sick man's' ruin; the very distances from one point to another of a vast outline, and of all those points respectively from the capital, serve to weaken the supreme authority in its exercise of administrative

administrative power, and to harass with cruel effect its principal instrument, the army.

Russia cannot be at ease while the key of so large a portion of her empire remains in the Sultan's possession. If it be the will of Europe that the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should undergo no change of hands, we can hardly wonder that Russian policy should seek to command the means of keeping the Porte in awe. That policy finds a natural auxiliary in the religious sympathy of the Greeks. It finds another in the political or religious discontents of Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, and Bulgaria; and yet another in the questionable independence maintained by the highlanders of Montenegro. It made the port, the arsenal, and the fortifications of Sebastopol, what they were before the Crimean war; and it may be numbered among the motives which prevail with Russia to keep up a military establishment at once so onerous and so imposing. It works, moreover, by intrigue, by affiliation with the Armenians, by the issue of protections in the form of passports to Christian subjects of the Porte, by tampering with frontier tribes, and moving the springs of corruption wherever they can be played with advantage.

From other motives and in other ways the French, though not immediately bordering on Turkey, act but too often so as to warrant a certain degree of mistrust and apprehension with respect to their views on that empire. Their conduct on various occasions in Egypt, Syria, Greece, Tunis, Algiers, and Montenegro, to say nothing of Moldavia and Wallachia, could hardly inspire the Sultan's Government with perfect confidence in their professions. They seem in general to entertain a low opinion of the Porte's capacity for improvement, and are therefore naturally inclined to shape their policy according to that impression, preparing rather to secure their own interests in case of a break-up, than by a system of measures firmly and strenuously carried out to prevent so perilous a catastrophe. It is clear that their conduct tends, by the discouragement it diffuses, to accelerate the decay of the Ottoman empire; and hence, however reluctantly, we cannot but give it a place in the list of dangers to which that portion of our European system is habitually exposed.

Of other Powers, and the relations in which they respectively stand towards the Porte, little need be said in this place. The policy of England in the Levant is well known, and offers no room for question, except as to the mode and degree of its practical application. Neither Austria nor Prussia is likely under present circumstances to take part in any measures unfriendly to

to the Porte. Together with Greece and Italy they might eventually claim—and Austria the foremost—to have a share in the spoil; but they can hardly be suspected of wishing to hasten the overthrow of an empire whose dismemberment would offer much greater advantages to others than to themselves.

Be it as it may, we must in fairness admit that on the mere ground of appearance we have no right to impute ambitious schemes or evil intentions to those who despair of the sick man's recovery: unfortunately there is illness enough to create a world of doubts in the most sanguine mind. The suspicion, to be fairly sustained, must find its justification in other circumstances, and the task of making out a case with respect to them is too invidious to be undertaken without an immediate necessity.

There is something more agreeable, something more promising in view, if we attempt to ascertain how far a disease, apparently deep seated and attended with so many forbidding symptoms, is, nevertheless, open to remedies, and capable of yielding to a well-conducted method of treatment. The inquiry has its interest. It has also its difficulties. The proofs of disorder lie on the surface, and can hardly be mistaken. The means of recovery, when recognised, have much to contend with in their application, and their results, for the most part, must of necessity in the commencement be conjectural. That men are liable to perish from want of food is unquestionable; but who can prove at seed-time what the harvest will be? One thing is certain: we must sow betimes in order to reap in season. The want of such precaution would cause a famine fatal to all.

False principles of government, corrupt motives of action inflamed by religious animosities, conflicting interests arrayed against each other, rooted prejudices and anti-social manners, have concurred to place the Ottoman empire on an inclined plane. The position is one of natural determination towards a state of exhaustive weakness. The progress of other states in knowledge and national development increases by comparison the dangers of that decline. It has increased them practically on the side of Turkey, as a long series of defeats and losses may serve to testify. The expansive energies of civilisation can no longer brook the inertness, and in some respects the exclusiveness, of a country so fertile in resources, and so obstructively situated, and one which offers at the same time a field of almost boundless extent for remunerative enterprise. The problem which calls for solution is simply this: Can the strength of the empire be so far restored, by means consistent with the wants and spirit of the age, as to preserve internal order and to command the respect of foreign Powers?

The incurables, who for means of regenerating the Turkish empire look to the revival of Mahometan convictions, must tell us by what process a faith, no longer entertained even in Turkey by reflecting or educated minds, can operate as the motive power of a government compelled by the conditions of its tenure to restrain the passions, and frequently to counteract the impulses which from time to time infuriate an ignorant and fanatical race. Under a system of administration thus inspired religious belief must evidently be the rule of right, and the measure of individual worth. How then would Jew and Christian fare, either as to political right or in respect of personal consideration? Would the peace and well-being of the empire be secured in these times by forcibly renewing the submission of one-half of its population to the pride and bigotry of the other? Would there be no 'complaining in the streets,' no danger of resistance, no appeal to the foreigner, no resentment in Christendom? Is the war of Hellenic independence a fable? The chastisement inflicted on Damascus a dream? Are the Greeks less sensible than they were of degradation and oppression, or the nations of Europe more deaf to the claims of humanity and the sympathies of religion?

Lord Overstone's *"Impossible!"* may be applied here with as much propriety as to the supposed capture of London. Attempt to force back the waters of a river to their source, and you will only deluge the country—perhaps even ruin, if not drown, its inhabitants. Another and ampler basis than that of an unsanctioned revelation is wanted for the reconstruction of a dilapidated empire. Where but in the elements of social harmony, corrective of discord and decomposition, can such a foundation be discovered? That civilizing process, which carries out materially and morally the benevolent purposes of Providence, and knits together the various classes and pursuits of mankind by the bonds of genuine interest, combines whatever is necessary for the external defence, internal welfare, and legitimate advancement of a constituted community. Religion in respect of belief, like the action of the lungs, is involuntary, and therefore, however essential to moral as breathing to bodily health, is not in that sense properly a subject of legal enforcement on individuals as such, and still less a just obstacle to the freedom of legislative enactment in other matters. A body politic, the compound of individual man, partakes of his mutable and moral nature. If linked inseparably to laws believed to be divine, and therefore unalterable, the interests of the community, which require change of law with change of circumstances, must in the end be seriously, perhaps even fatally, compromised. To this dilemma it would seem that
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the Turks are now reduced. They must either be content to govern on larger principles, with the advantage of proportionally extending their means of improvement and independence, or they must incur the necessary consequence of persisting in error and thereby having to contend with the disaffection of their Christian subjects and the resentment of their Christian allies. Sultans may continue to be Caliphs for their Mussulman subjects, but they must learn to act as Sovereigns for the people at large.

The difficulties suggested by this view of the question are by no means so great as they may appear to those who have only a general acquaintance with Turkey, its empire, and its history. The Koran is far from being that unelastic code of laws which many suppose. It has long ceased to be an exact mirror of Islamism as practised by the Ottoman authorities. The difference, which has perceptibly grown up between the letter and the practice of the law, is not merely one of suspension, such as the disuse of hostilities for the propagation of the faith, but positively active, as in the case of treaties and alliances with Christian Powers. This primary departure from the system of policy prescribed by Islamism dates from the sixteenth century. Solyman the Magnificent, and Francis the First of France, first set the example of an alliance between the Sovereign of the Turks and a Christian Power. The act was founded on mutual convenience suggested by their respective international positions at the time. It led to the establishment of similar relations between the Porte and other European Powers, to the reception of consuls in outposts of Turkey, and to the exercise of jurisdiction by them over their own fellow-subjects. It was the first link in a series of concessions which may be fitly called *extra-Koranic*, and which were gradually made to the necessity, more and more felt by the Porte, of obtaining for herself a less insulated position as to the states of Christendom.

Internal reforms were commenced in the same spirit towards the close of the last century by Selim, the last sultan of that name. The Janissaries, excited, no doubt, by the Ulemah, broke into open rebellion, and the reaction which followed cost the reforming Sultan both his throne and his life. Mustapha, who succeeded to the former, was not more fortunate than his cousin. It was reserved for his brother Mahmoud to realize the plans of Selim, and to revenge that Sultan's death by the extermination of the Janissaries. This ill-disciplined and unmanageable militia was replaced by a regular army, formed on the European model. The Sultan put forth all his energy for its completion; but the weakness of his empire, proved and increased by successive misfortunes—by the war with Russia, which terminated in the Treaty of

Adrianople; by the independence of Greece, which followed the battle of Navarino; and by the victorious progress of Ibrahim Pasha in Syria and Asia Minor—compelled him to enter into closer relations with Christian Europe. The proclamation of *Gulhane*, and the introduction of extensive reforms under the name of *Tanzimat-Hairieh*, gave a solemn and imposing earnest of Mahomed's sincerity. They were the foundations of a real improvement in the Turkish administrative system, and more especially in the treatment of Rayahs, those Christian and other non-Mussulman subjects who were bound to pay a yearly poll-tax to the Grand Signior. Further and more decided measures of reform were subsequently adopted. Those of a judicial character were not the least important. A court was established for the trial of civil causes between the Porte's subjects and foreigners. It was a mixed tribunal, taking cognizance more particularly of differences arising in trade and navigation. Its maxims of law and rules of procedure were derived from Christian sources. Our leading principles and forms of trial, exclusive of juries, have been established even by firman in some of the criminal courts; and at Constantinople in the highest of those courts, where Mahometan law prevails unaltered, our Consul-General is allowed to sit with the power of watching the proceedings, and arresting, until he expresses his assent, the execution of judgment in the case of any British subject brought to trial on a capital charge.

To these beneficial innovations are to be added the establishment of Lazarettos for quarantine against plague and cholera; and at later periods the suppression of negro slave-trade with a view to that of slavery itself, the abolition of torture and of capital punishment in cases of conversion from Islamism, the recognition of Protestantism as one of the protected and established religions in Turkey.

During the Crimean war a notable enlargement took place in other branches of social progress, inconsistent, more or less, with the restrictions of Mussulman law, but required by the necessities of the empire. Loans were raised at interest in foreign countries for the service of the State. The Porte's Christian subjects, released from the payment of tribute, were declared to be admissible as privates and officers, to the Imperial army. Turkish battalions were placed under the authority of British commanders; and British agents were allowed to raise levies among the Turks for an irregular military corps to be paid and officered by Her Majesty's Government. At one time the suburbs of Pera and Galata were held, in aid of the police, by detachments of the French and English armies.

On the cessation of hostilities all previous reforms, together with
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important additions, were confirmed and declared by an imperial proclamation, known as the *Hatt-y-Homayoun*, solemnly promulgated and inserted as a pregnant fact in the general treaty of peace. Among its new provisions were two in particular, characterized by a degree of liberality which it would not be easy to surpass. By one the faculty of holding land in fee throughout Turkey was granted to foreign subjects, with a reserve of some preliminary arrangements. By the other both natives and foreigners are allowed full liberty of conscience in religious matters.

These are telling facts, and we are bound to give them our candid and serious attention. They have removed no small part of the difficulty which Islamism opposes in theory to the reformation of the Turkish Empire on European principles. They encourage a hope that the remaining obstacles may be gradually surmounted. Most of them show to demonstration that in Turkey, as elsewhere, custom and law must ultimately yield to consideration for the safety of the State. We are friends to the Sultan's empire. We do not seek to overthrow or to undermine its dominant faith. We only desire that religion should cease to be so applied to worldly affairs as to render the administration of them ruinous to the public weal. We urge the expediency, and indeed the necessity, of carrying fully into effect those salutary reforms which have been long and strenuously recommended to the Sultan by his allies, which have been adopted by his supreme authority, proclaimed in his name to the whole world, and recorded under the most solemn forms of international engagement. We desire, in other words, to obtain for the Porte a real instead of a fictitious independence—the well-grounded, durable respect, and not the mere precarious sufferance, of contemporary Powers.

All classes of the population would gradually feel the benefit of a change which could not fail to operate favourably on their interests in a national point of view. Any discontents which may prevail among the Turks arise principally out of causes independent of their religious prejudices, though naturally seen in connection with them. A state of transition in matters of deep and extensive concern is always attended with inconvenience to many, with a dislocation of partial interests, and a rupture of much that is sanctified, as it were, by habit and early associations. To halt between two systems, instead of frankly adopting the one which on the whole is preferable, can have no effect but that of prolonging evils incident to both. Unfortunately such has been hitherto the conduct of the Turkish Government, which, however excusable in some respects, is far from being necessary, and cannot fail to prolong their difficulties.

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Under the old system, confiscations, crown lands, royalties, property, whether moveable or immoveable, lapsing to the sovereign, forced labour, offerings not always quite voluntary, requisitions in kind, and other incidental sources of profit, were auxiliary to the revenue derived from tithes, taxes, and customs. The Spahis and Timariotes, who held their lands on condition of military service, were bound, when called upon, to take the field armed and mounted at their own expense. On the extermination of the Janissaries in 1826 a regular army, as mentioned above, was formed by Sultan Mahmoud, and later a civil list was established in place of the crown lands and other imperial sources of revenue. Life, property, and honour were also secured by charter to subjects of all classes against the assaults of arbitrary power. The Sultan and his Government had in consequence to look exclusively to the exchequer for ways and means in carrying on the administration, and providing for the peace, the defence, and general welfare of the empire. Hence it became more than ever necessary that an improved system of finance should be adopted, and that the collection of the taxes should be cleared of all those abuses and corrupt practices which at once oppressed the people and defrauded the treasury. A child may perceive that discontent, embarrassment, and ruin must be the necessary consequences of drying up the old sources of supply without opening new ones, of depriving the dominant classes of their long-cherished privileges without enabling them to realize the compensations offered by a more liberal and productive course.

Respect for the Sultan, consideration even for his weaknesses, submission to his authority, nay, to his pleasure, are still universal among the Mussulman population. From time to time, and not unfrequently, there are disturbances, now in this, now in that province; but they arise nearly always from local causes, and are confined within narrow limits. Excesses may be committed by some body of insurgents; the magistrates may be overpowered, individuals may suffer, and the immediate object of aversion may be swept away. But after a time the Sultan's authority is sure to ride over all obstacles, and to restore the public peace with more or less severity, and some feeble show of reparation. The army, inadequate as it is to the wants of the empire, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-paid, thinned by frequent marches over miserable roads, and having no reason to rely upon its officers, rarely, if ever, fails to perform its duty. Discipline, though imperfect, gives it a constant advantage over the rude, extempore levies opposed to its arms. The worst of it is that such occurrences tend more and more to exhaust the strength of the empire by a two-fold process. Parties brought into conflict wear

wear each other down, and the Government, which finally reduces them to order, accomplishes its purpose at a loss, not easily repaired, in men and money.

A despot's strength is the weakness of his subjects. The strength of a constitutional government resides in the wealth and good-will of the people. Ill fares the country where neither the strong hand nor the willing heart is to be found.

The fortunes of the Turkish Empire, when in their flow, were mainly to be ascribed to religious enthusiasm, military discipline, national character, and unanimity of purpose. Their decline may generally be accounted for by the comparative progress of Christendom, and particularly of northern Christendom, in the arts of war, in population, in produce, and in every branch of knowledge, whether social or political. If the Turks, made confident by repeated victories, and strong in their submission to a single will, had found it easy to spread over countries where the elements of resistance were feeble, they could not but suffer in their turn under the natural consequences of an unreasonable policy, of an evil administration, and of decaying morals, when they had to deal with adversaries who had prospered in proportion to their decline. The mutinous spirit of the Janissaries, the enervating habits of the Seraglio, and the corrupting intrigues of adventurers at court and in office, were hardly needed to complete the disastrous process. Much, however, in the bright as well as in the darker period, may be traced to the personal qualities of the reigning Sultan or of the principal depositary of his power. The nature of the government and the character of the people require a firm will at the helm. Mahomet, the conqueror of Constantinople, and his immediate successors, are brilliant illustrations of this fact. Mahmoud, the present Sultan's father, ruled with power, and commanded general respect, notwithstanding his losses, his reforms, his sanguinary executions, and the vile debaucheries which closed his life. His eldest son and successor fell into contempt through want of resolution and energy, although his reign, unsullied by any measures of injustice or cruelty, was marked, on the contrary, by a course of policy successful, on the whole, both at home and abroad. His failings were those of a gentle and generous disposition unsustained by that vigour of mind and body which the difficulties of his perilous station required. If, as there is room to hope, his younger brother, the reigning Emperor, should carry out the reforms and improvements adopted by Abdul Mehjid, with the energy displayed by Mahmoud, both Turk and Christian, the empire and its allies, would have reason to rejoice. Appearances

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at first were decidedly favourable to this expectation ; and if it were true that Sultan Abdul Aziz intends in good earnest to limit his connubial establishment to a single wife, the prospect might soon ripen into a reality. Economy would be the least advantage of such a limitation. The morals and manners of the Seraglio would undergo a transformation much to be desired. The example would operate most beneficially throughout the whole range of Turkish society. The harem would cease to be a curse, and a great step would be made towards an intermixture of classes. But we must be content to wait. It is not the first time that a new reign has commenced in Turkey with a clearance at the palace. Four thousand ladies and attendant officers are described in the Turkish annals as having been dismissed on one occasion. A vast increase of paper currency, and its intended application to the payment of the army, are measures of ominous import. The dismissal of the late Grand Vizier in favour of the present incumbent is a very questionable move. Other personal changes in the administration have no distinct character, and, except in the case of Riza Pasha, may be referred to mere motives of convenience.

Reduction of expense is an excellent, indeed an indispensable thing to begin with, especially after the measureless extravagance of the late reign. But much more is wanted. Economy itself, to be remedial, must be applied with judgment. Now, the army is already too small for the defence of the empire. We repeat that it does not exceed a third of the numbers displayed on paper. It is not equal to the maintenance of internal order except by harassing and wasteful exertions. Its increase is more to be desired than its diminution, and means for that purpose should be sought in other reductions, particularly in the reduction of salaries and pensions, and also in a more effective management of the revenue, including its collection and administration.

Be it remembered that the Sultan's dominions, whether we look to climate, to soil, or position, are rich beyond conception in resources of every kind. We have only to name the countries which are comprised within their limits, and every doubt on this point must vanish from our minds. The wonder is that regions so blessed with all varieties of produce, with climates so favourable to labour, with coasts so accessible to commerce, and with full experience of these advantages transmitted from age to age, should have been brought to such degradation at a period when other countries, less happily endowed by nature, have reached so great a height of prosperity and power. Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, the vast plains of Thessaly and Adrianople, those in Asia, watered
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by the Hermus, the Meander, the Cayster, the Caicus, and the productive provinces extending on both sides along the Danube from Hungary to the sea—all these, and many other districts of surpassing fertility, are only waiting for the long-expected signal to enter upon a new course of industry, wealth, and glory. Let the doors be thrown open to the arts, the science, the capital of Europe—let the emulation of the natives be encouraged and their fortunes sufficiently protected—let the reforms to which the Imperial Government is pledged be put into a regular course of execution, and the most satisfactory results would be sure to follow. Even as it is, the revenue has increased by considerably more than a fourth since the Crimean war, and the financial embarrassments, which have accompanied that progress, may be fairly attributed to extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement, or to the cost of putting down disturbances engendered by a vicious course of administration.

The reforms, which are here recommended, must be viewed as a whole in order to be fully appreciated. They are comprehensive in principle and also in their application. They are by no means limited to the Christian subjects of the Porte. They are calculated to promote the welfare of all classes, whatever may be the separate creed of each. The Imperial proclamation, in which the new concessions are embodied, together with the earliest, is a real charter of franchises, the *Magna Charta*, in a broader sense than ours, of the Turkish empire. The various provisions it contains may be severally classed under the following heads:—

- I. Confirmation of beneficial ordinances already proclaimed.
- II. Extension of previous concessions.
- III. Removal of existing abuses.
- IV. Security for the observance of new measures.
- V. Improvements of a material kind.

The field, it must be allowed, is a wide one, and surely in its compartments there is no want either of liberality or of apparent sincerity.^a A system of reform, which aims at the removal of all abuses, the perpetuation of all franchises, the fusion of all classes, the development of all resources, the entire liberty of public worship and of private conscience in religious matters, the extension and security of civil rights, and an enlarged intercourse with foreigners, can hardly fail to engage our sympathy, and, considering the difficulties which, in a country like Turkey, surround it, to command our admiration and hearty concurrence. We boast too much of the spirit of our age to be indifferent to one of its greatest and least expected achievements. Our free institutions, our Pro-

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testant faith, our commercial enterprise, our skill in manufacture—all these sources of our national greatness are deeply interested in the triumph of such principles over bigotry, ignorance, and corruption in one of their strongest and most extensive holds.

It is obvious that our Mussulman allies are now in a truly critical stage of their political transition. What they most stand in need of is a more complete application of these new principles with an earnest enforcement of corresponding measures. Unfortunately fresh obstacles occur at this point. The Sultan looks to his ministers; the ministers look to each other. Some of them are restrained by the fear of responsibility, some by their personal interests; others have to contend with false impressions contracted in their youth, and others again with an indigenuous love of ease and habitual self-indulgence.

Among those statesmen at the Porte, who admit the necessity without promoting the progress of reform, no allegation is more common than the deficiency of suitable agents. There is, no doubt, truth, but there is also much exaggeration in this plea. Men of sufficient ability are seldom wanting for the public service when the authority under which they act is clear and determined in its views, and when adequate motives for individual exertion are brought into play.

It will soon be forty years since the present era of Turkish reforms began. A new generation has sprung up within that period. The young men of Sultan Mahmoud's time have now attained the experience of age. Those, who were only children then, have already overstepped the halfway road of life. It would be strange indeed if there were none among them whose natural intelligence had taken the impress of the time—none who felt that, in serving a reformed government with zeal, they could best fulfil their public duties, and consult their own interests. Their minds have ripened in the warmth of new ideas: they have had access, in maturing, to broader avenues of knowledge than were open to their predecessors, who, nevertheless, sent out from their ranks the earliest instruments, the most active pioneers of reform. Between the two classes, the elder and the younger, a sufficient supply might surely be found, if not for giving full effect to all the ministerial functions, at least for conducting the principal departments in a creditable manner, and setting an example of vigour and consistency to other branches of the government. A Turk with good manners, who can talk French, who has visited the chief cities of Christendom, and has some acquaintance with European literature, is no longer, as in the last century, a phoenix or a black swan. The Greeks have ceased to monopolise the
main

main channel of communication between the Porte and the foreign ambassadors at Constantinople. The functions of Chief Interpreter are generally performed by a Mussulman.

What serves to counteract the natural tendencies of so important a change is favouritism, which is still but too often the arbiter of public appointments in Turkey. This evil may be traced to three distinct sources. The candidates for office receive their education in general either at the Porte or in the Seraglio.* Their first appointment is made on the recommendation of some influential person at one of those two seats of power. Their promotion is frequently the result of a similar exercise of patronage. The relations of patron and client, which formed so strong an element of public life in ancient Rome, survive to a certain degree at Constantinople. The great man is at times sustained by his political dependents, who, in turn, look up to him for the advancement of their fortunes. Official establishments, though of late curtailed, are still expensive, and the majority of the incumbents have little but their salaries and their expectations wherewith to support themselves. Debts are consequently incurred, and the bankers, who lend, employ their credit, which is considerable, in keeping or reinstating in office their respective debtors. Hence a routine most favourable to misconduct, incapacity, and corruption; hence a discouragement of those who seek to rise by honest means and honourable exertions; hence an assurance that no amount of disgrace will permanently exclude the most undeserving character from office and power. Such Pashas as Riza and Saffiti must laugh at being dismissed, since, however clear their delinquency, they are allowed to keep their ill-gotten spoils, with the certainty of returning to office at no distant period, and with the enjoyment, meanwhile, of colossal pensions.

There is much, we must confess, in these abuses to dishearten the advocates of Turkish revival. But they are not irremediable, and other countries have succeeded in throwing off the same impediments to progress. Even here, in our own country, the struggle of private interest with public spirit was long and anxious. It survived both the Reformation and the Revolution. It hung as a cloud over our expanding prospects in the last century. It required the resolution, the integrity, and the genius of a Burke to check its progress; and even now there are statesmen who seem to fear its renewal, and to look for its death-blow to the more than doubtful experiment of competitive examinations.

* The distinction between *Porte* and *Seraglio* is similar to that elsewhere between the *Palais* and the *Chancellerie*, the Court and the Government, the Household and the Ministry.

If, in this respect, we are better on the whole than those who went before us, what securities have we against the dangers of a relapse? The answer is obvious. We are less exposed to temptation, and we act under the control of public opinion. The servants of the State, whatever their rank or denomination, are regularly if not abundantly paid, and an act of peculation brought home to the delinquent would at least be stamped with ignominy and hopeless dismissal from office. Appointments also are made in the public service on sounder principles and under a stricter responsibility. The Turks, it is true, have no parliament, and still less a parliament composed of individuals responsible to a popular constituency. But they have a sovereign whose power is absolute, whose interest it is that the empire should be honestly served, and who has no aristocratic, municipal, or party combinations to manage. In fact, without the immediate sanction of the Sultan, no issue of money, no official appointment is made; no act of administration, no decision of council, no sentence of criminal justice, is carried into effect. The laws against malversation, bribery, and corruption are stringent, and to every breach of them a penalty more or less severe is attached.

In aid of the Sultan there is a Privy Council, a Cabinet for Affairs of State, whether internal or foreign. There is also a more comprehensive council, having judicial as well as deliberative powers, and comprising, together with the Grand Mufti and others of the Ulemah, most of the principal functionaries. To these may be added a Board of Reform, whose president is a member of the administration; and occasionally, under urgent circumstances, a Council of Notables, convened by supreme authority from the provinces, and in part elected there. Moreover, in each province there is a separate council for local affairs under the presidency of the respective pashas. In these assemblies the elective principle is in some degree employed, and a representative of each non-Mussulman community sits among the members.

The pashas are no longer invested, as of old, with plenary powers. They are now little more than civil commissioners. The troops are placed under a military commander, and the provincial revenue is administered by a separate authority. No capital sentence can be carried into effect without a special order from Constantinople. This new distribution of power, though doubtless in some respects useful, has the drawback of leaving too much in the hands of the council, whose leading members are men of influence in their neighbourhood, swayed by local interests, indifferent, if not hostile, to the imperial policy, and capable at times of giving law to the pasha.

A surer and stronger link is wanted between the supreme
Government

Government and the provincial authorities, and such a link might perhaps be found without disturbing the present divisions of the empire. The existing pashaliks might be grouped into clusters determined by territorial conformation or by local convenience, and each of the clusters might be superintended by a governor-general or lord high commissioner, representing the Sultan, and enjoying the full confidence of his Government. Examples of this kind of delegation are to be found in Turkish history. One of them has lately been given in the person of Fuad Pasha, who, under peculiar circumstances, was invested with extraordinary powers for the restoration of order in Syria. Another took place a few years before, when the two adjacent provinces of Thessaly and Epirus were united for a time under the administration of a single pasha, who in earlier days would probably have received the appropriate and well-known title of Bey-ler-bey, or Lord of Lords. There would be little difficulty in arranging a sufficient control for the exercise of so high a trust, and the body of Turkish statesmen would not be required to supply more than twelve or fifteen individuals capable of fulfilling its duties, and giving thereby a general and uniform effect to the Sultan's beneficent intentions.

The execution of such a plan might in time be greatly assisted by opening a wider field of instruction to candidates for public employment. The first step has been taken in this direction. A college, founded by the Government, exists in the principal suburb of Constantinople. The students are partly Christian and partly Mussulman. They are brought up together on equal terms. The institution was originally a School of Medicine. It has been expanded into larger proportions, and may now be said to contain the rudiments of an university. No principle stands in the way of its further extension. As a model for similar foundations in the chief provincial cities, its importance can hardly be overrated.

We have already intimated that in our opinion the Turkish army, far from being too large for the wants of the country, stands in need of a considerable increase, with reference at least to the numbers actually enrolled. The objections are not entirely of a financial character. The conscription operates on the Turkish population alone, and the supply from that quarter is not equal to the demand. This deficiency has been felt for some years, and it is to all appearance a growing evil. How is it to be supplied from within the empire if not by recruiting among those portions of the people who, on religious grounds, have hitherto been exempted from military service? This idea has been adopted by the Porte, and made acceptable to the

Christians

Christians by substituting a war-tax for the degrading Haratsch, and levying it on all religious classes alike. But the egg has been somewhat addled in the hatching. The Christians complain of the new tax as pressing unfairly on them; and, as no arrangements have yet been made for placing them, as soldiers, on a proper footing, the army is still dependent on its one declining source of recruitment.

Whatever may be hereafter the composition of the army, its numbers cannot be increased without a corresponding increase of expense. On this account, as well as on others, it is evident that measures calculated to remove financial abuses and to render taxation more productive stand foremost in the line of reform. Retrenchment and economy are the best, and indeed indispensable starting-points. They alone can at present obtain, for any security the Porte could offer in raising money on loan, that confidence which might re-open the money-markets of Europe to her proposals. The pump must have water to make it work. The first remedial operations in finance would be attended with a partial abandonment of the customary expedients, and it is difficult therefore to imagine how the curative process could be effected without a temporary accommodation by loans. Ten years ago this harbour of refuge was closed to the Porte by traditional scruples, which subsequently gave way to pressure, as other mistaken notions will also give way to a similar force of circumstances.

— On this, as on other points, much, no doubt, is wanted. But the resources, be it observed, are natural, the obstacles conventional. Opinion works in such manner as to bring out the former, and to test the latter by their actual utility. Things deemed impracticable have come into preparation for every-day use. The progress of improvement is scarcely less rapid than extensive.

It was during the Crimean war that strangers commissioned by foreign governments were first allowed to take part in the Porte's financial deliberations. They had to contend with much jealousy and many prejudices. They were often baffled in their researches; and if they succeeded in doing any good, it was all but limited to the prevention of evil. The Porte has now accepted the services of two gentlemen who are actually clerks in the British Treasury, and to them, in honourable reliance on a friendly government, the mysteries of Turkish finance are said to be fairly unfolded. Even to those who have watched at home the course of events in Turkey, such changes appear little short of miraculous. They are earnest of further advancement, and seem to forbid the surrender of a single hope.

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It would be a great mistake to suppose that nothing has yet been done except on paper. In every department some practical steps have been taken, more or less, in the right direction. Progression languishes rather from moral than from material causes, less from want of will in the Government than from the temperament of individuals. The '*hawl-of-all*,' so well known in our navy, the '*strong pull, long pull, and pull altogether*,' so potent in a British rowing-match, have still to be impressed on our Ottoman friends. In every great enterprise, energy, method, system, concurrence are needed for success. In Turkey, as now circumstanced, and more perhaps than elsewhere, these qualities of every great national movement have to be sustained, if not inspired, from without. Happily for the Turkish Empire sufficient means and motives for giving, in a friendly spirit, the requisite impulsion to its endeavours are no longer out of reach. The principal States of Christendom are solemnly pledged to support the integrity of that empire, and to regard it as a member of what is rather affectedly called the '*great European family*.' When acting together under mutual self-restricting engagements they are capable of urging their joint counsels on the Porte without that danger to its independence which might accompany the single interference of any neighbouring Power. Supposing their views to be honest, and their recommendations to agree with the Porte's declared principles, the pressure thus exerted would be no less safe than useful. Were interested motives to prevail in secret with one or more of them, the vigilance of England would not go to sleep, and the Porte's position would not be worse than if it were one of political estrangement and insincere profession. The union, moreover, of its advisers, though perhaps a mere show, might be reasonably expected to repress any tendency to foul play by making the exposure of intrigue more discreditable and offensive. The advice of our own Government, in particular, would be tendered with the twofold advantage of inspiring confidence as British, and commanding attention as European. The treaty of peace, which guards the Porte expressly against foreign interference as between the Sultan and his subjects, would be anything but satisfactory if it were held to preclude the Sultan's allies from insisting on the enforcement of those reforms which have been adopted freely by him as of vital importance to his empire. Who will deny that the continued neglect of that duty exposes them more and more to the perils and sacrifices attendant, under their existing engagements, on the empire's dissolution, whether it were brought about by force or by intrigue?

Granted that the prospect of a diplomatic conference authorized

rized only for definite purposes at Constantinople is by no means attractive. Still, the advantage, or, it may be, the necessity of resorting to such an expedient, when weighed against its inconvenience, will be found to preponderate. Meanwhile such conferences as are intended merely to patch up a local or passing disturbance abound. We are but lately relieved from one, the prolific parent of numberless protocols in Syria. The affairs of Montenegro, those of the Danubian Principalities, and even the mysteries of Turkish finance at headquarters, have likewise in turn been subjects of European deliberation. We know not how soon, or where, a fresh massacre or an insurrection may necessitate further interference.

It were well to bear in mind that such occasional meetings have also their portion of inconvenience and risk. Their failure is discreditable; the effect of their success at best transient and partial. The evils they are meant to correct are themselves the offspring of one pervading evil, the source of which is Constantinople. In cases of sickness, consultations are not of good omen: but at times they cannot be avoided, and then it is usually thought best to call them where the patient resides, and not on the spot where his fever was caught, or his leg fractured.

In these high matters, to which the principal Powers of Europe habitually and necessarily direct their attention, although the interest, the legitimate interest, is common, and the right equal, our own Government occupies a peculiar position, comparatively advantageous, but also in proportion to the advantage responsible. The causes of this are evident. Of all the Powers, Great Britain has most to lose by the inertness and decay of the Ottoman Empire, and least to gain by its dismemberment. Though her course of policy may at times give umbrage to the Porte, the circumstances in which she is placed, and the character of our institutions, exempt her from mistrust. Others may be more feared, and consequently more favoured, by the Turkish authorities; but confidence and goodwill depend in reality less on fear than on hopes and sympathies.

The subject in hand is so large, its bearings so multiplex, and the questions it embraces so momentous, that, even in this rapid sketch of its principal bearings, there may be enough to weary, if not to bewilder, the most patient of readers. We never pretended to bring the totality of its elements within so narrow a compass; and at this stage we aim at nothing more than a very light notice of two or three outstanding points which ought not to be entirely overlooked.

Authors, in seeking to explain the decline of Turkish power, have noticed two practices, in particular, as helping greatly to
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accelerate it. One, to which we have already alluded, is the debasement of the coinage. The other is the exclusion of the Imperial princes from all share in public business.

The discredit, uncertainty, and temptation to fraud, which attend the former immoral and illusive expedient, have at all times and in all countries produced more or less the same deplorable effects. Our own history may be quoted to confirm the truth of this remark. A prominent example is offered by Froude in his account of the financial embarrassments which occurred under the protectorate of Somerset. Some of us can personally remember with what determination Parliament on the report of the Bullion Committee in 1816 enacted at every hazard the renewal of cash payments at the Bank.

With respect to the princes, it stands to reason that the restrictions to which they are condemned must operate with twofold venom upon the state. The jealousy, which keeps them spell-bound in the Seraglio, hoodwinks their understandings, and renders the want of knowledge an heirloom in the ruling family, at the same time that it confirms their imperial keeper in those habits of indolence and self-indulgence which the dread of competition and popularity on their side might otherwise counteract. It tells with unusual force in a country where so much depends on the personal acquirements of the sovereign, and at a period when every government is expected to give proof of qualities commensurate with the wants of its people and the progress of its rivals. A word would suffice to remove this nightmare from the palace, and its consequences from the empire. But that word must be pronounced by the Sultan himself; and he cannot with reason be expected to pronounce it, until he is brought to comprehend the injustice and real impolicy of the established practice.

The reigning Sultan was treated with brotherly indulgence by his late kind-hearted predecessor. He was allowed, in some respects, a more than usual degree of liberty; nor was he entirely shut out from the sources of Western instruction. But there is reason to believe that his access to those branches of knowledge which are essential to a liberal course of education in Christendom was of very contracted proportions; and we have never heard that he was at any time called to take part in political matters during his brother's reign. Granting him the best intentions and a sound natural discernment, it is highly improbable that he possesses either the habits or the principles which are required to give him a real control over his ministers, and to fortify him against the seductions of irresponsible power. If he is sincere in his professions of reform, and feels, as in that case he must, the difficulties which surround him, he will not be sorry

to lend an ear to the counsels of his allies, and to strengthen his position by their united and sympathetic support.

It would certainly require more than a word to redress the defects of the currency; but the temporary sacrifice essential to that object would be overpaid by its results, and a real economy, such as now, it would appear, is in progress, followed by other productive reforms, and sustained by the concurrent action of friendly Powers, would go far to revive the credit and open the resources of the Porte to an indefinite extent.

We ground our hopes, in this respect, on measures which appear to have been adopted by the Sultan's Government within the last few months. A sweeping reduction of the household establishment, the adoption of a less extravagant scale of salaries and pensions, more than one attempt to moderate the profits of usury, the contraction of paper issues, advances made from the sovereign's private treasury in payment of arrears due on public account, the appointment of a special commission for the control of administrative expenses, and, above all, the admission of foreign agents to the examination of the State finances, are so many indications of a decided tendency towards improvement. Some of these measures may be incomplete, and they are all subject to curtailment and misdirection; but, on the whole, they warrant the hopes we have already expressed, and may well encourage those sovereigns and statesmen, who take an interest in the Sultan's welfare, to lend him all reasonable aid in the prosecution of his internal reforms.

Those to whom every molehill is a mountain, every redoubt an impregnable fortress, may fancy that the greatest success in these respects would have little or no effect—if any, a disastrous one—on that diversity of races, and consequent opposition of feelings and interests, which makes the Turkish empire a hotbed of internal disunion. That there, as elsewhere, difficulty and danger exist, cannot be fairly denied; but candour, while making the admission, is entitled to protest against its exaggeration. In their days of prosperity, the most enlightened of Turkish ministers might reasonably have opposed any serious relaxation of the Mussulman system. It was sufficient for the purpose that all went on as usual, and that no defeat or deficit, insurrection or calamity, was likely to throw more than a passing shadow on the stability of the empire. Turks were Turks; and Rayahs, Rayahs. Both were to move invariably in their separate spheres; and if Christian heads were exposed to Turkish sabres, it was natural that they should be occasionally cut off. But the successors of those statesmen have no such luxury to enjoy. They are embarked on a current generated by false principles and vicious

errors, which threatens to sweep them into ruin,—government, religion, empire, and all! It is only by steaming or rowing strenuously against the flood that they can hope to escape. Their best exertions may ultimately fail; but, taken in the right direction, they offer good chances of safety, retarding meanwhile the consummation to be dreaded, and softening the approaches to what in the end may prove inevitable.

This for the worst. But the danger itself is far less than might be supposed at a distance. Numerous, and at heart disaffected, as the Sultan's non-Mussulman subjects are, they have by no means the force either of union or of endurance. Their separation into different classes on the ground of race or creed is evidently a source of weakness to them. They have little sympathy for each other. They are rival competitors for Turkish favour, and in some respects antagonistic among themselves. What they have most in common is the habit of submission to Turkish rule. Neither Greek, nor Armenian, nor Slavonian can hope to occupy a throne left vacant by the professor of Islamism. Each class in the supposed case would probably consent more cheerfully to the Sultan's authority than accept the rule of an adverse Christian sect. M. Ubicini,—we quote from Lady Easthope's excellent translation of his work,—has the following words:—'The ancient and bitter animosities which divide the Christian communities subject to the Porte, the jealousy and detracting spirit which infect them all, have augmented the difficulties of my task.'* The Christians, in proportion as the Turks extend the circle of their privileges, and treat them with forbearance and consideration, have less to stimulate their longing for independence, and less to raise them above the dread of their long-established conquerors. On the same account their hold upon the sympathies of Christendom, and the confidence they might derive from that source, are greatly attenuated. Besides, the weight of the Ottoman sceptre has never pressed upon them by immediate contact with the whole surface of their every-day life. From the time of the conquest, as we have already observed, they have been allowed, in some important respects, to manage their own affairs. Even the collection of the Haratsch, before the abolition of that tax, was intrusted to their own magistrates. The amount to be levied on each district was fixed by the Porte, or, it might be, by the Pasha; but the assessment was regulated by the elders or notables of each religious community. What they most felt, and what in reality they had most to complain of,

* Preface to the Letters, vol. ii. p. 5.

was the arbitrary abuse of power, the unauthorized exactions, the oppressive or humiliating treatment of individuals. But all these incentives to revolt have been gradually dispersed, and are more likely to die away from want of fuel than to gather fresh strength from an increase of liberty and the prospects of further improvement.

More, much more, if our space would admit of it, might be written on this inexhaustible theme. Writer and reader have hitherto travelled on together, and have now together reached, not indeed the terminus, but a station where they may conveniently take breath, and review, as from some elevated point, the various stages of their road. The object of the journey is not an idle one. Its character is most serious. It cannot be dismissed from thought like a railway excursion or a dissolving view. Let us, before we part, compare notes, and determine, if possible, whether, from argument and statement here set forth, we are warranted in drawing conclusions on which our minds may rest with a certain amount of conviction, and whether we are entitled in conscience to wish that our convictions should pass, as eventual rules of action, into the minds of others more powerful than ourselves.

Has it been fairly established, in the preceding pages, that we have, as a nation, strong motives continually in operation, and founded on our own immediate interests, for maintaining and improving our friendly relations with Turkey; that a considerable and growing portion of our trade is derived from the Turkish dominions; that, in a political point of view, we have much to apprehend from their further decline or dissolution; and that our communications by steam and telegraph with India and our immense possessions there are dependent on the goodwill and protection of the Ottoman Government?

In the next place, are we satisfied that it has been our policy, and also our practice, from an early period, to cultivate friendly relations with the Porte? Have we not, in later years, and in actual emergencies, either hastened to her succour by means of counsel, mediation, and even occasionally by active assistance, or taken part, however reluctantly, in coercive measures calculated to bring her into a state of political harmony with the Powers of Christendom?

Thirdly—Is it not proved that, as one of those Powers, we have given our formal guaranty for the independence and integrity of the Sultan's dominions, incurring thereby a positive obligation to redeem our pledge, when called upon, at the cost or immediate risk of British treasure and blood?

Fourthly—

Fourthly—Is it not manifest that, whether from within or from without, the Turkish empire is exposed to an imminent danger of falling into confusion and becoming eventually a prey to the ambition of its most powerful neighbours, liable at any time to become adverse to our policy and jealous of our prosperity?

Fifthly—Has it not been shown that Turkey, notwithstanding its many causes of weakness and of social embarrassment, possesses a fund of resources which have only to be worked by means within reach, in order, as a consequence of the process, to retard indefinitely, if not to avert entirely, the impending catastrophe? May it not be added with truth that the obstacles to improvement are so far from being irremovable that many of them, and some in appearance the most obdurate, have already yielded to the pressure of necessity and the evidence of facts?

Sixthly—Can it be denied at the same time that the Turkish Government has displayed, together with a sense of its weakness, an utter incapacity for extricating itself without support and assistance from the dangers which surround it; that, left to its own unaided exertions, it has no reasonable prospect of escape; that even now it depends for existence on the forbearance of the Christian Powers; and that we are bound in duty, no less than entitled to require as the price of our guaranty, its strenuous enforcement of such measures as are necessary, according to its own proclaimed and recorded confession, to sustain its vitality and to justify the responsible confidence of its allies?

If, as it would seem, there can be only one true answer to these questions, the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from them may be left with safety to the deliberate judgment of the country. The interests of our trade with Turkey, Persia, and the Danube, those of our political power on the shores of the Euxine, the Archipelago, and the Mediterranean, those again of our direct communications with India—to say nothing of China and Australia—are palpably concerned in the decision. Are we to relinquish, when it is most needed, a policy dating from one of the best periods of our history? Are we to surrender without necessity a position acquired by the exertions of our diplomacy, and by the triumphs of our arms? Are we to wait with fettered limbs and bandaged eyes for that solution of the Eastern question which we of all others have most reason to deprecate? Or, are we, in a wiser and nobler spirit, to confront the peril which hitherto we have never ceased to acknowledge,—to employ at once, though with some inconvenience and doubt, the means required for meeting it with effect,—and to do our best without hesitation for diverting a calamity which, be it far or near, must

be attended in its consummation with evils of the greatest magnitude?

A straight, an obvious course lies open before us. It is recommended no less by a true conception of our interests than by rights and obligations pressed home on our sense of duty by a just apprehension of worse. We are free to enter upon it, or rather to persist in following it, without any immediate sacrifices, even of a financial kind, and with no greater difficulties to encounter than must ever attend upon a course of diplomatic action limited by its object rather than by time, and applied, in concurrence with other Powers, less in earnest perhaps than ourselves, but engaged ostensibly, as we are, to the complicated affairs of a distant empire and a mistrustful government.

Should doubts remain, let the alternative, such as it is described above, be fairly and carefully weighed. Let it be weighed in connection with our special engagements. If there be any ulterior consideration, which ought to tell powerfully on the scale, it is this. A course of policy directed to the maintenance of general peace by means of an improved administrative system throughout the Turkish empire under the concurrent operation of the Porte and her allies, even if it were to fail as to the ultimate intention, would in its progress work beneficially for Europe, and more especially to the relief of millions in Turkey who are still exposed in various degrees to the joint effects of misgovernment and fanaticism.

We have not been deterred by distance or expense from seeking to correct by force of arms the perverseness of China and Mexico. In both instances we have acted in concert with allies, who, not unfairly, may be thought open to other motives of policy than those which determine our own conduct. In the case of Mexico we seem to be influenced, more or less, by the hope of contributing, directly or indirectly, to the settlement of that country on some institutional basis fitted to raise it from its present calamitous and humiliating condition. Our Government might, surely, be charged with inconsistency, to say no more, if they continued to withhold from Turkey that measure of peaceful but steady assistance, which so many powerful motives enjoin as being imperatively required for the purpose of realizing those indispensable reforms, to which they have devoted from time to time so much official correspondence and so many desultory suggestions.

We have not space for going, as we could wish, into an examination of the official correspondence to which the heading of our present article refers. We observe with satisfaction that, if
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the required reforms have not been constantly pressed upon the Ottoman Government with equable perseverance, they have never been left entirely out of sight, and that of late they have been urged with serious and active attention under more impressive instructions from the head of our Foreign Office. It appears that in Downing Street, and also at Constantinople, the social and administrative improvements effected in Turkey during the last twenty years are substantially acknowledged, that the importance of following them up under foreign advice is partly at least appreciated, and that no concealment is practised with respect to the consequences of neglecting them. It is but reasonable that precedency should be given to reforms in the financial department, as constituting the necessary basis of improvement elsewhere; but they are only a part of the general revivifying system commenced at Gulhané, and completed with the pacification which closed the Crimean war,—a most essential part, no doubt, but still only a part, of the Imperial Charter, the whole of which, in our point of view, is needed to rescue the Turkish empire from its actual evils and eventual perils.

Since the preceding paragraphs went to press many of our readers have, no doubt, seen, in common with ourselves, both in public journals of high reputation and in the reports of Parliamentary Debates, more than one remarkable statement, confirming our impressions as to the capacity of the Turkish Empire for improvement, with the aid of European advice and concurrence. It appears that the agents, to whom we have already alluded, as having been sent to Constantinople for the purpose of inquiring into the real condition of the Porte's revenue, were received by the Ottoman Ministers with cordiality, and allowed in the most unreserved manner to investigate every branch of their financial accounts. Her Majesty's Government, owing to the confidential character of the inquiry, have not felt themselves at liberty to lay before Parliament the particulars reported to them by Lord Hobart and Mr. Foster; but the report has been highly praised by Mr. Layard, when speaking in the House of Commons on behalf of the Foreign Department, and the public is authorized by his language to believe, not only that the Turkish revenue is considerably more than equal to the demands upon it, but also that it is capable of much progressive, and in some respects even of an immediate increase.

The measures of reform suggested with this view are said to be simple, practical, and satisfactory to the Porte. They appear, moreover, to rest on principles long understood and applied with good effect in the greater part of Christendom. We have only
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to express an earnest hope that the results may correspond with this promise, and that a complete financial reform will be speedily followed by the other no less necessary reforms so often recommended by the Sultan's Allies and proclaimed by the Sovereign himself in the name of humanity, of wisdom, and of justice.

ART. IV.—1. *Addresses to the Candidates for Ordination on the Questions in the Ordination Service.* By Samuel Lord Bishop of Oxford. Third Edition. Oxford and London, 1861.

2. *Duties of the Parish Priest.* By J. J. Blunt, B.D. London, 1861.

FAILURES of harvests, blights on the food of Ireland, embargoes upon cotton, the want of crews to man our ships, and of soldiers to guard our coasts, the dearth of noble minds to elevate the mind of the nation, and of statesmen to guide its counsels—one loss, perhaps, in its possible results the saddest of all, of that domestic support and comfort so needed by a beloved and widowed Queen in her deep anxieties—with all these various forms of national distress England of late years has been familiar. We are now warned, by voices not likely to be mistaken, of another approaching dearth and failure, and one most formidable, which assuredly requires our attention—a failure in the supply of our clergy. More than one Bishop has signalled the approaching dearth, and even without their practical experience no prophet is required to foretell it.

The causes are obvious and various: some calling for cheerful hope and gratitude, and some for sadness and anxiety.

First and foremost stands the extraordinary resuscitation and development of the English Church, by its own spontaneous activity, within the last twenty years, to which there is probably no parallel in the whole course of ecclesiastical history. Perhaps no statistics in this statistical age would convey such a lesson, and exhibit such a picture of moral influence and energy, as a full and accurate view of the exertions and expenditure of the English Church, within that period, in the multiplication, enlargement, improvement, reconstruction, and decoration of churches, in the erection of parsonage-houses, in the creation and maintenance of schools, in the increase and decorous performance of religious services, and, we wish it could be added, in the establishment of charitable and religious institutions. True, that this work has been wrought by comparatively few hands; that its extent is still wholly

wholly inadequate to the real wants of the nation ; that the offerings, though counted by millions, bear but a small proportion to the wealth of the empire, and to the mercies which have been showered upon it. This is not at present the question before us, but only the demand which has thus been created for an increased supply of the clergy.

In the mean time this supply has been even diminished by other causes. New fields of exertion have been opened for active and intelligent minds in India, the colonies, the civil service, and especially the army. And the extent to which this has drained the springs which previously fed the Church is to be measured by the number not merely of minds which have actually engaged in these new fields of labour, but of those which even in boyhood have thus been diverted and tempted from the contemplation of Holy Orders as a profession. The improvement which has taken place in the army alone, and the elevation of a military life, as a profession, by the trials of actual warfare, have attracted—as the experience of the heads of our Schools and Colleges will attest—a multitude of the most active, intelligent, and high-principled minds among the young who, under other circumstances, would have devoted themselves to the Church.

Thirdly, the recent changes, by which the Legislature has divested our two great Universities of their essentially ecclesiastical character, and altered the character of their studies, and thrown open their endowments to secular competition, have necessarily diminished, to an extent very serious to contemplate, both the encouragement and opportunities for the study of Theology.

And lastly, the lamentable unsettlement of young minds, the shock which all religious faith has received from the strifes, the extravagances, the treacheries, the disappointments, the oscillations, of religious controversy, and, most of all, from the poisonous scepticism now disseminated even by teachers and authorities within the Church itself,—all this has so disturbed, and perplexed, and disheartened the most earnest and acute of young minds, that they dare not devote themselves to the Ministry. Would to God that we could stop here ! Would to God there were no grounds to believe a statement recently made by one not unlikely to be cognizant of the fact !

‘ The doubts,’ says Mr. Hughes, ‘ which have now to be met, have, as was sure to be the case, taken more hold on our younger men than on any others amongst us. For many years I have been thrown very much into the society of young men of all ranks. I spend a great part of my time with them. I like being with them, and I think they like being with me. I know well, therefore, how rare anything like
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a living faith—a faith in and by which you can live, and for which you would die—is amongst them. I know that it is becoming rarer every day. I find it every day more difficult to get them to speak on the subject: they will not do so, unless you drive them to it.’—*Religio Laici*, by Thomas Hughes, author of ‘Tom Brown’s School-Days,’ &c., p. 9.

Now there is one very awful point of view, in which the failure in the supply of our Clergy will be contemplated by those who see in this world a vast battle-field between the powers of good and the powers of evil, and in the Clergy the chiefs and leaders under whom that warfare is to be waged. But such a view is too solemn for these pages. We propose rather to regard it as it would be regarded by an English Statesman, calm-minded, practical, and sober, but not superficial; one who really understands both the theory and the working of that English constitutional system, under which the vast fabric of the British Empire has grown up and been developed, and maintained upon the foundation of a rock, while all the other kingdoms of the earth have been convulsed or shattered into ruins. Let us consider what is the real work and function which the English clergy (the parochial clergy especially) actually perform in that vast complication of organised machinery by which this nation is really governed and preserved. At the present moment there is a general recognition of its utility. Calumnies and abuse of the clergy have become a less favourite topic for popular oratory. A proposal to expel from our country parishes and our town districts all our Rectors and Curates would meet but a feeble response. And this pause and respite from attack is due partly to the absence of any political antagonism at present between the clergy and the populace, partly to the moderated tone of religious controversy (to whatever cause that moderation is to be assigned), but chiefly to the earnest yet temperate activity of the great mass of the clergy in the discharge of their duties, and to a general recognition of their value and necessity. And this value and necessity, in the view of a sound political philosophy, is probably the following.

The individual man is almost powerless for good. Till he gathers his fellows round him, concentrates, and apporions, and distributes their labours, subordinates them to one direction, and so forms an organic body, he can do nothing. The wealth, the might, the majesty, the liberty of the British empire are due not to the mere aggregation and activity of monads or units of mankind, but to social bodies, to their internal constitution, their multiplication, their adaptation to their ends, their subordination to each other.

And

And just as the growth of animal and vegetable life germinates and radiates from a multitude of centres, each centre being itself not an atom, but a nucleus of atoms, so the healthy expansion and growth of our political society develops itself from a multitude of points, which serve as centres to the activity of individuals, and organises them into masses.

The liberty, which it is the pride and perfection of the English constitution to ensure for its subjects, is not a licence without law, but a freedom from external restrictions still controlled by an internal morality. If you would dispense with Acts of Parliament and a Police, you must substitute for them the restrictions of conscience. All human activity to be good must be subject to law, but internal and not external.

This, then, is the special function of the English clergy: first, to supply a multitude of centres, dispersed and planted throughout the kingdom, round which, in every parish, the voluntary energies of the citizens may be gathered and organised for purposes of good; and secondly, to infuse into all the operations of the Empire, from the lowest to the highest, that principle of elevated conscientiousness which may render external restriction wholly unnecessary. This is the abstract theory to be kept in view both by the Statesman and the Churchman. The English clergy are essential instruments for the development and moral guidance of the Liberty of Englishmen. They occupy the very opposite position to that which is generally assigned to them by superficial assailants, who represent them to the populace as the enemies of freedom and the allies of despotism. Rather, in their natural and true functions, they are the enemies of despotism, and the necessary allies of liberty. And in this light, while they are to be strictly confined to their true duties, they are also to be earnestly supported and encouraged in them by every philosophical Statesman.

Before we illustrate this general statement by a more detailed outline of the work of the parochial clergy, and gather from this a view of the qualities required in them, the education which they need, and the sources from which they are to be supplied, let us meet at once the suspicions and jealousies with which the State is tempted to regard the power and influence of the Clergy.

No doubt it is a formidable thing to see garrisoned and established throughout the country a vast body of men (the English clergy at present number between 17,000 and 18,000, and that number is sadly inadequate to the work which is before them), claiming, and possessing authority, and power, which is not
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derived from the State, and therefore may be turned against it. But the English Church is pledged beyond any other to loyalty and obedience, and to abstinence from wrong interference with the secular action of the State. If it abandons these principles, it abandons itself. Its authority must perish.

No doubt it is a formidable thing to contemplate the possibility of foreign leagues, and co-operation between the Clergy of England and the Clergy of other countries, especially when the federal character of the Christian Church authorises and enforces their attraction and cohesion. But the singularly insulated position of the English Church, its Protestant doctrines, its strongly-developed nationality, and the fundamental charter of its own liberties, which rests upon the asserted independence of national churches, remove this alarm.

Once more, it is a formidable thing for the State to contemplate, on many occasions, if not a formal antagonism, at least a vast amount of moral resistance to its schemes from the influence of the clergy. But the absence of any strong hand to concentrate and wield their opposition, the separation and independence of the several Bishoprics, the great variety of character and principle maintained in the Episcopate itself by the nature of their appointment, the loose ties by which the whole organization of the clergy is held together, their domestic relations, which keep them citizens and Englishmen as well as clergy, and the variety of classes, and types of education, from which the clergy are supplied—all these conditions, which exist nowhere so fully developed as in the English Church, are an adequate security against any continued, permanent, irrational antagonism of the clergy against the State. Temporary estrangement there may be; occasional remonstrances, even wide-spread agitation at times; but these are the necessary contingencies of a Constitutional System. They can never amount to rebellion, until the English Church abdicates the charter of its power.

Two other perils, less immediately affecting the autocracy of the State, but very seriously imperilling the happiness and freedom of the citizen, may still be imagined; but each of these is adequately guarded against by the constitution of the English Church.

First, it is essential to the peace and unity of the empire that the spiritual teaching, and moral influence, thus permitted to act throughout the whole frame of society should be regular, uniform, and consistent. Let the Clergy planted in our Parishes break up into schools and factions, distract the public by controversies and novelties, set Parish against Parish, and Diocese against Dio-
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cese, daily unsettling belief and disturbing usages; and even a foreign invasion would be scarcely more destructive to the peace and happiness of the people than this intestine conflagration.

On the other hand, let the Clergy be banded together in one vast conspiracy to force upon the country one rigid form of dogmatism, to drive and ram down all the natural expansions of human opinion into one shape, and that a shape of their own creation; and whether the result would be the enslavement of the national intellect, or, what is far more probable, a rebellion of unbelief, in either case a terrible blow must be inflicted on the empire.

And, we ask, in the whole range of religious denominations, where is there such security to be found against both these perils as in the principles of the English Church? It does enforce upon all its members, as the condition of admission and adhesion to its body, One Definite Faith—its Creeds; but it does this with an express and most solemn prohibition against any alteration in that Faith, any addition, or any subtraction: a prohibition founded not on human opinion, but on positive divine command. And it does also impose upon its Clergy certain other limitations on their teaching—its Articles—limitations not arbitrarily or gratuitously invented, but rendered necessary in this particular country by errors of the day. But against any capricious alteration or enlargement of these limits upon the free thought of the clergy there stands, first the paralyzation of the only legislative organs, through which such a change could be effected; and secondly, the strong and deep conviction, which has so recently pronounced against the alteration of the Prayer-Book. No other religious community in the world presents itself to the Statesman with such securities at once for uniform and definite doctrines, and against arbitrary and tyrannical dogmatism.

Let us now examine the working of the parochial clergy more in detail, and ask if its functions be not properly described as the development and safeguard of the liberties of Englishmen. Imagine a district such as popular novelists like to describe as a fit scene for some tragedy of crime; an outskirt, if you will, of some vast manufacturing town, peopled with neglected and abandoned pauperism, alternating between the riot of high wages and the destitution of a famine; no voice to warn, no hand to guide, no eye to bless them. The Sundays profaned, the homes squalid, the children in rags, the streets echoing to blasphemy, all the odiousness of vice flaunting in filth, and every face stamped with the seal of misery and sin. How many such wildernesses are there in our populous districts, calling with a voice of agony
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for some friend to come and help them, and that friend the parochial clergyman! He comes, and what is his first work? It is to obtain a place for public worship; to call together, if only two or three, for prayer and listening to God's word—only two or three. But here in this voluntary act, in this first effort of reviving freedom of a soul struggling to shake off the fetters and slavery of sin, is to be found the germ and spring of all the true liberty that follows. This nucleus of an emancipated humanity once formed, his next step is to open a school. He can but open his doors, can but offer instruction; he has no power to compel—all must be free, all voluntary. And what is the object of the school but to develop the free agency of man, to give liberty to intellect and thought, to create power in the individual mind, to raise up barriers against all oppression either of mind or body? There have indeed been systems of education, very specious and very ingenious, which outwardly professed this cultivation of free intelligence, but really were contrived so to entangle the taste and mind in questions and fields of thought remote from practical life, as practically to enslave, to emasculate, and to paralyse them. But whatever are the shortcomings and failures of the education provided by the English Church, no one can lay this hypocrisy to its charge. The school rising by the side of every church is an honest, faithful endeavour to enlarge, to strengthen, to liberate, and extend the powers of the human mind, the freedom of Englishmen, the freedom especially of the poor and the depressed. But the school—Professor Blunt, in his admirable work, has traced minutely all the process*—brings the clergyman at once into contact with the home; the home, that real elemental compound atom—to use the language of science—out of which all political society, but especially the social system of England, is developed. You say that in the creation of this element the clergyman has no hand, that he finds it already existing, that he is not the central influence round which it crystallises. Is this the case? Is not the sanctity of marriage, its indissoluble tie, its divine blessing, and its divine obligation, the one grand talisman of domestic happiness and domestic virtue? Strip it of this—as the State is now stripping it—cast away the blessing at God's altar, and the sanction of God's word, break through the restrictions imposed by the Creator of man upon man's passions and temptations, couple the miserable outcasts of the people by a civil registrar, and ensure to them the unlimited privilege of divorce upon condition of adultery or cruelty, and what becomes of the family? If no moral power can be brought to bear upon the passions which

* Blunt's 'Duties of the Parish Priest,' Lect. VI., p. 177.

originate the family, what must be its end? And what moral power can be found, except the influence of religion in the hands of a Christian Clergy? Even the creation then of the family depends mainly upon the clergyman; and how much also of its purification and its direction! There is the drunken husband, the slattern wife, the neglected children, the wastefulness of want, the unloving, uncheering, unblest, despairing aspect of a home of poverty and sin. Whose hand is to unlatch the door, and enter with a right to speak words of comfort, and calls to exertion? Whose eye is to throw light upon that darkness? Whose voice is to rouse shame, and encourage hope, and promise aid, and reinforce self-respect, but that of the parochial clergyman, who comes not as an unauthorised intruder, but *because he is sent*? Few of us realize the potency of that one condition of the Christian ministry—preaching because they are sent, because it is their duty, their business, their commission; and not that officiousness, against which the English mind rebels with singular repugnance, a self-pretentious interference with the private concerns of others.* But from the family thus purified and elevated by the moral influence of the clergyman, proceed the various other voluntary organisations, by which prudence, and temperance, and self-respect, and knowledge, and self-control—(all of them dependent on religion) and therefore true liberty, and real power—are developed among the poor. The weekly pence saved from the alehouse for the school, the clothing fund, the coal fund, the benefit society, the infirmary, the burial club, the library, the savings-bank, the mechanics' institute, the lecture-room; even the mite, by which the missionary labours of the Church are assisted, becomes the germ of comfort and independence in our manufacturing districts, sometimes even of wealth. And of all these the clergyman is the natural centre, the mainspring, and the guiding head. And to

* It is often supposed that the self-instituted and self-authorized exertions of other religious bodies are more acceptable to the poor than the regular *mission* of the Church of England. We took pains some years since to substantiate and verify the following anecdote:—A Clergyman, from whom we received the statement, was appointed by his Bishop to act as a sort of Missionary to the labourers employed in forming a railway. He interposed one day to remonstrate against some profane and blasphemous language, and was received with abuse and violence, till he told them that he was not interfering of himself, but was sent by the Bishop. 'O, Sir, if you are sent by the Bishop, that is another question. We are much obliged for his thinking about us. We took you for a Methodist parson.' Another time he went on a Sunday into one of the huts, in which a group were gathered together, and offered to read prayers to them. All assented and knelt down but one, who rudely refused to kneel, and refused to remove his hat. As soon as the clergyman began the Confession from the Prayer-Book, he too knelt down, behaved with decency and attention, and, as he rose up from his knees, repeated the same observation,—'O, Sir, if you are a real clergyman, that is another thing; we took you for a Methodist parson.'

assist them he is brought into contact with all the wealthier part of his parishioners—with the highest ranks of society. To these, alike, in their homes, their plans, and objects of life, especially their education, his advice from the pulpit, his personal example, his private ministrations—most of all in sickness and in sorrow—become an insensible influence for good; purifying and sanctifying the atmosphere of domestic life, bringing a moral law to bear upon all the free and unrestricted energies of Englishmen; and thus securing and justifying the liberty which is claimed and conceded for them. No one will dispute it. No one in his senses would propose to eliminate the Parochial Clergy from our social system. If complaints are made of them now, it is not that they are too active in these duties, or that these duties are superfluous; but that those who are pledged to perform them are remiss, or incapable, or indolent, or self-indulgent, and do not discharge them. The Bishop of Oxford has well observed, in one of the remarkable ‘Addresses’ which we have placed at the head of this article,—

‘Nor is it only with such discords between individuals that we have this special duty. We ought to be the reconcilers of those inevitable differences which divide classes of our parishioners,—teaching the richer and more educated of our people to feel with a true brotherly sympathy and respect for the peculiar trials and virtues of the poor and ignorant; softening the asperities which so naturally sour the minds of the farmers and middle class as employers,—and often poor and straitened employers,—towards their labourers and dependents; and being often by the side of the labourer and the poor with a view to allay those many bitter thoughts which will assail their minds against those above them in worldly provision. This work, again, is not an easy one. It requires much judgment, a real knowledge of the circumstances of all classes in their details, and even of their habits of thought, and great firmness also, to perform it effectually. We must yield improperly to none if we would succeed. It will not, for instance, really help the poor man if you merely sympathize with his trials; nay, you may so do this as to increase his bitterness against those who seem to him to cause them, and who do not, perhaps, as they should, mitigate their violence. To help him in this hard strife you must first, indeed, have made him sure that you do sympathize with him, but then you must dare, kindly of course, yet plainly and firmly for his own sake, to check his complaints, and to take the side of his seeming oppressors up to the measure of truth, and to make him feel that all the suffering is not, as he thinks, with himself, and all the wrong with them, but that he too is chargeable with his share of the wrong, as they bear theirs of the suffering.’—pp. 241-2.

And now we can understand something of the class of minds required for such a work, of the conditions which must regulate their supply, and of the training which is to form them. Is the
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interest and importance of these questions confined only to the Clergy themselves, and to their Bishops ; or is it of vital moment even to the Statesman ?

First, then, it is obvious that the mind required for the functions of parochial clergyman must be one practically conversant with society and life. There must be firmness, gentleness, judgment, common sense, administrative power, and also that nameless charm and spell, by which man is able to gather others round him as round a common centre, and to organise, and regulate, and inspire all their movements. There must, indeed, be within the body of the Church, even for parochial purposes, deep abstract learning, and the profoundest piety—learning and piety which shrink instinctively from the rough work in the battle of the world : but the deepest learning and most earnest piety will not enable men—rather they will too often disable them—for parochial work, unless accompanied by other qualifications, which will not always be found combined with them. The parochial clergyman must, as all his advisers warn him, from Chrysostom and Augustine to the Bishop of Oxford, and Mr. Blunt, and Dr. Hook, reserve to himself from the absorption of business his hours of study and devotion. If he fails in this, the fruits of his labours and the powers of his own mind must wither and die away. But his immediate, his special work, is active communication with other men. And without the habits which fit him for this—habits which are most foreign to the recluse student and the spiritualised ascetic—he is powerless. Shyness and reserve, distaste and weariness in business, the want of *bonhomie*, difficulty of expression, timidity, failure in practical knowledge, indiscretion, an over-addiction to forms, fastidiousness, scrupulosity, defect of self-control, roughness and awkwardness of manner, ignorance of the habits and minds with which he is brought in contact, incapability of understanding or applying those thousand little delicate managements and accommodations, which without compromise of principle are yet required in our intercourse with the world ; all these are incompatible with a successful discharge of his parochial duties. Ecclesiastical history—not to speak of the records of our parishes—is replete with warnings of the evils which these minor defects of character have brought upon the Church, even when coupled with most elevated holiness and the profoundest theological intelligence.

From this fact follow several corollaries. The first is this : If the work of the parochial clergy is so incompatible with the profound learning, and almost unearthly saintliness and withdrawal from the world, which constitute to so many minds

the ideal of the Minister of Heaven, and without which, maintained somewhere or another in the body of the Church, the Church cannot perform its functions, where are such high qualities to be found and how provided? Provided they must be. As pure abstract mathematics are required for the practical application of mixed mathematics, so a very accurate Theology and a very saintly tone of spiritual life must be always kept before the eyes, and ready for the warning and instruction, of the parochial clergy. Both truth and holiness risk defilement—risk, at least, the lowering of their tone—by too much collision with the world. The hard labourers, the rough battlers with the world, must see above them a reserved force of knowledge, and a most elevated standard of spiritual life, to correct, and guide, and elevate themselves. In the Jewish Church there were Prophets as well as Priests; in the early Christian Church functionaries of various kinds supernaturally inspired, as well as the daily labourers in the vineyard; in later ages vast monastic bodies, which, with all their sins and errors, kept the light burning amidst a dark and dreary world. In the English Church, at present, where are we to look for any such provision? Our Colleges, Universities, Cathedral bodies are the natural localities. There we might expect that when controversies arose upon the faith, when the parochial clergy needed guidance or correction in their theological perplexities, when the world was drawing them down too closely into the meshes of its own habits and temptations, voices might be found to sound the trumpet, and proclaim the truth; and sanctuaries, to which they might for a time retire to replume their ruffled wings and lives—sanctuaries by their saintliness and holiness fitted to lift up once more to Heaven the wearied, or dazzled, or deluded eye of him who was sinking in the rough battle with the world. Perhaps, were these Institutions multiplied, and duly peopled, and rightly administered, they would offer better and safer refuges and nurseries for the *Prophets* of the Church than any others which have been reared since the first days of Christianity—far better, far safer than the cell of the anchorite, or the cloister of the monk. They are not withdrawn too far from the world; they may be constructed and administered upon that great type established by Nature and sanctioned by the Gospel, family and domestic life. They involve social duties, and social affections—the great security against that over-excitement and extravagance, which in retirement and seclusion are so fatal to sobriety both of reason and of feeling. Our Colleges, our Universities, our Cathedrals—will they, can they even now—after all that has been done to
desecrate,

desecrate, and dismantle, and degrade them—will they, can they even now be restored as schools of the prophets—the prophets of the English Church? *

The second corollary is this: that the supply of our clergy must be drawn, as it long has been, from the more highly educated classes of society—not from the lower. A few years since a sentiment rather than a judgment was beginning to spread—that to bring the ministrations of the Church home to the poor we must employ the instrumentality of the poor—that ministers born and reared among the lower classes, and familiar with their habits and language, would be more able to make Divine truth familiar to them than minds rendered fastidious by superior cultivation and refinement. There was too much of Christian piety and Christian truth at the root of the suggestion to allow any one to treat it with indifference. The first Christian preachers were selected from the poor. True; but they were miraculously taught, miraculously endowed, and miraculously guided. There is no respect of persons in Christianity, and the poor are in an especial manner favoured by the gift of Heaven. True; but this only justifies the hope, that we may find among the poor as well as among the rich, a Christian piety and grace, which may fit the possessors of it for the office of the Ministry; it does not prove that poverty and want of social elevation are in themselves a condition for its performance. Assuredly a narrow and exclusive association with the upper classes does disqualify fastidious minds for intercourse with the lower; but this is the fault of a narrow, exclusive, fastidious education, and is to be remedied by improvement of education. And assuredly the English clergy to a vast and lamentable extent fail in striking home to the hearts and minds of their congregations, especially in their sermons. It is not that English sermons are not, as a mass, well written, sensible, true, and intelligent, even eloquent; but they are composed as writings rather than as speeches. Our instruction in these days is derived so much from books, that all productions have a tendency to cast themselves into that shape. Now, the nature of written and of oral instruction is essentially different. And it is this

* * Something, indeed, of no little importance has been done towards the preservation of Theological Learning by the recent multiplication of the Divinity Professorships at Oxford. It is to these that we may naturally look for advice and instruction in all those momentous Theological Questions which we must constantly be prepared to encounter. And their value here will be infinitely greater than in direct Theological Instruction to students in the University. But if the appointments are given to those whose time is already occupied, and who cannot devote themselves to Theology, or who fail to recognise it as their first duty to guide and lead the mind of the Church in its controversies and struggles, what has been gained by them?

fact which is not sufficiently impressed upon the English preacher. But this evil, again, has its own correction : and perhaps an inefficient declaration of truth is a less formidable evil than an efficient inoculation of error. On the other hand there stands the fact that from St. Paul to the most valued and influential ministers of this day, ecclesiastical history exhibits in a most striking preponderance of instances the beneficial union of birth and often of high rank, of early social advantages and general cultivation of mind, with the more obviously necessary qualifications of piety and self-devotion. The practical experience of every religious community will attest that a mind raised without early preparation to the superior rank and authority of a minister of religion is tempted to lose its balance. It becomes morbidly sensitive to social slights, morbidly pretentious, self-conscious—incapable of that quiet, steady self-respect combined with respect for others, which constitutes the tact and self-possession of a gentleman, and enables him to maintain his ground, and exercise his influence upon all classes, high or low, with calmness, delicacy, and firmness. The poor themselves infinitely prefer to be ministered to by gentlemen ; just as the soldier likes to be led by members of the class to which he has been in the habit of looking up. If the poor frequent places of worship to listen to teachers of their own rank, it is not from a preference of teachers of this kind, but that the service is more exciting, and the language, perhaps, more intelligible. If in all ages men of inferior position have been employed largely and most beneficially by the Church in her highest offices, these have been men adopted in early youth, and reared up in the bosom of vast institutions, or in families of elevated rank, which have supplied the deficiencies of birth by very early training in the habits and intercourse of society. And if a vital and practical Christianity does (as assuredly it will do) raise up, even in the humblest cottage, the true and real spirit of a gentleman, by communicating a higher birth and higher privileges than any earthly aristocracy can impart, and does thus fit even the poorest peasant for ministerial duties, this is only a confirmation of the value of the social rank itself, which, however imperfectly, operates in the same direction, and nurtures analogous habits of thought and feeling. Let us, indeed, never forget that no narrow, presumptuous exclusiveness—no arrogant pretensions of rank or blood—are tolerated by Christianity ; that the essential principle of English liberty, and even more of the Christian Church, is to open passages in all the barriers and distinctions of social classes, by which piety and worth may rise up freely from the lowest to the highest grades ; that the Gospel is no respecter
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of persons; that the upper classes in England extend over a far vaster proportion of society than in any other country in the world, comprehending not merely a nobility and hereditary gentry, but all the learned professions, the army and navy, mercantile houses, even wealthy trades and small independent fortunes; that all these possess in their degree, and in a very great degree, that element which is required for men who are to be accustomed in their youth to a certain position of superiority, namely, certain habits of command and self-respect, certain habits of intercourse with general society; so that in after-life, when called to a position of moral influence and professional elevation, they may not be as novices puffed up, or, as inexperienced in command, be too feeble to maintain and execute their office.

But with these facts borne in our minds we may listen with less impatience to the seemingly worldly suggestion (and yet even the editor of *George Herbert* does not despise it) that one of the essential conditions needed for the Church of England is that its clergy should be supplied from its gentry. One practical and most important result follows upon this condition, which neither the Bishop, nor the Statesman, nor the Christian can venture to neglect. Social position is in England of greater value than perhaps in any other country, in proportion to the universal struggle and recognised facilities for obtaining it. It possesses great attractions, compensates for many other deficiencies. The social rank of the English clergyman does therefore draw into the clerical profession not only many men and the sons of men who possess money but not rank, but also many who possess both rank and money, and desire only a healthy and beneficial occupation for their lives. We are speaking as a practical, prudent politician would speak—taking men and the motives of men as they exist. We cannot exclude from the choice of the Ministry as a profession mixed motives and imperfect feelings; and we do believe that now, as in former ages, a large proportion of the most devoted, most efficient, and self-denying of the parochial clergy will be found among men of the classes which we have called the upper classes. Lower the tone and position of the clergy, degrade it in the eye of society by a large infusion of inferior classes, and you will cut off from its resources not only a vast amount of private wealth, which is now expended within its bosom for its spiritual objects, but some of the highest and most gifted minds most capable of discharging its functions.

We now approach a third corollary connected with that part of the subject, and one to which we wish to ask especial attention—the education of the English clergy. It is a question
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of great extent. In whatever light the functions of the clergy are regarded, whether in their purely spiritual relation, or in their more secular contact with the world, the education which fits men for them must be carried back even to childhood. It must embrace the home, the school, the University, and whatever subsequent training may be needed between the University and Ordination, or even after Ordination. The child is father of the man: the seeds sown even in childhood will ripen in manhood, whether for good or for evil. At no period of life can you commence the education of the clergy so as to disconnect it with previous stages in the formation of character, and to render them a matter of indifference.

There is a wonderful charm in the vision which a devoted and elevated piety calls up at the thought of this education for the highest work in which men can be employed upon earth; and which vision, here and there, in the pages of ecclesiastical history is presented to us as almost realised. The child brought up on the lap of an earthly mother, and imbued by her with the love of prayer, and the knowledge of Scripture; the boy guarded from all temptations, and preserved in purity and innocence either in the shelter of a religious home, or by some miracle of Providence through the ordeal of school; the youth still pacing on to heaven midst holy aspirations, and holy studies, and holy companions, repelling by an internal saintliness all the defilements of common life, anticipating in the first days of manhood the perfections of matured old age, and called away from his pastoral duties to the enjoyment of a heavenly crown, with faculties undecayed, and without a stain upon the baptismal purity, or a violation of the priestly vow. Beautiful vision! Noble and glorious contemplation! One to be held constantly before the eyes of the Church, as an ideal, to which it must aspire—that ideal, without which the mind of man would sink down into the low level of common humanity! and yet one which no practical mind cognisant of facts can hope to see realised, except in a few rare instances, by almost a miracle from heaven. No! much as we may long, earnestly as we may pray, that the fertilising streams of the Christian ministry may be fed only from such pure and un-earthly wellsprings, we must be content to take men as they are, and to work, as the Almighty Creator Himself works, with inferior and imperfect instruments. It may be that for the ordinary, the daily work of the Church, coarser materials and rougher tools may be needed. To deal with imperfect men it may be that imperfect men are needed. It may be that minds purer than the average of human nature, with too clear a con-

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templation of a spiritual world—too true a knowledge of human misery, and human depravity—too keen a horror of evil—too acute sympathy with suffering—too burning an aspiration for a better and a happier scene than this world offers, are unfit and unable to fight the rough battle of this life. One thing is certain, that, when the human mind is ripened for a perfect state, it is removed from earth; that its state therefore upon earth must be a state of imperfection; and that the ministry of the Church, like every other work intrusted to human hands, must be carried on by faulty, imperfect, undeveloped instruments. All that we can hope is to improve the good, to lessen the imperfection, gradually to correct the faults.

Let us begin then with the child, and with that person to whom the child is more immediately intrusted, and who in a multitude of instances is most deeply interested in the future destination of the child, and especially in his devotion to the ministry. If we do not quote the Scriptures, or confirm the suggestion by ecclesiastical biography, it is only because in these pages we do not wish to trespass too much upon holy ground. But we will urge upon all mothers, that upon their religious influence with the child, especially upon his early instruction in the Bible by a mother's hand and voice, more than upon any other agency, the supply of our clergy must depend. The healthy bias or the poisonous taint contracted in childhood must sink deep; no subsequent education, perhaps, will ever entirely eradicate it. It is the mother who is most powerful to communicate it, because from her must radiate that warmth of love which softens the heart and forms the character. If the mother neglects her duty to the child, no schools, or colleges, or universities, or discipline of life, can thoroughly repair the loss to him. If she looks forward, as in so many instances she does, with the hope and prayer that her child may become a Christian minister, she must do her part, and that part a most vital one, in his education. Only let her beware, lest the earnestness of her wishes, and the awful sense of her responsibility (for to careless, irreligious mothers it would be idle to speak), lead her to mar her work by over-excitement, over-training, over-inspection. This is the great danger in all religious education, but especially in religious education by a parent. It is a fact, which any one could attest who has had a long and extensive experience of young men (strange as it may sound, and inconsistent even with the Divine promise), that the worst and most hopeless cases of demoralization in youth may often be found in the sons of most religious parents, and in homes where the atmosphere has been most potently charged with religious excitement. And the

the cause is this: that children's minds (and the same thing may be said of boys and youths) are not capable of understanding, or appreciating, or assimilating themselves to that more advanced and sublimed tone of piety, which may be natural and necessary to the adult. The minds in childhood and in youth, most healthy, most full of promise, are also pronest to reserve, most simple, most quiet, most unobtrusive; least capable of expressing, or of affecting strong feeling, or of communicating with older minds upon subjects which, perhaps, most nearly touch their heart. The anxious, earnest parent, with his eyes opened to the real awfulness of the world in which he lives, is troubled and alarmed, when, in his child's conduct, he reads no external sign of strong religious feeling, and finds a bar opposed to any real spiritual communication with that child's inmost thoughts. Then he is tempted to call forth—if possible even to force—in the child some sign and outward manifestation of religion. He tries to work upon its feelings—to compel external acts—to put excited language into its mouth. All this is equally true of the child, and the boy, and the young man; and it is equally true of both extreme tendencies, which lie on either side of the moderation of the English Church. The result is, that, if feelings are thus evoked, they soon become chilled and exhausted; the acts sink into formalism, the language is hypocrisy, and the whole mind is estranged and disgusted with religion, and never recovers. Quietness, simplicity, reserve, delicacy, absolute truthfulness and sincerity, the exclusion of anything approaching to affectation or unreality, contentedness with small effects in the day of small things, patience, gentleness, gratitude, faith and trust in a higher Power, which is educating the child within, while we can only act on it from without, and a deep philosophical penetration into the real process of education, by which habits are formed in a sphere of petty relations and petty duties for the full subsequent discharge of them in a concentric world infinitely vaster;—these are the lessons to be impressed upon the parent, and especially upon the mother, who would rear up her child for Holy Orders. Put no excited language into his mouth; seek not to engage him too directly in matters above his reach; do not force him to long religious services; keep him carefully from the slightest taint of party spirit; set before him unpretendingly, if possible unconsciously, the beauty of Christianity by the example of a Christian life; guard against all suspicion of unreality or affectation in your own religion; sweeten all his study of the Scripture, or attention to the outward duties of religion, by whatever can innocently interest and engage
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a child, especially by your own affection. Let him perceive, though it be only through a veil and indistinctly, some faint image of the grand objects and awful persons which must fill and engross his mind when raised to maturity; but be content with the indistinctness, and fix the attention mainly on the performance of practical duties, the internal struggle to do what is not pleasant, as an act of obedience, and as a religious duty to an unseen Parent. Quietness, simplicity, truthfulness, practical example, patience, and faith! these are the grand lessons for parents who would educate the clergy from their cradle to the grave. Thus it was that the highest and noblest of Christian ministers and Christian saints have traced the germ of all their blessings to the early teaching and influence of a mother. Neander has observed the fact.*

And now the child must part from home and pass through his first and most fearful ordeal, the school detached from his home. How, then, will the Church endeavour to make provision for her future minister in this great trial? One fact (it is the fourth corollary, which may be drawn from the practical view here taken of the duties of the clergy) is this: that from home the boy must be separated, and to school he must be sent. We all know how the most religious and Christian minded parents shrink from this necessity; how earnestly they long to shelter the purity and innocence of the boy, as well as of the child, under their own wing; how they dread the temptations and contamination of a school. But, alas! there is a stern and universal law of Nature commanding the separation. No propagated life can be fully developed till it is severed from its parent stock.

‘ All life, that lives to thrive,
Must sever from its birthplace and its rest;
Bees from the swarming hive,
Foals from their dam, and eaglets from their nest.
Steel must the sapling lop,
Ere sunk in earth its fibres fresh will root;
Mast from the oak-tree drop,
Ere forest monarchs from the seed can shoot.
E’en golden stars, they say,
Were shower’d in sparkles from their parent sun;
And Death on worlds would lay
His hand, in nigher orbits if they run.
The embryo from the womb,
The infant from the breast must soon be won;
The schoolboy weep from home,
And manhood raise a roof-tree all his own.’

* ‘ Church History,’ vol. vii. p. 323.

No hope of sheltering weakness, or of preserving purity, can justify us in endeavouring to evade this fundamental and universal law in the propagation of life.

But with the practical duties of the clergyman before us, the necessity of conforming to this law becomes still more obvious. His life will be cast in the world; his duties will bring him into contact with all the various forms of humanity, and relations of society. The knowledge of man, and the habit of communicating with man, and of influencing man, must be one of his most necessary lessons. The whole action of the Church upon the world is the guiding, teaching, inspiring, correcting man. And how can a clergyman be an efficient instrument in her hand, if he knows nothing of man? But the school, if it be rightly formed, formed upon the great outlines of our public schools, will be a sort of microcosm. Its magnitude will embrace a sufficient variety of minds and classes. *Its internal self-government by boys* (and this is the grand distinction between a public and a private school) will call forth an amount of tact, of administrative power, of observation of character, we had almost said of political wisdom—at the least of practical prudence, self-control, and sound judgment, which would amaze any one not conversant with the real working of such a system. It is acknowledged in other professions—especially in the army. Take one boy from his home, and another from the upper part of a public school, and place them in any military command; and the difference is seen at once. One takes his place immediately, vaults as it were into his saddle as one accustomed to his seat. The other is shy, timid, reserved, fastidious, incapable of understanding and interpreting the acts and language of others, sure to involve himself in awkwardness and difficulties, and to mar the best intended labours by that which sounds so small a fault, and yet is so tremendous a calamity, want of manner, and want of tact. Waterloo was won in the playing-fields of Eton. This was the dictum of a Wellington. It embodies all that we want to enforce here, the necessity of a public school education for our clergy, as well as for our army. And therefore it is a very satisfactory thing that the schools (such as Marlborough College) which have recently been formed with a more immediate reference to the wants of the Church, and to the future supply of its ministry, should be planned generally upon the public school theory. This seems to be distinctly avowed as an essential feature in their constitution. How far it is successfully carried out we are not sufficiently acquainted with them to judge. Those who know best the internal working and mystery of great public schools will

will hesitate most to form any judgment from mere outward reports or appearances. But the principle of governing the school through the boys, of establishing and maintaining a sound and well-tempered monitorial or prefectorial system, *carefully inspired, and guided and supported by the master*, the removal as far as possible of restraints, the trusting as much as possible to the boys' honour, the abolition of everything like espionage or suspicious surveillance, the free action and development of boyish energy in their games, the cultivation of that patriotism of boyhood, that 'esprit de corps' which attaches them with pride and affection to the place of their education—everything, in fact, which can give scope and exercise to all those affections, and habits, and duties, which as men they will hereafter be called on to exercise in their parish or their diocese—all this is involved in the true idea of a public school, and must be carefully cherished and secured in any new institution which professes to educate our boys for our English Church. And these schools, in admitting to them a large number of those who could not afford the expense of Winchester, or Eton, or Harrow, and who might, therefore, though wrongly, be assumed to be drawn from the lower classes of society, may also perform a most salutary function, such as was discharged by the great monastic bodies of the middle ages. Those bodies possessed an aristocratical character of their own. They had power, wealth, dignity, position, habits of command, which they imparted in degree to all their members. They supplied, therefore, an aristocratical element (we mean by the word not an element of mere outward, selfish elevation, but an inward sense of self-respect, and habit of command) where naturally it was deficient, even to the poorest and the meanest. They brought the poor into contact with the rich, and wrapt them both in the same mantle of authority and dignity. So let us make these new Public Schools great institutions, institutions of which their members may all be proud, and the effect will be most salutary. It will inspire, even in the sons of the poor, a self-respect and self-confidence which will not only enable them to take their stand hereafter firmly and consistently in the maintenance of communication with the upper ranks, but will also exclude to a great degree that bitterness of discontent, that humiliating sense of disparity, that rebellion against the fastidiousness of social exclusiveness, which often tears society to pieces far more than struggles for higher objects, and which is especially to be dreaded when combined with the possession of a moral and spiritual authority. Take a poor and clever boy from a cottage, stimulate his talents, and educate him, not in a noble, manly
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English public school, but in a very different atmosphere, where there is nothing to elevate, or refine, or attract; then put him in a position of great spiritual power, where, nevertheless, from want of manner, and want of tact, and want of habits of society, and self-respect, and self-confidence, he finds a barrier between himself and the higher classes of the laity; and, should such cases become very common, the evil spirit thus engendered will be fatal to the peace and welfare of the nation. The example of the Romish priesthood in Ireland, educated in former days at Maynooth, is an instance before our eyes. We cannot help believing that a very great change for the better has within the last few years taken place, under what management we do not venture to conjecture. But every lover, whether of England or of Ireland, would rejoice to think that the Romish priesthood of Ireland were becoming a body, such as they were before Maynooth was first established, and capable by their birth, and manners, and liberal education of maintaining a rank and position in every class of society.

Thus far we have pleaded for a public school education for the English clergy as the best and only means of stamping upon them in boyhood a manly, practical, sensible English character, and rendering them capable of engaging in the practical toil of a clergyman, not merely with zeal and energy, but with tact, and judgment, and knowledge of the world.

But at once there rises up another view, and another influence of a public-school education. How many of the best parents are unwilling to commit any son (least of all, one whom they would devote and dedicate from his childhood to a holy calling) to the temptations and licence of a public school! Who, with the most sober and practical view of the ministerial office, will dare to contemplate such a discipline and trial as part of the necessary preparation for a clergyman's life, without offering an earnest remonstrance and prayer to those on whom the responsibility rests, that everything which is possible should be done, not to suppress the liberty, or extinguish the self-government, or fetter the invaluable activity of boyhood, but to superinduce upon this basis so much of watchfulness and care over the general system, of personal interest in the individual boy, of affectionate, fatherly communication with him, as may carry him safely through the necessary trial? One thing is clear, that nothing can exclude from any collection of boys a vast amount of evil. They are human beings. They bear within them all the seeds of evil which are engendered in our common humanity. They have not yet acquired the power of controlling their passions, or
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even of concealing them. Unless some more than ordinary skill has impressed upon the public opinion of that boyish world a higher tone than boys can create of themselves, the fermentation of the mass will quicken and stimulate the poison. There must be freedom, must be independence, must be removal from the immediate eye of the master, must be hours when no control is over them except that which can be exercised by the conscience of the individual boy, and by the public opinion of his fellow boys. Attempt to suppress this freedom (it is the first thought which tempts the anxious master), and the whole value of the education is lost. But in that freedom, in that withdrawal from the guiding eye, and the protecting arm, how many souls have perished!

Let us not think to lessen the risk by placing the boy in a smaller school, or under what is called private and domestic education. A smaller and private school, however excellent the individual who directs it, involves the same danger, but with far fewer chances of escape from it. The only security for the good government of boys must be found in their internal government by themselves, by a fixed constitution, by the establishment of a high tone of public opinion among them—a public opinion of boys, and not of men, for boys are governed by boys and not by men. To establish this requires time, precedent, an inheritance of principles and practices, a firm foundation of permanence, a sense that the code of laws thus laid down by prescription and usage is the heirloom of the place, not the momentary creation of an individual. Human nature, and the vices and temptations of human nature, will be as strong in a private and a small school as in a public and a large one, but without the same checks, and the same corrections. Private tuition is still worse: it possesses for the boy all the defects of home education with few of its advantages. No plant can be reared for healthy growth in the atmosphere of a hothouse.

No, with all the dangers and evils of our public schools, to these we must look. But how are these dangers and evils to be avoided? Some of them we must be content to bear with. Some amount of evil in a school, as in the world, is necessary to open a field for trial and resistance. A public school selected from angelic boys (if such a phenomenon could be found) would form a very bad place of discipline for human boys, and for human clergymen. There must be occasional cruelty, occasional deceit, occasional disobedience, occasional idleness, occasional extravagance, occasional profaneness, occasional bullying, occasional vice of all kinds. A judicious head-master will never attempt wholly to weed a public school of these tares. They must be patiently
endured,

endured, tenderly corrected, and prevented from spreading. But in a certain proportion they are the very conditions of a school, as sickness is the condition of a hospital. Nay, they are even useful and salutary. Without the temptations, the discipline, the antagonism, and the punishment of evil, good could never be developed either in the boy or the man; and Nature happily provides that in many of these cases, even where the good succumbs to the evil, no fatal or permanent mischief is done to the mind. A lesson in boyhood is learnt, often by serious pain, but not by loss of limb. The punishments of Nature upon the sins of boyhood are indeed most severe, severe in their amount of suffering (we are not thinking of bodily pain, the very least of all, but of the sufferings of conscience, and the wounds to feeling, which in boys are most acute), but such punishments do not taint the blood. Boys learn to stand upright by heavy falls, but the falls, like those of lunatics, are contrived by a Providential Hand to happen in padded rooms, upon cushioned floors. So at least it is with many of the follies, and faults, and even the sins of boyhood. But there are other sins in boyhood, infinitely more serious; and until our public schools can grapple with, and banish these, their work cannot be done. The purity of boyhood—how is this to be preserved and guarded through the ordeal of a public education? This grand question is not a question for these pages: it is one for the consciences, the intellects, the prayers, the earnest unremitting associated exertions of those good and powerful minds which are presiding over our public schools. In some cases it may seem to be answered by the proximity of home to the school. A good public school within reach of the home has many advantages, as also it has many disadvantages. But even in the great schools, where boys are wholly domiciled, we believe that a happier system of guardianship might remove a very large proportion of the evil influence produced by an ill regulated boyhood, which deters young men from devoting themselves to Holy Orders, which disturbs, and enfeebles, and often paralyses the exertions of the clergy, which lowers and chills the whole tone of their spiritual life, and disables them from grappling boldly and effectually with the worst sins of manhood.

These evils are not to be encountered by that rough and potent instrument of spiritual control, which seems to lie so ready for our hands in the magazines of Romanism. It is not to be met or eradicated by the Romish Confessional. We well know how good and earnest minds, under the sense of a gigantic evil, and with the feebleness of their existing resources, may be tempted to recur to this. How well it seems to facilitate the process,

process, and secure the object! But no remedy for evil, which suspends the primary laws of our moral nature, can be ultimately safe. It is not the outcry of a mob, or the jealous prejudices of Englishmen, or the bigoted self-will—if so you choose to call it—of an extravagant Protestantism, which raises the protest against introducing into a public school the system of the Romish Confessional. It is common sense, true knowledge of the human mind, high views of the scope of education, the warning of God Himself, that bids us beware of any system which breaks down the barriers of reserve that God has Himself interposed between man and man—any system which enslaves the boy to the teacher, instead of freeing the boy from himself, and raising him to a level with his teacher; any system which enfeebles and at last paralyses that self-reliance and self-exertion which it is the very end of education to develop; any system which can only be maintained by its necessary bribe of a conscience-searing licence of absolution, and which will infallibly result in a general corruption and degradation of the whole morality of society. God forbid that the Romish confessional should ever be introduced into any of our public schools!

Another warning is one beyond all others needed in the present day, when the recoil from previous neglect of the religious element in our public schools threatens us with the risk of falling into the opposite extreme. All that was said before of the religious teaching of the mother to the child must be applied to the religious atmosphere breathed into our public schools. Truthfulness, earnestness, reality, and, above all, simplicity, quietness, and reserve, must pervade it all. It must contain no *isms*; that is, no signs of self-conceit, or party spirit, or unauthorised experiments, or private individual theories. All must be sanctioned by legitimate authority, conformed to ordinary usage, without affectation, formality, excitement, or pretension. If there is one weak point in a system, or a man, which a boy instinctively detects, shrinks from, and rebels against with disgust, it is affectation, unreality. He will cheerfully attend Church services, as the Duke of Wellington acquiesced in the reading of the prayer for the Church Militant in his parish Church, the moment he perceives that it is ordered by proper authority. He will not be disgusted with religious teaching, though he may not be impressed by it, if it be simple and real; but he cannot bear excited appeals to his feelings, demands upon his outward demonstration of them, tricks and contrivances to stimulate devotion, or anything like acting. The whole system of the school must be imbued with religion, but it must be the religion of the English Church—calm, simple, sober, and sincere.

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Again, we would warn most earnestly those new Institutions, of which perhaps the leading idea and feature may be traced to a hope that they will act as seminaries for a future clergy; and in which, therefore, religious ordinances and religious instruction are most fully developed—not to rely on these, however simple and real they may be, and conformed to the spirit of the English Church, and to the temper of natural boyhood—not to rely on these as a means of excluding or correcting evil, unless they are accompanied by such an internal disciplinary influence on the boys, such a tone of public opinion among them, and such a personal and individual sympathy, as will prove a most powerful auxiliary. You may venture, without danger, to build a church, or to carry on the services of the Church, among a most vitiated populace, even though unaided by a police, because none will come to the church but those who are voluntarily drawn to it. You will make no hypocrites. But enforce daily services of the Church in a public school, invite boys to a weekly Communion, drench them with religious instruction, multiply around them the outward signs and forms of religion, while still within the school, undetected by the master, all the sins of boyhood are indulged; *and you will create a callous and depraved class of minds.* If you cannot keep down the cruelty of bullying, do not bring the bully and his victim to kneel side by side at the altar. If you cannot trust to the honour of your boys to keep out deceit, and lying, and all the wretched tricks and impostures of the schoolboy, do not multiply sermons, or lectures upon religion. Their consciences will only become, first distracted, then seared by the perpetual struggle needed to resist repentance. Religion, aided by moral influence, will do much—or rather, moral influence without it can do nothing; but if the moral influence is lost, the attempt to employ religion will harden, not purify, the heart.

Again, the experience of all will guard them against the delusion that the Chapel, and the Service, and the Bible, and the Sunday, and the Sermon, are the only, are even the chief instruments and occasions for religious instruction. As with the mother, so with the school—the indirect, insensible, incidental, momentary teaching of daily life is a thousand times more efficacious than any stated and formalised endeavours. As the parochial visiting is the basis, the really efficacious portion of the clergyman's work, so the practical religion, which is insensibly learnt and taught over the grammar lesson, in the playground, at the meals, in the passing look, the brief word, the meaning smile, the casual hint, the petty example and petty warning, with which the daily intercourse of a master—at once sensible and religious—

religious—with his boys, even with the boys of a great public school, will be charged,—all this will create far more lasting impressions, and spread an infinitely vaster circle of good, than the most solemn of Services, and the most eloquent of Sermons. If one thing more than another reveals the deep ignorance which really prevails of the working of religion, of the nature of education, and of the character of boys, it is the dream that religious teaching may be eliminated from the daily task, and secular instruction, and yet be taught efficiently in some reserved and exclusive hour. If religion is to influence us at all, it must permeate, and steep, as it were, the whole tissue of our life. You cannot administer it in doses. It must be with us every where, and every when. Limit it to time, and place, and person; and you may as well strive to preserve life in a diving-bell by supplying air once in every twenty-four hours, leaving the other twenty-three to take care of themselves.

Another suggestion required for the public school education of all our boys, but especially of those to be dedicated to Holy Orders, is that it must embrace regular and thorough instruction in the Scriptures. A thorough acquaintance with the Scriptures is an essential part of a clergyman's duty; he is powerless without it. And the construction and the use of the Bible is such that it requires not only a very long and patient study of it, which cannot dispense with any portion of human life, but a familiarity with its language, and a facility and power of referring to, and putting together scattered portions, which can scarcely be learnt except in boyhood. Not a day should pass without the devotion of at least half-an-hour to Scriptural instruction. The sermon cannot give this. A boy's attention cannot be maintained in his chapel but for a short time, and by striking personal application of moral lessons, and spiritual appeals; and the moment they sink into reasoning and discussion, become lectures instead of sermons, the boy's mind will drop off, and wander into its own idle thoughts. It is only by daily catechetical instruction, by question and answer, by repetition and enforcement, by the thousand little arts, through which a judicious teacher secures attention, and implants knowledge, that the Scriptures can be taught. We acknowledge this in our schools for the poor: ought it not to be universally established as a fundamental principle in schools for the clergy? And these hours of religious instruction will give to the teacher opportunities of quietly suggesting, and fostering aspirations for the ministry, in minds so disposed, without too prematurely pledging them to any external demonstration. Every movement

of this kind should be very delicately handled, and supported by communications with the parents.

Once more. Whatever we may desire for our laity, for the clergy we must provide some early instruction—not in abstruse dogmas, or human theories, or superfluous niceties of forms and systems, but in the grand fundamental distinctive truths, the creeds, and the constitution of the English Church. The instruction must be simple, free from all party tinge, clear from the suspicion of any individual taint of private opinion; but it must be firm, positive, and distinct. Be silent upon this,—suppress it as difficult or dangerous, as trenching upon the right of private judgment, as anticipating and prejudicing the independent decision of the man, as taking advantage of your influence over the boy dishonestly to tamper with his belief, and to proselytize him to your own system,—do this; and be assured that silence, instead of silence, will prove a proclamation to him of unbelief, which in the whole course of life will be ringing in his ears, and from which he will never recover. If you believe your system of religion to be true—whatever that religion be—you cannot, you dare not, abstain from endeavouring to impress it on every mind which Providence places under your influence to be reared and educated. If you do abstain, there can be but one excuse—that you do not believe; and the boy will draw this inference in a moment. There can be no such thing as silence in religion. Silence is a confession of unbelief, and proclaims it with the voice of a trumpet.

How this necessity of definite teaching is to be made compatible with the supposed necessity and propriety of mixed schools embracing boys of all sects and persuasions, we do not pretend to inquire. The definite teaching is undoubtedly demanded not only by the needs of the Church, but by the voice of Scripture, the uniform practice of Christianity, the commands of God Himself. It is for those who without being able to dispute these facts insist also upon mixed education, to solve the problem of their combination.

Lastly, for all the purposes of religious education—but especially for the maintenance of that moral awe in the school, without which all education is barren—there must be provided, even in our public schools large as they may be, and their magnitude is one of their greatest evils, an organization which provides for that which at present can scarcely exist in them,—an opening at least for an affectionate, confidential, parental communication between the teacher and the boy. Give to your masters all the learning of a Porcus and the controlling power of

of a Napoleon, soundness of doctrine, eloquence in preaching, tact in administration; but if the boy cannot come to them at times in his moments of fear, and sorrow, and troubled conscience, with the certainty that he will be received with sympathy and affection, the grand talisman of education will be missing. Above all, it will be impossible for the master to watch over and guard the minds of those intrusted to him—especially the minds which are destined to the ministry—from the most fearful and fatal of their temptations. There is no need of the confessional, no need of forcing confidence, of violating the law of God's moral creation, as the confessional does violate them; but there is need of a watchful eye, a warning voice, a sacred confidence, a most delicate spiritual guidance, and a most tender, loving, forgiving example, and affectionate spirit in him who will carry safe through the fiercest of its dangers a Christian boyhood in a public school—a boyhood which is to prepare the man for a future ministration in the Church. Such a spirit can be given by the same hand which gives all other blessings. Whether any external system and plan can be maintained long for securing to it its due operation and development is a question well worthy the attention of the Commission which is now inquiring into the state of our public schools. With it, our institutions for public education would be brought as near perfection as such institutions can be. Without it, whatever advantage we reap from the freedom, the manliness, the energy, the early knowledge of the world, and habits of society, and administrative tact, which are undoubtedly nursed in them, the evils and perils on the other side are tremendous.

We have dwelt so long upon these requirements for the education of the future clergy in their boyhood, because the same general principles are applicable to the next stage of that education, when they pass from the school to the university.

There is, indeed, one exception, and that most important.

In boyhood, whatever be its ultimate destination, a general course of education is safest and best. It is best for the army, best for the civil service, best for the clergy. The navy alone, perhaps, requires special training at an early age, because bodily habits are needed there, which can only be acquired by boys. Yet there can be little doubt, that if Winchester and Eton could provide a sea, and a man-of-war, and a dockyard, as well as a river and a cricket-ground, they would supply the finest materials for the navy, as they do supply the finest materials for Woolwich. Education is not the forcing a certain quantity of knowledge into the mind, but the training and bracing the faculties of the mind itself. And this can only be done by

one and the same process, on whatever subject or province of action or knowledge these faculties are finally to be employed. In the case of the clergy it is more especially questionable whether, except in very rare cases of early religious development and almost supernatural dedication, it is desirable to stamp too early upon the boy the irrevocable seal of the future ministry. A parent will do well to watch, to suggest, to open opportunities, to cherish, though very delicately and gently, early inclinations for the ministry. But the boy's mind is still in cartilage. Vast changes of character and tastes occur as he passes into manhood. His intellect is too tender to be brought, without risk of much damage to his simplicity and modesty, into early contact with the awful responsibilities and realities of the ministerial office. There will be moments of doubt and recoil; and these will become stronger and more difficult to recover from, if there appear any symptom of external restraint. And there will be yieldings to temptation, and consciousness of failing, which to a tender conscience impressed deeply with the solemnity of its future calling (and if not so impressed the risk is still more fearful) will generate internal struggles that boys can ill sustain.

The general Christian education, therefore, which is needed for all Christian boys, is the best and safest for the boys designed to the Christian ministry. We can imagine few things more pernicious to the character of the English clergy, or to the welfare of the British Church and Empire, than to train up the clergy from their childhood in any exclusive system, or insulated institution. But when the boy passes from the school the case is different. By this time (though still the die is not cast irrevocably, though the general education is still needed, though still farther association with his fellow-beings and practical acquaintance with the world is beneficial), yet, if his mind has been properly trained, his choice of a profession will have been nearly decided. And here the Church of England possesses (must we not rather say possessed?) advantages beyond any other Church for receiving the young man at this critical period, and for carrying on his general education with just such a bias of more particular, and definite teaching, and influence, as would facilitate without precipitating the final determination. The Church of England possessed its Universities, and in its Universities its Colleges. Would that England and the Church of England could rouse itself to understand and to profit by the magnitude of the blessing! The University was the organ for carrying on still further the general education required for all classes and all professions. It was invested indeed with an ecclesiastical character, was bound down to a definite faith, tempered with a religious tone,

tone, treated by both the State and the Church as especially a handmaid of the Church to nurse minds for the ministry of the Church. And this for the same reason, that English parents like to intrust the education of their boys—even their instruction in the most secular knowledge—to the hands of clergymen. They believe, and believe rightly, that Christianity and education are most intimately associated, and that education without religion is worthless. But the Colleges had grown into organs wonderfully adapted (were they only rightly understood, and duly employed) for the more definite teaching and preparation of the Christian ministry. Whatever was their original work, or actual failure to fulfil that work, they did, and still do, to a great degree exhibit a machinery of extraordinary power for the education of all the upper classes, but especially of the clergy. Within the bosom of each University, and to a great extent subject to its control, were twenty or more Families, bound together in family life, composed of picked individuals, mostly but not exclusively dedicated to Holy Orders, mostly but not exclusively resident in the University and imbued with its spirit, mostly but not exclusively absorbed in its studies, and yet possessing half the year free for them to travel, and to mix with general society. They were taken mostly from the class of gentry, but not exclusively. Poverty was a great element in the conditions of their selection. These Families possessed estates of their own, buildings—almost palaces—of their own: that kind of property which is, of all others, most adapted to give the self-respect, and self-confidence, and *esprit de corps*, and honourable pride, which education requires in the teacher, without engendering self-conceit or self-indulgence.

‘Privatus illis census erat brevis,
Commune magnum.’

Their halls, their libraries, their gardens, and their chapels were the admiration of England, surrounding the whole scene with an atmosphere of solemn beauty, which no young healthy mind could breathe without imbibing a healthy influence, an influence especially of religion. Each of these Families received within their walls a certain number of young men, to be trained in the general studies of the University, and to be sheltered, moulded, and inspired by the more domestic and permeating influence of the College. Great freedom was necessarily to be allowed, great facility for communication between the students without obtrusive surveillance from the family, in which they were to live as gentlemen; for without freedom, with constant surveillance and suspicion, how could a manly English mind—a mind able to grapple with the world, and to carry duty and truth into all its battles—be shaped

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or created? These collegiate families were many—some larger, some smaller. The groups of students thus formed around them varied both in size and in type. The general features of all were the same, but there was scope for variety, and security against a predominance of narrow temper, and individual opinions. Their tone and character rose and fell, as all human institutions fluctuate, with changes in their Heads, but a general equilibrium was maintained; and they were all bound down, by one grand fundamental obligative allegiance, to the faith, and discipline, and doctrine of the Church of England. From the first—developed as they had been, and enlarged by the healthy growth of a healthy seed planted in a healthy soil—they were intended as organs for the education of a clergy, and especially of a Protestant clergy. *Even the ante-Reformation Colleges were Protestant institutions.* They were originally framed to take the education out of the hands of the monastic bodies. Their statutes (we repeat it of the ante-Reformation Colleges) were anti-papal, their spirit opposed to Romanism, their provisions wonderfully free from any contamination of Romanism. They were imbued with a thoroughly English, thoroughly Catholic spirit, such as animated the greatest and best lights of the English Church through all the long-continued struggles which culminated in the final emancipation of the nation and the Church under the Tudor sovereigns. And what was wanted to make these grand and unique institutions capable of fulfilling their grand and unique destination of carrying on the general Christian education of English gentlemen, and at the same time of supplementing it, in the case of the clergy, by the more definite and peculiar training required for the clerical office? We answer, in one word,—a *loving spirit*, a tender, parental solicitude for the young intrusted to their care, a deep and awful sense of the great work intrusted to them, and earnest, affectionate, combined efforts and combined prayers, that every member of those great institutions might do his part and labour in unity and zeal to educate the young within their walls as in the bosom of a family. Could such a spirit have been preserved or developed in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge—could it even now be inspired in them—those Colleges would be organs for the service of this Church and nation, such as no other Church or nation ever possessed. One thing is clear, the idolatry of university distinctions is quite irreconcilable with such a spirit. How such a spirit is to be maintained, is the question of the day,—the real question of national education; but how that question will be answered we dare not augur.

But the ideal of such institutions may at least be sketched. Let it be approached not with harsh criticisms and unjust cavils

cavils at those who have as yet failed to realize it, but with a spirit of hope for the future, and of gratitude for the past. It is not easy, it is most hard, to change the current of opinion and tone of feeling in any corporate body. It is especially so in a place where routine, and law, and authority, and form, and ceremony are necessarily stamped upon the whole system of life. It is almost impossible to prevent minds embedded in a system from accommodating themselves to it, and becoming actually insensible to evils and deficiencies which to the eye of a stranger are even shocking. These truisms are sufficient to excuse much that may be lamented in the state of our Colleges, without any other accusations,—accusations which have been made too commonly and too wantonly by tongues unacquainted with the real internal working of these bodies, with the liberal and conscientious manner in which they have administered their property, and with the personal uprightness and conscientiousness of the men who govern them. *Add but the loving spirit, set free from the fetters and trammels of a conventional formalism, and little more would be required.*

We should then see the whole body of the Society, the Head as well as the Fellows, recognising the instruction, the education, the moulding, and inspiring of all their students, but especially of the candidates for Holy Orders, as the grand object of their life. It would be the work not of a few Tutors, but of the whole Society, and especially of the Head. If there is one axiom in a place of education, it is that every individual should be brought into contact with the Head, and this in the form of instruction. In the present system of Oxford this fact is totally ignored. The Heads of the colleges are not selected with any view to their educational powers. They are oppressed with a multitude of duties, which might easily be devolved upon others, but which really allow them little time for seeing young men, either in classes or privately. There are college estates to be superintended, college accounts to be kept, college property to be improved; councils, and committees, and delegacies which absorb the day; hospitalities which occupy the evening. It is not a life of idleness, or neglect of duty, or careless ease, but of labours which exclude the possibility of active instruction, even if it were desired. And there follows from this abandonment of the immediate office of education, that rigid, conventional, formal system of etiquette, which throws up a barrier as of ice between the old and the young, in that which ought to present a domestic and family union. A stiff, formal breakfast once a term—a stiff, formal dinner perhaps once a year—a few words of formal rebuke or remonstrance when a breach of discipline has occurred—half-an-hour of
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a formal examination at the end of each term, and only such a precarious and often most erroneous construction of character as can be derived from the same rare and formal observations of the Tutors—these, as a general rule, are (as regards the Heads) all the opportunities of personal individual influence which the present system of university education admits. And the barrier of ice is thrown up equally between the Undergraduate and the Tutor. Exceptions, of course, there are; and, wherever these exceptions occur, there will be found to spring up that tie of sympathy and docility between the young man and his Tutor which enables the Tutor, more or less, to stamp the right impression upon the mind which is placed beneath his care. Personal interests, personal sympathy, kindly, and more than kindly communications, such free, and confidential, and even affectionate intimacy, as springs up so naturally between young minds separated from each other only by a few years; in one word, a loving spirit infused into the relations of the teacher and the taught, and guided by the spirit of the English Church; what a change would it not work in our university system, what a power and blessing would it generate in the supply of minds trained for the ministrations of that Church! For then there would be created spontaneously a hand and an eye to watch each individual mind as it entered the Society; to ascertain its bias; where that bias was decided for Holy Orders, to strengthen and confirm it; to assist it by the kindly word, the timely warning, the elevating suggestion, the hint as to society, the guidance in the choice of books, the insensible and gradual distinction, and definite determination of pursuit and habit, as the time for the solemn end draws nigh; above all, to temper, and moderate, or quicken, or console those excitable feelings of youths, which, as they approach the final sacrifice of their life to the immediate service of religion, become often so ungovernable, and can be regulated only by a hearty and affectionate sympathy from those whom they respect and love. But all this requires time. It requires habits of social intercourse between the Tutor and the Undergraduate very different from those which prevail at present; and it requires more hands. If, conjoined with the regular instruction in the lecture-room, it is to be devolved on the few Tutors who are selected in each College from the body of the Fellows, they must be unequal to the task. Their time is already absorbed, if they devote themselves conscientiously to their labours, in general instruction. *Were it possible to bring together the whole society of the Fellows—to engage them all in the work of education, as in a work of Christian love—to divide the provinces of instruction among them all—to interest them all not only in the whole body of students, but more particularly in those who are*
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destined for Holy Orders, and who might be more especially distributed among them, and to inspire them all with the spirit of unity and concord among themselves, and of loving, fatherly, Christian affection to the young intrusted to them, the work would be done. Against the possibility of all this there stand the formal, conventional traditions of university etiquette—the inadequate payments for tuition—and in many cases the smallness of the Fellowships, which cannot insure the devotion of a life, or even of early years, to the duties of instruction—the youthfulness of the tutors, and therefore their own imperfect realisation of the duties of the Christian teacher and the Christian ministry—the difficulty in selecting for Fellowships men adapted for the work of education—difficulties which have now been enhanced by making those Fellowships almost exclusively prizes for competitive examination—the difficulty (may we not say the impossibility?) of holding together any body of Fellows in that unity, and concord, and earnest interest in Christian education, which must be the primary and essential condition of all such organization. Add to this the habits of ease, and comfort, perhaps of self-indulgence, fostered by the life of a Common Room, relieved from domestic anxieties—the absence of opportunities for parochial work, and therefore of contact and sympathy with all the various forms of human suffering and need—the engrossing, and in some degree chilling and deteriorating, influences of secular studies, and intellectual competition—the short time, six months only in every year, during which the student is in communication with his teacher—and the distraction and deadening of personal interest produced by the long and frequent absences of vacations.

It is a light and pleasant thing to sit down and dream of such a change in our university system as is here suggested; but that man must be very unpractical who deems it easy, or even probable, to accomplish, or who would lash himself and others into indignation at finding it only a dream.

Still even with this dream realised, the mind destined for the ministry is even yet scarcely carried beyond the range of that general education which is needed for every profession, and forms the best basis for every study. This need can now be asserted without that fear of contradiction, which, some years since, would have been inevitable. Even if modern languages, and modern science, and modern history, and modern commerce, and modern art constitute the staple materials, on which, and for which, the human intellect is to be employed, yet we have at last discovered that Latin is the best and shortest introduction to modern languages; that modern science has been cast entirely into ancient Greek; that the philosophy of modern history is best studied under
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ancient parallels; that modern commerce depends on mathematics and arithmetic; and modern art will present us nothing but a museum of deformities, unless we imbibe a purer taste from the beauty of antiquity. That foolish, conceited clamour of ignorance has now died away, which at one time called on us to supersede the old classical course of university education, instead of merely supplementing it from newly-opened fields of knowledge.

And it is true that this general university education (if a college does not entirely neglect its first duty, or if that duty be not impossible to fulfil under newly-established conditions) must involve some religious instruction. Formerly, in some colleges at least, it involved an amount not contemptible. Besides the acquaintance with the Scriptures, and the Scriptural confirmation of the Articles required in the university examination, the college lectures embraced several of the standard works in English theology. Paley's 'Evidences,' Butler's 'Analogy,' Graves 'on the Pentateuch,' Wheatley 'on the Common Prayer,' Pearson 'on the Creed,' Bingham's 'Antiquities'—especially Butler and Paley—were regularly read, but read by all, not with any especial exclusive reference to the preparation required for Holy Orders. They were supposed to form a fitting part of the general education which was desirable for Christian English gentlemen in every profession or rank of life. But with this the education closed; the degree was taken, and from that time the Church had provided no other machinery for that special instruction, and special preparation, which, if needed for every profession, must assuredly be most needed by the clergy.

The omission was very formidable. It was rendered more formidable by the assumption—the hypothesis not seriously realized,—that the Colleges in the university, instead of confining themselves to a general course of instruction, and a very imperfect system of general education (instruction and education, let us remember, being very distinct things), were really acting as schools for the clergy; were fulfilling the duty mainly contemplated by their wise founders. Upon this hypothesis the Bishops applied to the Colleges for information as to the past conduct, and principles, and fitness of character of their candidates for Holy Orders, and the Colleges were compelled to give or to withhold their testimonials, upon most inadequate, and often most incorrect, information and inferences. Happily, indeed, the preservation of this formality (for at one time it was a formality), as, to a certain degree, it kept before the authorities their duty of watching more especially over the young men intended for Holy Orders, so it originated the first inquiry into the necessity
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of providing some more special training for them than could be supplied by the existing university career up to the time of the degree. Let it not be supposed that this question many years since had failed to engage the attention of earnest, conscientious minds intrusted with the education in colleges. On some facts there was a general agreement.

First, the period fixed for general education could least of all be curtailed for the future clergy. They needed more than any other profession that profound criticism of Greek scholarship, that philosophical study of history, that ethical science which formed the chief features in the School of Arts.

Secondly, the time assigned to that general education was fully occupied; there was no space for more special theological studies.

Thirdly, the moral preparation for Holy Orders required a longer time than any other profession, for trial and discipline, especially for the probation involved in the freedom of University life. From Holy Orders there is no retreat. Lapses, when the Rubicon is once past, are so terrible. In the vast majority of minds, it is impossible not to expect that the formation of principle must be slow and gradual. In some, perhaps in many, the very energy and warmth of character, which would ripen in mature life into the most earnest and self-denying devotion, will break out in youth into extravagances. It is dangerous and cruel to fix too soon the close of the ordeal. Often at the termination of a wild career a wonderful change develops itself. And though no testimonials could be given for the whole time required by the bishop, the spirit of Christian mercy and Christian prudence was willing to keep open still longer the hope of final reformation, and of more than reformation—of a more entire sacrifice of all to duty in the remembrance of early follies.

At that time there were no institutions such as are now rising up in several dioceses—at Lichfield, Chichester, Exeter, Cuddesdon, and chiefly at Wells—from which help might be obtained in these difficulties. The college testimonials were the test which the bishop demanded previous to ordination. A refusal of it involved the most serious blow which could be imagined to all the dearest interests of a young man's life. But with the little real communication and personal knowledge of individual character which the existing university life afforded even to the Tutors of the college, the testimonials were often worthless. The whole body, indeed, of the Fellows might be summoned to the inquiry; every one be asked for his opinion; every known fact, whether favourable or unfavourable, be recalled and balanced;
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but most rarely (such was often the want of personal and friendly intercourse between the authorities and the students) could any such decisive proofs be produced of spiritual fitness for ordination as would relieve a conscientious mind from some anxiety and uneasiness. Efforts were therefore made to lower the language of the form, to bring it more into accordance with the scantiness of the real knowledge possessed. But against this the Bishops protested. And the only course at last open was to insist on a longer term of probation before the testimonials could be granted. And where was this probation to take place? We believe that with rare exceptions the opinion of the most judicious minds decided on a removal from the University. Clergymen were found, in whose right principle and accuracy of observation the College possessed due confidence. Young men were sent to them for such a period as was deemed necessary. They were called up to reside in the University, perhaps a term or more after their degree, that the College itself might be able to attest to their residence, and their conduct for some portion of the three years required. And when the clergymen and the authorities of the College were at last satisfied, the testimonials were given, usually with an authorised explanation to the Bishop of the circumstances under which they had been both postponed and granted. This, we believe, was the course adopted in the best regulated Colleges.

How unsatisfactory and imperfect it was, we need not point out. But one conclusion involved in it was most important, that the University was not the place for that final preparation for Holy Orders, whether moral, or spiritual, or intellectual, which was acknowledged to be necessary. It is the great question at present in debate when the education of the clergy is discussed, and it requires impartial consideration.

The reasons, then, for the removal from the University to another sphere and atmosphere were many, whatever class of mind was contemplated. Distinguish them roughly into three :—those whose whole life from boyhood had been one steady, consistent, conscientious course of duty, going on from strength to strength, and deeply and awfully impressed with the responsibilities of the ministerial office, and with religious affections; those, secondly, whose standard had not reached beyond that of average humanity—decent, respectable, and orderly—but regarding Holy Orders rather as a pleasing, and safe, and gentlemanly profession, than in its profounder and more spiritual relations; and those, lastly, in whom the ardour of feeling and energy of mind had been accompanied with failures under temptations, but of whom there was still hope, that they might be snatched like brands from the
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the fire, and be converted even into powerful instruments of good in His hand who can dispose of all things. Now every one of these classes required a change of scene and atmosphere. Remember that the domestic machinery contrived within the Colleges for the careful, affectionate, domestic, and parental intercourse between the authorities and the students has never been worked, as it should be, in any case—that students after their degree could no longer reside within the walls of the College, no longer attended lectures, were no longer subject to the same degree of surveillance, or to the same restrictions of discipline, and were now scarcely amenable to punishment. With the exception of cases where Fellowships were attained by Bachelors, and so they were brought within the immediate society of the Common Room, Bachelor Residents in the university were abandoned to themselves. In rare cases, attempts were made to continue their instruction, but with great difficulties, and little results. It was true the professors' lectures were opened to them; but something more than professors' lectures is required by a young mind passing through the stage of fermentation and excitement, by which it is often prepared and purified for the office of the ministry. The professor is nothing, the lecture is nothing—nothing but a book read out by an individual, unless there is superadded, that which is the greatest desideratum in the university system from the beginning to the end—a *loving, parental spirit, and personal, affectionate intercourse between the teacher and the taught*. It is by persons, not by things, that young minds—that all minds—are affected and are guided. It is not Eusebius, or Pearson, or the Patres Apostolici, or a sound criticism on the Greek of the New Testament, or the Hebrew of the Old, that the young man needs most at this critical and solemn period. Books may supply him this, but he does need an older mind on which to rest, to which he can apply, whose warnings he will listen to, of whose sympathy he is sure, whom he can consult on those many momentous questions of an excited conscience, on which his future life and future duties far more depend, than on the refutation of a heresy, or the demonstration of a doctrine. These are indeed needed, but they are not all.

Suppose, then, a young mind earnestly and consistently religious, returning to the university after the degree is taken, and commencing now a more especial preparation for Holy Orders. He has, indeed, the *genius loci* to mould his mind, the daily service, the libraries, the professors' lectures, the interest and excitement with which the discussion of theological controversies must often fill the atmosphere of the university. But unless the authorities of his College will devote themselves to him (and in the

the present small number of tutors they can scarcely find time), he must be tempted to select his own spiritual guide, and through that guide his own companions; thus incurring great danger of being mixed up with clique and party. And he must do this, without those healthy tempering influences upon religious excitement, which are produced by practical contact with parochial work, and with the realities and simplicity of domestic life. We have known attempts made to distribute young men so circumstanced among the parochial clergy of Oxford, and thus to interest and occupy them in parochial duties, as a balance to their theological reading. But the attempt was not systematic, and not successful; and the general effect upon young minds was to generate a morbid excitability, a spirit of party, an unpractical fondness for controversy, and a narrow addiction to the guidance of some individual, whoever might be at that moment most prominent and influential in the religious disputations of the university. We do not think that the atmosphere of the university is favourable for the healthy development of that sound, sober, practical, and modest religious temperament, which is most needed in a preparation for the ministry of the Church—not at least in the case of religious young men subsequent to the taking of the degree.

For average ordinary minds the danger is different. The life of the undergraduate has been one of freedom, of society, of physical excitement, of eager intellectual competition, anxious, often over-wrought study, and enjoyment—enjoyment we suppose without sin, but still enjoyment. And from this the mind must be roused and awakened. The whole tone of feeling must be elevated, the range of thought enlarged, a new world of persons, relations, and duties opened to it. And how hard, nay, impossible, must this be, when it is still weighed down by old scenes, and old companions, and old habits, and old associations, and without the aid of some new mind to inspire and assist it! A change of place, and scene, and persons is the first thing here required for a change of heart and life.

And still more must this be true in the case of minds not merely negatively unprepared, but morally corrupted; where places, and friends, and times, and seasons bring round with them the memories of evil; where even the chapel itself has become haunted with bitter recollections; where the struggle to enter at once boldly on a new course must be made in the face of doubt, and surprise, if not of ridicule, with the suspicion of hypocrisy branding every refusal to sin, and with the weakness of the past unnerving every hope of the future. No! change of scene and change of life is the first condition required for the cure of a
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nature so disordered. Even if the University could become, what the Church would so earnestly desire, and open to such reformation a real, parental, and affectionate shelter, some distant spot is better for the penitent in which to cast his slough. In his old College the process will be doubly difficult and doubly dangerous. And here, then, comes in the value of new institutions such as those at Wells, Chichester, Exeter, Lichfield, and Cuddesdon. It may be that some jealousy—a most unworthy, degrading jealousy—may have been evinced towards these institutions by some members of the older Universities, as if they trenched upon existing privileges, instead of supplementing an acknowledged deficiency, in the only way in which it could be supplemented; or as if the Universities were really discharging, or possibly could discharge, the duties of which they claimed the exclusive monopoly. But jealousy undoubtedly there has been, which, perhaps, has chilled and checked the progress of more than one of the new establishments, or theological colleges. Perhaps it is dying away. Perhaps at last Englishmen are beginning to learn that an ancient and glorious institution is not weakened, is not lowered, is not impoverished by offshoots from its trunk, or by the growth of seedlings dropped from its own acorns, but that to multiply seeds is the first law and privilege of life, and the test of strength, and the fruit of power. Every new educational body created on principles in harmony with the English Church must strengthen, not weaken, every portion of that Church, but especially the Universities.

Dangers, of course, there are, which are obvious, if not serious; but the chief one is only that which already exists in the Universities. The minds which are to be trained for the clergy, especially in the last stage of their education, when they are most deeply impressed, and most easily biassed, must be secured from any party influence, from the predominance of any particular school, or private theory. They must be stamped with the full, honest, manly, simple type of the English Church. This is one reason, among many others, why the plan before alluded to, of placing young men with individual clergymen, was at least attended with risk. The authority to which they are committed ought to be the authority not of an individual, but of the Church. It should be invested in an institution, and that institution should be as closely linked as possible with the regular administrative powers of the Church. Now the Cathedral bodies, even maimed and mutilated as they have been, impoverished by the withdrawal of revenues which ought long since to have been applied to such purposes, paralyzed by the abuse of patronage, and fettered by most cruel restrictions upon the discharge of their

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most solemn duties, are still a foundation, on which these theological seminaries may be rested, with the greatest hope of securing them against any infection of party spirit. At Wells, in this as in many other points, the happiest and most successful experiment has been made. The arrangements proposed at Exeter seem to contemplate a similar principle; and though it may require much thought to harmonise the two bodies, the College and the Chapter, the problem must be capable of solution, and one great function at least will thus be assigned to our Cathedrals, which will at once redeem their character and reconsecrate their use.

Some other incalculable advantages which the Cathedrals possess for this work are obvious. They offer a nucleus of clergy, who, if properly selected, may supply all the wants of instruction, and help to maintain that general tone and atmosphere of life, which forms so essential a condition in all healthy education. The services of the Cathedral, the use of theological libraries, the facilities for studying Church music (a very important element in the instruction even of parochial clergymen), the practical activity and movement in all religious works which will characterize the centre of operation in a well-administered diocese, a field of parochial labour in teaching schools and visiting the sick, which a city will afford, the opportunities of quiet social intercourse carefully kept in check, but not entirely precluded; the quietude, antiquity, and solemnity of our Cathedral towns, and especially of their precincts; but above all the presence, encouragement, personal interests, and personal influence of the bishop—where the bishop's residence is, as it should be everywhere, by the side of his Cathedral,—all these are most important advantages. The last which we shall now allude to is not the least. No one will despise the value and influence of buildings in such institutions for education, especially religious education. But the Cathedrals themselves supply this, and little more is required. There is little chance, in the present state of things, that large sums could be raised for the fabric of such new colleges. And even if this could be hoped, it may be doubted if the more ordinary mode of life now adopted at Wells is not the best and safest. When the curate goes down to his parish, he must live for the most part alone in lodgings, whether in the town or the country. It is well that he should be accustomed to this, should be weaned gradually from the thoroughly social, and independent, and untrammelled life of his college rooms in the University, and have the domestic associations of his future life as a curate sanctified and stamped by the solemnizing recollections of those months

months during which he was preparing himself for his future destination. The more simple, the more natural, the more unforced and unstrained his ordinary life now is, the more healthily his preparation will proceed. Over-excitement, services too multiplied, self-observation morbidly enforced, and morbidly pursued, special formalities and ceremonials, which may convey the stamp of individual or party peculiarities,—all this, which might be risked within the walls of an exclusive institution, will to a sober mind be at least suspicious, at least perilous. The student comes to them unprepared. He cannot be subjected to the process for any long time: this will be precluded by the expense of such a prolonged education superadded to the university course. From the forcing process he will pass at once again into the world. And the danger is great, whether of a recoil and relapse, when the over-excitement has died away, or of carrying into the common world an unusual, unintelligible, and suspected type of religious life, which will alienate rather than attract, and may make even truth itself to be blasphemed and rejected.

However æstheticism, or ceremony, and external form, may be connected with Christianity in itself, may be sanctioned by the English Church, and conducive to the diffusion of religion, there is one condition for their employment by the clergy, which the English character imperatively requires. They must be *ordered*—ordered by proper authority. He who employs them must be able to point to some known law, or some superior jurisdiction, or some known usage. The English mind—whether rightly or wrongly, morbidly or healthily—will not in any province, but especially in religion, tolerate self-conceit, self-origination. It insists on the clergy walking in old paths. When any departure from existing practices is risked, it must be shown that it is a return to old paths, not innovation: that he who leads the way is not following himself. His Bishop must sanction what he does. If not his Bishop (as in some cases, though even of most obvious duty, a Bishop may hesitate or refuse), at least an adequate amount of authority and usage must be appealed to in the great body of the Church. Whatever restorations, and improvements, and revivals in the English Church have been conducted in this manner, soberly, temperately, and prudently, have been not only tolerated, but welcomed. Wherever these safeguards have been neglected, the collision between the clergyman and his parish, between his private fancy and the old-established judgment of the English mind, has been most fatal. And if the attachment of our Theological Colleges to the Cathedrals should only provide

some security against this mischief, that one advantage would decide the choice.

In one way the employment of the Cathedrals for the purpose of clerical education will be of great value. It will facilitate the appointment of older men. No young man, however gifted and however earnest, can be a safe head for a Theological Seminary. He may be earnest, enthusiastic, self-devoted, with great educational powers and warm sympathy with the young; but in the whole system of the Church of England, founded as it is on the great type and standard of Divine truth, there is one peculiar feature, which cannot be too earnestly insisted on. It is a combination, an alliance, a harmony of counterbalancing principles and tendencies. It has, like all Truth, two faces: one silver, the other gold. Every part of it has a double polarity. Thus it is, that when the two great classes of minds, into which human nature is divided, come within its influence, they embrace instinctively, each of them, the phase and portion which most assimilates with itself. This is the cause—the completeness, that is, of the enunciation of Divine truth which pervades the English formularies, and not any vague, vacillating spirit of compromise, which enables two different classes of minds to array themselves under the same standard of the Church, and to assume the form of parties more or less distinct and opposed. The distinctions of High Church and Low Church (Oh that the names could be utterly abolished!) can never be obliterated without narrowing conditions which a Divine Hand has fixed; without abandoning some portion of the whole body of truth which He has committed to our keeping. But this whole truth will scarcely be embraced by any one mind at first. The young man, in proportion to his warmth and earnestness and devotion, will attach himself to one part, or permit it to engross him; and only by slow degrees, by long experience, and often by a painful discipline, will he learn the necessity of superadding to it the counterbalancing principles, which he at first neglected. Thus it is that the colder, severer character, impressed with the value of order, and law, and objective systems, learns by degrees that something else is needed—the warm and ever-living spring of ardent Christian affection; while the warmer and more subjective mind, full of feeling, and zeal, and passion, and therefore disdainful of outward trammels, is compelled at last to acknowledge that there is no security for the purity and permanence of inward feeling but outward law. The main distinctive feature of the High Church may thus be superinduced upon the Low, and that of the Low upon the High. The opposition vanishes, the discrepancies are softened, the whole truth is attained,

attained, not by repudiation and hostility, but by fresh acquisition; and the true type and standard is reached of that really Catholic spirit which is the glory and the palladium of the Church. But this can rarely be attained in youth. It requires much reading, much experience, many trials, many failures, many sorrows. Think how hard it is for an ardent, devoted, but as yet unchastened and comparatively unlearned, mind to be deeply impressed with the following great requirements of such a final clerical education as we are suggesting, without a tendency to extravagance and excess.

The first is the unshrinking inculcation of a definite, positive faith, and body of doctrine as the first command of God, the primary condition of Christianity, the only base of its moral virtues, the only key to all spiritual mysteries. We know how the whole world seems banded together to repudiate and to banish this axiom. And until it can be restored to its due position in the system of the Church, as the keystone of the whole fabric, all other labours are idle. Yet how easily, how inevitably will this necessity raise up in a young mind a craving for dogmatic teaching, for rearing and stereotyping a vast additional body of religious doctrine, and stamping it bodily upon the whole clergy! Instead of this, our Church has adopted the course of drawing a rigid line between the Creeds and the Articles, and between the Articles and other portions of theological instruction; making the Creeds in their substance imperative upon all Christians by direct Apostolical authority; the Articles imperative upon the English clergy, as a necessary precaution against diversity of teaching in the midst of dangerous errors—a precaution erected by our own branch of the Catholic Church, and confined to its official ministers; but leaving the religious opinion beyond this free and open, with as few prescriptions and as few definitions as possible, that all Christian men may enjoy the liberty of thought and reason, which is essential to the elevation of their intellect, and to the development of truth.

The older mind will draw these distinctions, but a young mind will scarcely endure them.

A young mind will be deeply impressed with the need of spiritualizing and subliming, as it were, the whole tone and temper of the clergy. But it will be hard for him, in his enthusiasm and ardour, to keep his eye fixed on the earth as well as on the heavens, and to maintain, as well, that practical, subdued, and soberminded simplicity, without which religion will become fanaticism. The clergy are not to be taken out of the world, but to be kept while labouring in it; kept in all sobriety of mind, and innocence of life. And their minds must not be over-

heated and overstrained in the most important stage of their education.

Again, it is essential that the minds of the clergy should be carried back to primitive antiquity. Their studies must be studies of the early Church, of the great Fathers and teachers of the first ages of Christianity. But we have seen already the consequence of a rash and undisciplined reverence even for these deep wells of truth and knowledge, in young and unlearned minds. It requires long study, a wide extent of reading, carefully formed habits of discrimination, and especially a familiar acquaintance with the great authorities of our own English theology, to work safely even in these precious mines. A young man cannot act in them as a safe guide.

A young man cannot offer a safe anchorage-ground for the faith of men only a few years younger than himself. Gray hairs have always been a condition required for counsellors and advisers.

If to those gray hairs are added a warm and a loving heart—a deep and fatherly interest in the welfare of young men—a power of sympathising with their feelings, of encouraging their communications, of answering their difficulties, of soothing their griefs, of giving life and spirit to their studies, of gathering them round their teacher, not as the oracle of a party, but as a minister of the Church; a theological college placed under such an influence will become one of the most blessed works and powerful instruments of God, which England could pray for her clergy. Wells is already showing to us that such a dream is not an illusion. God grant that many more may be rising soon, imbued with the same spirit! Let us notice as a happy omen the noble donation by the Bishop of Exeter, of the sum of 10,000*l.* to the new college instituted by him there under the presidency of the learned Dean Ellicott.

But, above all, there is now a work to be done by those who would imbue the English clergy with a right and a sound spirit—a work which it is all but impossible for a young man even to enter upon with safety. The theological teacher of this day must be conversant with the theology of Germany. The real history of the scepticism which is now spreading finds its key chiefly in one fact—that young, ardent, and intelligent minds, when they looked to the existing tone and character of English theology, did not find in it that depth of thought, that solid learning, that range of inquiry, and that enthusiasm of feeling, which could satisfy their aspirations, or acquire their confidence. With one or two most rare exceptions, and those exceptions occurring where genius, and learning, and enthusiasm, by some strange

strange perversion of the human mind, have ended in an abandonment of the truths they once enforced, and thus in annihilating the confidence they had created, the religious literature of England has been for years shallow and superficial. Beside us, in a foreign land, in a strange language, there has grown up an enormous mass of bold, unshrinking speculation, exhibiting vast industry, extensive reading, much solid learning lying amidst heaps of rubbish; and, above all, assuming proudly that position of reckless criticism, and suspicion, and doubt, which, easy as it is to maintain, yet seems so impregnable to the young, and presents such a fascinating aspect of authority and courage. Strange as it is, yet he who speaks of himself, bears witness to himself, comes forward without a mission, and without a guarantee, to announce his own dogmatic assertions, will prevail with human nature, where the most irreproachable testimony is repudiated with scorn. With this mass of speculation comparatively few minds in England have become acquainted. A few have borrowed from it, and paraded some specimens of acknowledged worth—have been captivated with much more that was worthless—have imbibed its spirit, and its language, without fathoming its real depth or shallowness, and without having learned (as the minds of England most conversant with the subject have repeatedly warned them) that theory after theory has again and again been repudiated in Germany itself, and that even the German intellect is sick of the extravagances which it has indulged, and is endeavouring to lay the evil spirits which those extravagances have evoked. They have taught young men to think that none can be adequate expositors of English theological truth but those who are perfectly conversant with German theological falsehood. Now none but an old and practised mind of solid profound learning, of balanced temper, and of tried discrimination, can safely enter into an atmosphere so charged with poisonous elements. A young mind cannot be trusted in it. He has no safety-lamp, no antidote. And he will undoubtedly be infected with scepticism, probably most seriously, even against his will, and in defiance of his preconceived resolution. There is nothing so penetrating as suspicion. Once admit it, and confidence can scarcely ever be restored. And let any one watch the working of his own mind, whenever some new doubt is in these days proposed, or some new discovery threatened, or some strange speculation popularized, which touches in the slightest degree the foundation of his belief, and he will understand why a very strong, and perfect, and invulnerable armour of faith is required by him who would sit as critic, and sifter, and interpreter

interpreter of the German theology—such an armour as cannot be possessed by any one who is young either in years or mind.

It is then to the Cathedral bodies, and to a right distribution of their patronage, that we may look most hopefully for the last stage of training required for the clergy of England previous to ordination. But no clergyman will be able to look back upon his own career without perceiving how little has even then been done, how much remains to be learned in the first years of his own parochial experience. Then it is that the guidance and example of a sound-minded, warm-hearted, and judicious pastor will complete the real course of education. And in many cases our populous towns committed to the charge of such men, who are enabled to gather round them a body of young curates, supply schools, the value of which cannot be over-estimated. Leeds, Kidderminster, Yarmouth, have already set acknowledged examples of this kind; and anything which enables them to be multiplied will powerfully contribute to the efficiency of the English clergy.

Such seems to be a sketch of the external machinery which is chiefly required. The details are questions dependent chiefly on the judgment of the Bishops. But on one or two points there seems now to be a general approach to concurrence.

First, the English theological education must comprise an accurate scholarship, especially in Greek; and this involves the maintenance of the 'dead languages' as the basis of general education, even if no other reason rendered it imperative.

Secondly, it is at present sadly deficient in the study of Hebrew; and, to facilitate this study, some instruction at least in the grammatical elements of that tongue should be provided in our schools for boys. The main difficulty of a new language consists, to an adult, in mastering the rudiments. It would almost seem that none but a young mind can be forced to this task. If the first labour is borne in boyhood, it is comparatively easy to pursue it afterwards. If neglected then, few will have the courage to grapple with it. And the same may be said of another most important element in clerical education—a knowledge of church music, in which our higher schools do not enjoy even the advantage which the National schools possess.

Thirdly, the English clergy must be prepared to take their stand and perform their part in a world where a vast variety of general information is required. They cannot be merely theologians. Now, if ever, that definition of a well-instructed man is needed—that he should know something of everything, and everything of something. Theology must be his one science,
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the Bible his one book; but he cannot meet upon equal terms the socialists and the sceptics even in the lower classes, with whom he will have daily to battle; and he cannot assist and guide the general instruction of his flock, in which the voice of the pastor is so important, unless he is tolerably familiar with the general knowledge of the day—its sciences, its language, its books, and its men. This need in the parochial clergy, as it doubles their labours, as it tends to withdraw some portion of their time from their exclusively appropriate studies, renders it still more necessary to provide within the Church places and retirements where minds may be devoted profoundly and almost exclusively to theology, and thus be able to fight the battles of truth with more solid and deep learning than can be expected from the mass of the parochial clergy.

Fourthly, an essential part of their early education should be oral delivery, and facility of expression. The phrases are purposely limited. It may be well doubted if it be desirable to lay too great a stress or any stress on the study of so-called oratory or of eloquence. Whenever those studies have been most cultivated, and have absorbed the principal part of education, good oratory and real eloquence have perished. The eloquence of the English clergy, that it may come home to the English mind, and touch the English heart so as to bring forth good fruit, must be, like their lives and their Church, above all things, simple, quiet, earnest, unaffected, honest, and true. Anything like art or effort, any studied intonations, anything like acting in the recitation of that wonderful production the English Liturgy, would destroy all its influence far more, even than a mistake of pronunciation, or a failure of delivery. To speak articulately, audibly, with proper pronunciation, proper emphasis, proper stops—to do this from long habit and practice, unconsciously—is that which may be taught and required in the case of every clergyman, as it should be included in the general system of all schools. And it must be taught early; especially the right modulation of the voice and the play of its organs, so as to avoid indistinctness, and strain upon the lungs. The size of our new churches, their often bad acoustic properties, and the multiplication of services, render this one of the first lessons required for the clergy. But is there a single public school in which this is taught? Or are there indeed more than one or two empirical professors of the art, whose merits have not yet been sufficiently tested to justify the adoption of their system?

But this is very different from teaching an artificial and dramatical delivery of our Church Services. Nothing could be
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none total. In this, as in every other function of the English clergy, there must be a combination and a balance of the official and the individual character. The congregation must recognise in the voice which leads their prayers, not merely an abstraction, a form, but the pastor, whom they individually know, and who individually knows them. Even his little mannerisms, his occasional defects, his particularities, and, at times (rarely, it must be but rarely), the individual feeling just touching, and deepening, and piercing through the official ceremonial, are ties between him and them. They present him to them as a real living being of flesh and blood, the same man at the altar, and in the pulpit, whom they have spoken to in the street and listened to in the cottage; and therefore it is that to intone the service, admirable and effective as it is in certain congregations under certain circumstances, is in others so objectionable, and repugnant to the English taste. The English clergy (it is one of the first conditions of their value and their efficiency) must not be too far separated from the laity—not by dress, not by celibacy, not by modes of life, not by ceremonial, not by chancel screens, not by vestments. They must live amongst their flock according to the quiet, simple, practical type exhibited in Scripture, not as a caste. It will be better for themselves, better for their flock. Wherever this law has been forgotten, and a gulf and barrier has been set between the laity and the clergy, with a view first to elevate the clergy, and through them to elevate the laity, the result has been ultimately to degrade both, by making the clergy hypocrites and the laity unbelievers.

And what is true of the delivery of the Liturgy is true also of the sermon. God forbid that what is called pulpit eloquence should ever become the primary study among the English clergy! To express themselves clearly, simply, and with facility, whether in writing or in extemporaneous speaking, should indeed be a paramount object. It is to be learned, not by debating clubs, by boyish oratory, by speech-days, but by accustoming even boys, after they have been instructed on a subject, and have read and written upon it, simply to give the results in an extemporaneous form publicly in the presence of others. It is to be improved by teaching in schools, and by any opportunity which presents itself for communicating in conversation with others. But here, again, clearness, simplicity, truthfulness, reality, and strong and manifest convictions on the part of the preacher himself, are the conditions required—the only conditions which will ultimately succeed. Without a life to correspond with the sermon, without earnestness, without zeal, without humility, without love, what
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is pulpit eloquence but a mockery both of man and God? And these are not to be learned by all the arts of a Demosthenes or a Quintilian. It is the man, and not the eloquence, which touches the heart and converts the Christian. St. Paul's every word is burning, and every sentence mighty, but it is because the soul shines through it. Eloquence is not to be despised. When the solid foundation of personal piety is combined, it is most potent. But eloquence alone is only a sweet poison, deluding both the preacher and his flock.*

And lastly, there is one more process most powerful and most beneficial in the education of the clergy, which till within the last few years has been grievously neglected, and is even now only partially developed; it is their meeting and communication together. Constituted as the English Church is, with the full possession of all divine truth—that truth composed (if the phrase may be employed) of polarised and seemingly antagonistic doctrines,—tending therefore, as the clergy always must do, to split into two parties, accordingly as they attach themselves to one pole or the other, and yet capable of seeing and recognising that the same authority which guarantees one half of the truth guarantees also the other—whatever brings them together, under a recognition of the same discipline, and of the same formularies, must tend to heal wounds, to remove prejudices, to correct errors, to widen and deepen belief and knowledge, and to promote that one grand end, without which all the labour of man is nothing—unity among those who are brothers. What arrangement and organisation may be most effective for this purpose may require great consideration. But on this fact there would appear to be a general agreement, that whatever brings the clergy together, and enables them to understand each other's views, to join in condemning acknowledged errors, in repudiating false accusations, in listening to candid arguments, and, above all, in praying for help and guidance, and the spirit of charity and love, to their one common Lord and Master, is fraught with blessings to the Church. Give it unity, give it concord; heal its unhappy divisions, and once more the standard of divine truth and of an impregnable faith may be raised among us. Once more the hearts of the old will be warmed to labour

* We have placed at the head of this article an eloquent work, from the most eloquent of our Bishops. But it is not to the mere eloquence of the Bishop of Oxford that he will owe the place he will occupy in the History of the English Church, but to the many practical works which he has initiated and carried on, especially for the clergy of his diocese. A simple account of these works would be of high value to those who would develope and invigorate the machinery of the English Church.

and to fight for it. Once more the young will be attracted to battle and to suffer, where those whom they can reverence and trust are battling and suffering before them. And the English Church will continue to be the greatest instrument of blessing, which the hand of Providence, amongst all its mercies, has provided for this State and Country, even for the whole world.

ART. V.—1. *The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R.A., founded on Letters and Papers furnished by his Friends and Fellow Academicians.* By Walter Thornbury. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1862.

2. *The Turner Gallery: a Series of Sixty Engravings from the principal Works of Joseph Mallord William Turner; with a Memoir and Illustrative Text.* By Ralph Nicholson Wornum, Keeper and Secretary, National Gallery. Folio. London, 1861.

THE preface to Mr. Thornbury's volumes might lead us to expect a matured and carefully executed work. The author tells us that he has been engaged on the subject 'some four years;' that he 'set to work steadily and quietly, letting no day pass by without some search for materials, some noting down of traditions, some visit to Turner's old friends; determining not to complete my book, however long it took me, till I had collected for it all that patience and enthusiasm could glean, cull, or heap together.' (*Pref.* v., vi.) The four years, however, have not been entirely given to the composition of the 'Life of Turner;' for we find that from 1858 to 1861 Mr. Thornbury has also enriched our literature with at least nine other separate volumes, viz. 'Every Man his own Trumpeter,' 3 vols.; 'Life in Spain, Past and Present,' 2 vols.; 'Turkish Life and Character,' 2 vols.; 'British Artists from Hogarth to Turner,' 2 vols. He has also contributed an article on Turner to the new edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica;' he has taken up Mr. Ruskin's function of sending forth an annual pamphlet of dogmas on the picture-exhibitions of the London season; and it would seem, moreover, from hints scattered here and there, that this indefatigable gentleman has found time to contribute to periodicals. In a case of such alarming superfetation, it is vain to expect much vitality in the offspring. But whatever may be the merits of Mr. Thornbury's other productions, his 'Life of Turner' is simply the most deplorable piece of bookmaking that has ever fallen in our way. In a certain sense, indeed, Mr. Thornbury's
account

account of his operations may be correct, for the book does exhibit something of the spirit of research of a Paris chiffonnier, who goes about with his basket and picks up every bit of filth and tinsel that comes in his way; but for any really accurate investigation of facts worthy to be known, for any useful judgments upon facts that are ascertained, we must not look to Mr. Thornbury. His work is not calculated to advance Art by sound criticism, nor human nature by exhibiting the excellences of an eminent character.

Although the publishers do not hesitate to use in their advertisements a newspaper criticism which speaks of Mr. Thornbury as having had 'a personal acquaintance with Turner,' it is clear that the biographer never saw the painter, nor even visited his gallery in Queen Anne Street.* It may appear surprising that the task of writing Turner's life should have been left to an utter stranger, since there must be among those who knew him persons well qualified to do justice to the subject. If we may take the liberty of naming one, we should suppose that the biography might most fitly have been undertaken by Mr. Jones, R.A., whose acquaintance with Turner was as close as any man's, who was one of his executors, and in the 'Recollections of Chantrey' has shown himself able to employ the pen as well as he can use the brush, and as in early days he wielded the sword. But it would seem that, for whatever reason, Turner's personal friends have declined the task; and hence it is that he has unhappily fallen a prey to a sort of manifold writer, in whose hands the materials which might properly have filled something less than 200 duodecimo pages are swelled out to 850 pages octavo, while the spongy tumidity of the book is by no means its worst characteristic.

Mr. Thornbury appears to have met with much courtesy and communicativeness from those who had anything to tell—from executors, from Academicians and other artists; from 'the two or three noblemen who, alone of their wealthy order, patronised the painter when living' (*Pref.* vi.); from other patrons or their representatives; above all, from Mr. Ruskin, who is rewarded by being styled 'the greatest of all dead or living writers on art.' (*Ib.* vii.) But, on the other hand, the statement that 'to Mr. Wornum, an official of the National Gallery, I am indebted for two or three dates' (*Ib.* ix.), with the sneer at Mr. Wornum in one place as 'an authority on the matter of dates, and dates

* Mr. Thornbury himself nowhere claims acquaintance with Turner, and always speaks of him and of his house on the authority of others. See especially vol. ii. pp. 85, 173, and the chapter on 'The Turner Portraits.'

alone,' and the somewhat inconsistent, but not respectfully intended, mention of him elsewhere as 'an excellent authority on technicalities' (i. 267),—all this would seem to hint that Mr. Wornum may have shown some unwillingness to mix himself up with Mr. Thornbury's undertaking. If so, we congratulate him on his discreet caution; and, now that the result is seen, we imagine that most of the gentlemen who are distinguished by Mr. Thornbury's expressions of gratitude would be glad to exchange these for a share of the reprobation which he bestows on the 'official of the National Gallery.'*

The tone of Mr. Thornbury's remarks on earlier writers is not such as to bespeak for him much favour at the hands of critics, while it might fairly entitle them to require that an author who is so full of contempt for others shall himself produce something of a very superior kind. Thus he tells us that—

'Mr. Peter Cunningham once wrote a short memoir, full of prejudice, and still more full of errors. . . . Mr. Timbs, with little of that courtesy that should distinguish literary men, has lately cut out a dozen or two of trite or erroneous Turner stories, and has published them in a catchpenny form—for which, as partly fulfilling Job's wish, I thank him.'—*Pref.* ix.

Again:—

'Among the German critics, Dr. Waagen stands pre-eminent for pompous blundering. He has one of those routine minds, unoriginal, formed by precedent and convention, and holding to the old and safe.'

And then follows a long extract from the Berlin critic, which, although the style of it is somewhat too German for English taste, contains nothing whatever that could warrant this attack on him. Dr. Waagen (whom Mr. Thornbury insults by styling him in the headline 'THE GERMAN SOLOMON') regards Turner as pre-eminent in genius above all other landscape-painters, and the single important fault that he points out is 'his deficiency in a sound technical basis' (ii. 191-3)—the very deficiency which Mr. Ruskin, and Mr. Thornbury as his echo, also point out in saying (unjustly, as we think) that the Academy 'taught Turner nothing, not even the one thing it might have done—the mechanical process of safe oil-painting, sure vehicles, and permanent colours.' (i. 59.) †

But

* Since this was written, we have seen some letters in the 'Athenæum,' which fully bear out our conjecture. These letters are also very damaging to the biographer in other ways.

† The truth seems to be that the Academy *did* teach Turner the safe use of his materials, but that, in striving after effects which had not before been attempted,

But the most remarkable display of Mr. Thornbury's ferocity against earlier writers is to be found at vol. ii. p. 181, where, after having quoted from the 'Times' a description of Turner's house in Queen Anne Street, he adds,—

'A bitter and malicious man, now dead, and whose name I suppress, for I would not grind my heel on his tombstone, sketches Turner's domicile in much the same way.'

The page on which these words occur is headed, 'De Mortuis, &c.'; and, opening on it by chance, we were struck (as who would not be?) alike with Mr. Thornbury's sublime magnanimity, and with his magnificent style of expressing it. But what was our surprise when, near the beginning of the same chapter (p. 173), we found a quotation which was evidently the sketch alluded to, with the name of the author given, and (that there might be no mistake) distinguished by the same epithet, 'bitter,' which Mr. Thornbury uses while affecting to suppress the name! In the same page we are told of 'the malignant spirit of the writer,' and elsewhere he is described—always by name—as 'one of the severest of Turner's critics, an open enemy indeed' (ii. 207); as 'the most foul-mouthed of Turner's detractors' (ii. 322); as having 'viewed him with the jaundiced eye of envy.' (ii. 324.) Mr. Thornbury's heel, therefore, must have been pretty nearly ground away on the tombstone of this unfortunate writer—an artist of some note, who, whatever his feelings towards Turner may have been, appears to have said nothing of him more malicious than the scurrilous aspersions contained in Mr. Thornbury's own volumes.

But Mr. Thornbury is not content with abusing his own predecessors. In order to exalt Turner, he thinks it necessary to bespatter many of the persons with whom the painter came into contact; and this system is carried on even in cases where there is no apparent pretext for it. Thus, after telling us that Mr. Porden, an architect, who had employed him, when a boy, in filling up architectural drawings with skies and foregrounds, offered to take him as an apprentice without a premium, the biographer breaks out—

'Oily Mr. Porden! Without a premium, indeed! Why, in seven years young Turner would have painted you drawings worth three

he betook himself to processes and colours which he must have known to be unsafe. 'I believe,' says Mr. Trimmer, 'Turner never kept to one plan for any time; I mean latterly, when he began to paint Italian subjects, and was striving to get more vivid effects. He was ignorant of chemistry and the affinities of colour, and I have heard him say that no one could tell if a method would answer, as he would be dead before it was proved.'—i. 174-5.

times

times your premium. Go to! you are, I fear, an oily Pecksniff, trying to cheat a man, and all the time professing a deceitful kindness with a lying smile.

'The race of Porden is not yet by any means extinct.'—i. 48.

Again:—

'There is a story told of Turner's love of concealment, which connects him with Britton, the publisher of so many architectural works—a plausible and, I fear, a very mean man; one of those bland, selfish squeezers of other men's brains, that still occasionally disgrace literature.'—ii. 154.

What the story is, Mr. Thornbury does not there inform us; but it may be found at vol. i. p. 389, and is very little to the purpose, even if true, while the character given of Britton is utterly inconsistent with the remembrance which he has left in the minds of those who knew him. We need not here collect any more instances of the detraction in which Mr. Thornbury habitually deals, since other examples of it will occur in the course of our article; but as the phrase 'I fear' is found in both of those which we have quoted, we may remind the reader of Mr. Hallam's gloss on it when used by Dr. Lingard in suggesting a bad construction of Anne Boleyn's conduct,—“I fear,” *i. e.* wish to believe.'

We have already hinted that paste and scissors have been largely employed in the production of this book. How largely, we are quite unable to say; for, although the obligation is sometimes acknowledged—as in the pages which are copiously borrowed from Leslie's 'Autobiography' and in some part of the sheetfuls of matter which are transferred from Mr. Ruskin—such acknowledgment is rather the exception than the rule in Mr. Thornbury's practice, and we have no means of measuring the extent of his unavowed appropriations. The words, however, which we have already quoted as to Mr. Wornum, if they are intended to express the amount of the biographer's debt to that gentleman's writings as well as to his private communications, are really astounding; for, instead of 'two or three dates,' it will be found on examination that Mr. Wornum has been laid under contribution for many pages of description, history, criticism, and other matter. For instance, the account of the origin and progress of the National Gallery, vol. i. pp. 304-5, is taken bodily from the Catalogue of the 'British School,' which is sold at the Gallery for sixpence; and the descriptions of the pictures in the chapters entitled 'Turner's Art-Life' are mainly drawn either from the same excellent but inexpensive manual, or from the more sumptuous letterpress of the 'Turner Gallery.' Of this we shall give
one

one or two instances, which will be amply sufficient by way of proof.

As to the picture of the 'Blacksmith's Forge,' we find this coincidence between the two writers:—

Thornbury, i. 289.

'The figures are very good, and the fowls, shovel, butcher's tray, &c., are painted with admirable Dutch truth.'

'It has been often said that Turner made this picture a mass of flame-colour to destroy the effect of Wilkie's "Blind Fiddler," exhibited this year, and hung between the "Forge" and the "Sun rising through Vapour;" but the "Forge" was No. 135, and the "Blind Fiddler" 147; the other picture, No. 162. The scene is a sunshine interior, and there is scarcely any red visible in it.'

Wornum, 'The Turner Gallery,' 10-11.

'We have in this picture a good Dutch interior; the various objects scattered about the shop, and more especially the barrow and shovel, and fowls, are delightfully true: all things, from the busy disputants to the stained butcher's tray, are equally well painted.'

'A story is told by Allan Cunningham, "that on a varnishing day Turner reddened his sea [in the *Sunrise*], and blew the bellows of his art on his 'Blacksmith's Forge,' &c.'

'But the "Blind Fiddler" was not hung *between* Turner's two pictures, because the "Sun rising through Vapour" was not near the "Forge;" the latter's number being 135, and that of the former 162. The number of the "Blind Fiddler" was 147. . . . The picture is an interior piece . . . a small piece of hot iron is but just perceptible. . . .

'There is no red whatever in it.'

The last words of the extract from Mr. Wornum relate not to the 'Forge,' but to the 'Sunrise;' but it will be seen that Mr. Thornbury has throughout mixed up the two. Here is another instance:—

Thornbury, i. 296.

'The same year, Turner exhibited at the British Institution his "Apuleia in search of Apuleius," which Turner quoted Ovid for, but which is neither in Ovid, Lucian, nor Apuleius; the painter did not care for accuracy when he could invent pleasingly.'

'This picture was painted for the Earl of Egremont as a companion to the celebrated Claude there [where?], engraved by Woollett.'

National Gallery Catalogue, British School, 3rd edition, 1858, pp. 90-1.

'The Catalogue of the British Institution for 1814 refers to Ovid's "Metamorphoses" for this story; it is, however, not one of Ovid's. "Lucius, or the Enchanted Ass," of Lucian, preceded the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius, but both are subsequent to Ovid. The personage Apuleia, and the incident represented, appear to be equally the painter's own invention.'

'This picture, exhibited at the British Institution, in 1814, was painted as a companion to the celebrated Claude in the possession of the Earl of

Thornbury, i. 296.

‘It is a hilly landscape, with a large seven-arched bridge, spanning a river with wooded banks: a *windmill* and town on the right; in the foreground are Apuleia and her companions, questioning some peasants, who are resting in the shade of a tree. One of the peasants, in imitation of a Poussin picture, points to the name Apuleius, which is carved on a tree.’

‘Apuleius, who lived in the second century after Christ, was the author of the curious but very obscene *poem*, “The Golden Ass.”’

National Gallery Catalogue, British School, 3rd edition, 1858, pp. 90-1. of Egremont, at Petworth, Sussex, of which there is an engraving by Woollett.’

‘An extensive hilly landscape: in the middle distance a large bridge of seven arches over a river, with rich woody banks: a *watermill* and town on the spectator’s right. In the foreground are Apuleia and her companions, and some peasants reposing in the shade of a tree. One of the peasants is pointing to the name Apuleius carved in the bark of the tree.’

‘Apuleius was a distinguished philosopher and advocate of the second century of our era, and was the author of the celebrated *romance* entitled “The Metamorphosis, or the Golden Ass,” in which he represents himself as transformed into an ass. The incident, however, represented in this picture is not in the story of Apuleius.’

Again, as to the ‘Battle of Trafalgar,’ now in Greenwich Hospital, Mr. Thornbury’s list of the painter’s inaccuracies and inconsistencies (i. 292) is copied from the ‘Turner Gallery,’ pp. 16, 17, where it is given on the authority of James’s ‘Naval History,’ and we have the following remarkable parallel:—

Thornbury.

‘The picture is a bad composition in point of art, and is much disliked by sailor critics. Nelson’s favourite captain, Sir Thomas Hardy, said of it, “It looks more like a street-scene than a battle, and the ships more like houses than men-of-war.” An old Greenwich pensioner said of it, “I can’t make English of it, Sir; I can’t make English of it; it wants altering altogether.” Another tar, vexed at seeing a visitor pore over it, remarked, “What a Trafalgar! it is a d—d deal more like a brickfield. We ought to have had a Huggins.”’

Wornum.

‘This picture as a matter-of-fact battle-piece was early condemned by naval critics; and it is very inferior also to perhaps all Turner’s other sea-pieces as a mere pictorial composition. Sir Thomas Hardy said it looked as much like a street-scene as a battle, as the ships were more like houses than men-of-war; and, very recently, an old pensioner, observing a visitor paying rather more attention to the picture than he seemed to think it deserved, approached him and remarked, “What a Trafalgar! it’s a d—d deal more like a brickfield! We ought to have had a Huggins.” Another remarked, “I can’t make English of it, Sir! I can’t make English of it! it wants altering altogether.”’

These passages, which are mere samples of a large part of the book, will be enough to show that Mr. Thornbury’s obligations to

to Mr. Wornum are not limited to 'two or three dates.' But how helpless he is as to 'the matter of dates,' when left to himself, may appear from his notice of the last-mentioned picture. Mr. Wornum had said that 'this was painted some time after the "Death of Nelson," but there is no record of its exhibition.' (p. 14.) Mr. Thornbury's version of the matter is, that the 'Trafalgar' was painted 'probably about the same year (1808)' with the 'Death of Nelson;' while his own book contains evidence in a letter from Turner to Sir Thomas Lawrence (ii. 236) that the date of the 'Trafalgar' was 1825!

Before leaving the subject of Mr. Thornbury's borrowings, we may notice that, in so far as we remember, he has only in one instance, throughout his two volumes, given a reference to his authority by volume and page. Even as regards books so well known as the 'Modern Painters' or Leslie's 'Recollections,' the omission of references is very unsatisfactory; but it is altogether perplexing when the author is giving quotations from other writers, as to which the reader cannot be expected to know whether they come from books or pamphlets, from articles in periodicals or from unpublished manuscripts, whether from writings which expressly profess to treat of Turner, or from writings in which the title would not lead us to expect information about him.

Mr. Thornbury, although a practised manufacturer of books, seems to think that the only requisite for his art is the power of filling the largest possible space. He has no idea of method or order, of digesting his materials, or of constructing a narrative. A great part of his matter has no special reference to Turner, and might as well be introduced into the life of any contemporary artist, or, indeed, into that of any contemporary whatever. Things are repeated over and over and over,—sometimes with variations which leave us in uncertainty as to the truth, or which show that the compiler has not understood the information supplied to him. Statements are sometimes dropped, as if by accident, into places where they have no connexion with the matter before or after them; there are the strangest incoherences and the most abrupt transitions. Blunders are heaped on blunders; contradictions are perpetually clashing; and Mr. Thornbury will assuredly never be styled 'a great authority on the matter of dates,' however truly he may deserve the remaining part of the character which he bestows on Mr. Wornum. The ordinary style is that with which the readers of country newspapers are familiar in the jaunty letters of 'our London correspondent;' and the correctness and refinement of Mr. Thorn-

bury's less ambitious composition may be estimated from such passages as these:—

'I can claim no "blue blood" for Turner; nor do I *want to*.'—i. 4.

'He is hopeless, is William Turner, the barber's son of Maiden-lane.'—i. 51.

'He told the barber—who I can see listening to him—tongs and wig in hand.'—i. 57.

'Turner was too cautious to tell many secrets; but he was *not too proud to refuse to learn of any one*.'—i. 158.

'This year Turner had the bitter mortification of sending to the Exhibition the "Landing of William of Orange;" only Van Tromp selling.'—i. 321.

These last two sentences we can only understand by putting on them the very opposite sense to that which the words convey: 'sending to' seems to mean *receiving back from*. But Mr. Thornbury's more level style is frequently relieved by passages of bombastical rant, caricatured from the worst manners of Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Ruskin, with a mixture of Mr. Charles Reade, and of the grandiloquence which is supposed to belong to the dramatists of the Victoria Theatre. In his headings Mr. Thornbury, as well as Mr. Ruskin, appears to have aimed at puzzling instead of assisting the reader. But there is a characteristic difference between the two; for while in the 'Modern Painters' we are left to divine the meaning of 'The Angel of the Sea,' 'The Dark Mirror,' 'The Land of Pallas,' 'The Wings of the Lion,' 'The Nereid's Haunt,' 'The Hesperid Æglé,' and the like—the 'Life of Turner' presents us with such titles as (to quote from the head-lines of a single chapter) 'The Voyage of Discovery,' 'The Old Admiral,' 'Dying,' 'Mysterious,' 'The Empty Rooms,' 'Revoking,' 'The Crows on the Carcase,' 'Issue Joined,' 'Law,' 'Talk,' 'A Grateful Government,' 'Going to Begin,' 'Circumlocution,' 'Discussion,' 'Palaver,' 'Lumber.' For mouthy mysticism there is cockney pertness; and it is hard to say which is the more annoying. There is a continual parade of allusions or illustrations, which may commonly be traced to no wider a circle of learning than the 'Vicar of Wakefield' and a smattering of Boswell, a little of Pope, and a slight knowledge of Hogarth's prints, with such further information about the eighteenth century as may be gleaned from Lord Macaulay's 'Essays,' Mr. Thackeray, and Mr. Forster. Add to this some study of playbills and of exhibition catalogues, and the general literature necessary for the production of such a book will be pretty nearly complete. Mr. Thornbury's acquaintance with the classics may be tested by the facts that, after having enumerated

rated from some guidebook the worthies connected with Maiden Lane, he tells us that 'the dirty lane has contributed its quota to the *mythology* of dear old London' (i. 9); that he loftily discourses on 'circumstance—the *Nemesis* of the Greeks' (i. 12); that he reports Mr. Jones to have written on the frame of one of Turner's idealised Italian views, '*Splendida mendax*' (i. 228); that he displays his Greek by speaking of 'the awful primary verbs *eimai* and *tupto*' (i. 308), and by changing the name of Loutherbouurg's '*Eidophusikon*' into *Eidophushion* (i. 158); that (as we have seen) he turns the 'Golden Ass' from a prose romance into a poem; and that he has 'always thought the worst thing told of *Caligula* was his habit of spending leisure hours in pricking flies to death' (ii. 123). The accuracy of his acquaintance with older English literature is shown by quoting Ben Jonson as having said that Shakespeare had '*little Latin and less Greek*' (i. 309), and by twice telling us that the '*Pilgrim's Progress*' contains a scene described as '*Faith of Perrin*' (ii. 353, 363);* the accuracy of his geographical knowledge, by his placing Orvieto on the Lake of Bolsena (i. 307); the accuracy of his acquaintance with Scripture, by telling us that when Turner's intention of founding a charity became known after his death, 'the great edifice of lies fell to *dust*, like the house built on the sand' (ii. 126).

For a specimen of Mr. Thornbury's picturesque manner we need not go further than the second and third paragraphs of the '*Life*':—

'His father, William Turner, a barber, well known in the district of the Garden, lived at the west end of Maiden-lane. . . . Only a side door of the murky house is still extant, and that is now absorbed into the sticky warerooms of Mr. Parkin, an adjoining grocer, who has pushed his conquests even to Hand-court. Geographically considered, the consecrated house was No. 26, and stood on the left-hand corner of Hand-court, near the south-west corner of Covent Garden. This court is a sort of gloomy horizontal shaft, or paved tunnel, with a low archway and prison-like iron gate of its own.

'You must stand for some minutes in the quenched light of this archway before you can see the coffin-lid door to the left that led to the small barber's small shop in the days of Dr. Johnson. The front window, once grotesquely gay with dummies, such as Hogarth loved to stop and draw, is still extant.'—i. 1, 2.

Johnson and Hogarth are two of the personages whom writers

* This is in a list of engravings after Turner, compiled by the late Mr. Stokes, '*Faith of Perrin*' is evidently a printer's mistake, which Mr. Thornbury was unable to discover. The blunder arises out of the circumstance that the plate was used for a Welsh edition of Bunyan, as well as for the English—*Taith y Pererin* being the Welsh for *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

of this school (for there is a school of them) must drag in continually, without any sort of pretext; although why they should lavish their condescending fondness on Johnson, who of all men that ever lived would perhaps have been the least tolerant of such literature as theirs, we are quite unable to imagine. But we meet with the Doctor again and again; for example, when Turner was working in Reynolds's studio:—

'Perhaps stern Dr. Johnson is on the easel—perhaps leering Laurence Sterne—perhaps nervous Dr. Beattie, Goldsmith, or that tremendous Marquis of Granby, the Mars Ultor [!] of inn-signs—perhaps great Dr. Johnson may, in the course of the day, come in and peer at him as he works,' &c.—i. 64.

Now, as this scene is supposed to have taken place in 1789, we do not think it likely that Sir Joshua would have had on his easel the portraits of Sterne, who died in 1768, of Lord Granby, who died in 1770, of Goldsmith, who died in 1774, or of Johnson, who died in 1784; and if Johnson had made his personal appearance in the painting-room five years after his death, we may be sure that so remarkable a fact would not have been unrecorded by Boswell, whose taste for the supernatural was notoriously strong. But this is only an ordinary specimen of the strange anachronisms into which Mr. Thornbury continually falls when indulging the vicious fondness of his school for representing imaginary scenes. Nay, even when he has some better authority than his own imagination, Mr. Thornbury is unable to describe correctly. Thus, in relating that Turner visited Scotland in 1818, with a view to illustrating Scott's '*Provincial Antiquities*,' he gives us a picture of the great novelist's study, which proves that he is too careless not only to copy statements with accuracy, but even to take the trouble of understanding a plain description:—

'It is this very year,' says Mr. Thornbury, 'that Lockhart describes meeting Home Drummond in Scott's study in Castle-street.'—i. 182.

On turning to the '*Life of Scott*,' we find the real state of the case to have been that Lockhart met Scott for the first time at a dinner given by Mr. Home Drummond; and that, in consequence of a communication from Messrs. Ballantyne, the printers, he called in Castle Street a few days later, when he found Scott alone (v. 317-321, ed. 2). But let us observe what, according to Mr. Thornbury, was to be seen there:—

'The ground was strewn with folios and octavos (Comines for "Quentin Durward," Pepys for "Peveril"). Scott sat at a desk with drawers, the top of which was covered with Sessions-papers, letters, proofs, red-tape, and green tin boxes.'

Mr. Thornbury evidently holds, with Osborne, in '*Vanity Fair*,

Fair,' that a man of letters must be a 'littery man;' and this formidable picture is, doubtless, agreeable to his ideal of the habits which befit such a person. But Lockhart expressly tells us that Scott's habits were very different; and on looking at the original description we find that, instead of the confusion represented by Mr. Thornbury, everything is order. The green boxes were not on the desk, but 'piled over each other, on one side of the window.' The papers on the desk (or rather on the table, with which it was connected) were 'all neatly done up with' that same 'red tape' which Mr. Thornbury represents as an element straggling in the chaos; and instead of a floor 'strewn with folios and octavos,' we read in Lockhart that 'a dozen volumes or so, needful for immediate purposes of reference, were placed close by him on a moveable frame.'* But Mr. Thornbury allows his fancy to add, that among the books were 'Comines,' for 'Quentin Durward,' and 'Pepys,' for 'Peveril.' Unluckily, it so happens not only that the novels in question cannot have been in hand in 1818, as 'Peveril' was written in 1822, and 'Quentin Durward' in the following year; but that Pepys was not available for the composition of 'Peveril,' inasmuch as the 'Diary' did not appear until 1825. Of other blunders in connexion with Scott, and with Turner's visits to Scotland, we do not think it necessary to speak. But if this be the biographer's manner of dealing with an original which we know, what confidence can we place in him where we are unable to trace him to his authorities, or where his statements are made on verbal information?

Here is another pictorial scene, which we quote at length, with a view of enabling the reader to form some idea of Mr. Thornbury's taste, as well as of his accuracy:—

'When Bird, the son of a Wolverhampton clothier, about 1811, first sent a picture to the Royal Academy—it might have been "Good News," or "Choristers Rehearsing," or some other of those early anticipations of Wilkie and Webster—Turner was one of the "Hanging Committee," as it was opprobriously called. Every one said the picture of the new man had great merit, but there was no place fit for it left unoccupied. Here was a desirable guest, but the inn was full. The R.A.s looked stolidly content, as people inside an omnibus on a wet day do when the conductor looks in at the window, and begs to know "if any jintleman would like to go outside and make room for a lady." The R.A.s joke and talk. The days of chivalry are past. Turner growls, and is disturbed; he up and says, "that come what may, the young man's picture must have a place." All the others cry "Impossible!" and go on talking about other things.

* *Life of Scott*, v. 321-3, ed. 1839.

'But

'But can you stop the lion in mid-leap? Can you drive off a shark by shouting when his teeth have closed on your flesh? This is not a doll man of wax and saw-dust. This is not one of those committee-creatures whom lords and ministers pull with a red-tape string, so that it says "Yes" and "No," and rolls its eyes at the required moment.—This is a Nemean man [!]
—a real, stern, honest man, staunch as an English bull-dog, and almost as pertinacious and indomitable.

'All this time he is examining the picture—right, left, surface, clear—obscure, touch, colour, character—carefully; he sees it is good: he cries out again, and hushes the buzz of voices.

"We must find a good place for this young man's picture."

"Impossible, impossible!" says the gold spectacles again, and more oracularly this time than before.

'Turner said no more, but quietly removed one of his own pictures and hung up Bird's.'—ii. 111-2.

We do not undertake to say how much of this is truth; but by looking at the Academy catalogues, of which a set is (according to Mr. Thornbury's favourite phrase) '*buried in the British Museum*,' but may be disinterred by any inquirer, it might have been easily ascertained that Bird's first picture exhibited in London was '*Good News*,' in the year 1809. Although, however, the date is thus thrown back two years beyond the time mentioned by Mr. Thornbury, the picture was not an '*early anticipation of Wilkie*;' for Wilkie, although younger than Bird, had been an exhibitor from 1806, became an Associate of the Academy in the year of Bird's first picture, and in the year 1811, to which Mr. Thornbury refers the scene, was elected an Academician. Nor was the provincial painter really to be described by Turner as '*a young man*,' although it is possible that Turner may have supposed him such; for his age in 1809 was thirty-seven, while Turner himself was then only thirty-four.

Perhaps, however, the most absurd of all Mr. Thornbury's imaginary pictures is the following, for a reason which will presently appear. We are told of a letter—

'penned when Turner was about forty; and it described him as deeply in love with a lady. . . . It was the letter of an affectionate, but shy and eccentric, man. It implored his friend to help him at his need; talked of soon coming down again; but expressed his fear that he should never find courage to pop the question unless the lady helped him out.'—ii. 40.

And then comes the following burst—

'At last, then, we have sure proof that the passion of the boy had begun to fade out, as dint of the lightning-bolt will even out of granite; and once more Cupid had blown the old ashes into a flame. Tremble, ye tailless cats, in the dirty gallery of Queen Anne-street!
tremble,

tremble, old sordid housekeeper! for your new mistress comes to scatter ye to the four winds, with Hope, and Love, and Joy, winged and rosy cherubs, careering before her in the air, and the bright crescent of the honeymoon rising to shed blessed influences on the roof of a house once more awakened to life.

'But, no; cruel fate stepped in,' &c.—*Ib.*

This foolish rant would have been bad enough in any case; but in truth the whole idea of an intended marriage is founded on an utter misunderstanding of the letter. Here is the passage in question:—

'Sandycombe [Turner's house at Twickenham] sounds just now in my ears as an act of folly, when I reflect how little I have been able to be there this year, and less chance (perhaps for the next). In [I am?] looking forward to a continental excursion . . . if Miss ——— would but waive bashfulness, or, in other words, make an offer, instead of expecting one, the same might change occupiers.'—ii, 41, 42.

The meaning of this must be clear to every one but Mr. Thornbury. It has nothing to do with marriage, although, by way of humour, the painter talks of 'waiving bashfulness.' In short, the offer which he wishes the lady to make is not that of her hand, but of a price or a rent for Sandycombe Lodge; the result which he contemplates is not that his town-house might receive a mistress, but that there might be a 'change of occupiers' in his country-house.

'I do not,' says Mr. Thornbury, 'wish to imitate that learned and industrious monk who, writing the life of St. Jerome, commenced with the siege of Troy' (i. 30). Whether there ever was such a monk, or what Mr. Thornbury's idea of St. Jerome may be, we do not care to inquire; but we have certainly never met with any book so full of irrelevant matter. Thus the second chapter is entitled 'The London of Turner's Boyhood,' and contains an account of the capital—'the vast, the negative, the miserable, the loathsome, the great, the magnificent' (i. 22)—which might equally well figure as the London of Johnson's old age, or of Lord Eldon's early manhood, or of any other man's boyhood who was born about 1775,—when, as we are told with the author's usual accuracy, George III. had been '*twenty-five* years on his uneasy throne' (i. 33). But, not content with this, Mr. Thornbury launches out into an account of the most remarkable things of that year—not only in London, but all over the world, including the American Revolution; and as his picture of London seems to be mainly borrowed from a book by Smith, the biographer of Nollekens, so the general view of the year is taken (of course without acknowledgment) from the 'Annual Register.'

Register.' Thus the account of Court life at Kew (i. 33) is from Pt. ii. of the 'Register,' pp. 1-2; the mention of the regatta as 'a new entertainment, introduced from Venice' (i. 34), is from the 'Register,' Pt. i. p. 216; and the record of a very old man's death (i. 36) is from Pt. i. p. 87; although Mr. Thornbury could not help improving even this, by changing the name from Garden to Gordon, adding a year to the age, and describing 'the parish of Auchterless, North Britain,' as 'a village in the north of England!'

Almost equally superfluous is the chapter on 'Turner's Contemporaries in Water and Oil,' or, at least, the greater part of it; and we need hardly say that it is full of blunders. Then come two chapters of which Girtin is the chief hero; chapters which fill almost forty pages, but of which the whole substance might be very well given in five.

Here is a specimen, remarkable alike for consistency and good taste:—

'Girtin has been very unfairly set down as a careless, dissolute artist, fond of low society. *Nothing can be more untrue.* . . . Far be it from me to sneer at Girtin's loving humour and adventure, or going to Northumberland in a dirty collier, eating salt-beef, smoking black pipes, and bandying North-country jokes. A young prig of a dandy would have maintained a dogged silence, except now and then to quote the Greek "*Delectus*," and express his nausea and disgust at the general filthiness of the vessel, and the boorishness of the "*plebs*," the "*hoi polloi*," the "crew." The one would have been dubbed "a cursed jackanapes," the other have been cheered at parting as "a right good-hearted fellow as ever trod shoe-leather."—i. 110, 111.

Girtin's last illness is thus described:—

'But gradually the bony hand came nearer and nearer, pushing him onwards towards the clean, square-cut grave. Fame might put by his crown; it was not to be for him.'—i. 115.

And, as if it were not enough to have uttered this trash once, we have it again on the very next page:—

'But, alas! there was both a good and an evil genius attending Girtin as he stood at the easel, or as he sat over his wine. Before his eyes there was a bright-winged Fame stretching a golden crown; behind his back a black skeleton stretching a bony claw.'

No wonder that, when this is the style of composition, the material of five pages should have been swollen out to thirty-seven!

In chapter ix. we once more go back beyond the beginning, to trace the 'Rise and Progress of Water-Colour Painting in England,' from the illuminations of Anglo-Saxon missals downwards, through those who, with a beautiful display of Scriptural knowledge,

knowledge, are indifferently styled 'patriarchs' and 'pre-Adamites' (e. g. i. 81); and although much of this is a repetition of things which had been said before, we are favoured with an unexpected novelty in Mr. Thornbury's notes on a late exhibition of water-colours (i. 139, 140). A little further on there is an account of Louthembourg's 'Eidophuskion' (as Mr. Thornbury calls it)—a sort of dioramic exhibition, with which Turner had nothing whatever to do (i. 158-161). Then in chapter xiii.—'Turner's Work for the Engravers'—we have a history of Engraving in England, executed in the usual fashion. There is a list of early engravers at p. 243, which is almost repeated at p. 245. There is much repetition of former details as to Turner's illustrations of Scott, and of the places which he visited in order to make drawings for the engravers. And there are blunders and contradictions in plenty. Basire is always turned into Basile. The painter Cipriani is spoken of as if he were an engraver (p. 245). We are told in one place that Woollett was born in 1755 (p. 243), and in two other places that he was born in 1735 (pp. 246, 383). 'From 1780,' it is said, 'Rooker, Ryland, Strange, and Woollett began to get patronage. In 1751 Strange commenced his series of copies from the old masters' (p. 244). According to this account, we might suppose that poor Strange had to work uncheered by the encouragement of patrons for nine and twenty years; but from a statement in the next page, that he died in 1772, it would seem that his probation was shortened, and that the patronage did not begin until he had been eight years in his grave. In either case the story would be so sad that we wonder how Mr. Thornbury can have restrained himself from moralising on it. But for the comfort of readers we may state from another source that the Jacobite engraver lived to be knighted by the Hanoverian George III. in 1787, and enjoyed his dignity until 1795.*

In chapter xviii., Turner's choice of Polyphemus for a subject is made the pretext for an analysis of the ninth book of *Pope's 'Odyssey.'* Chapter xxii., on 'Turner's Note-Books and Sketches,' is without any arrangement, and is in great part repeated from the notices of his tours and from Mr. Ruskin's description of the state in which his drawings were found after his death; and then, by way of a finish to the chapter, we are furnished with a set of dates in the lives of 'Turner's contemporaries,' with a 'Table of historical dates' in English history, a like table of French history, and one of 'Our great naval victories!' Really it

* We need hardly commend here the very amusing *Life of Strange*, with the account of his remarkable wife, by the late Mr. Dennistoun.

is difficult to see, on this principle of stuffing, how any book should ever come to an end at all. Among the 'contemporaries,' whose names are arranged in no sort of order, are reckoned Reynolds, who ceased to paint when Turner was fourteen; Gainsborough, who died when Turner was thirteen; and Scott, the marine painter, who died three years before Turner was born! (i. 380.) As for the correctness of the dates, it will be enough to say that Sir William Allan is described as 'a fellow-pupil of Wilkie,' and yet as born in 1815; that Mr. Maclise is said to have become R.A. at twenty, and that Sir Edwin Landseer is said to have attained the same honour at the very early age of five—having, as it would seem, contributed to exhibitions for some years before his birth!*. As in an extract which we have already given, Bird is here described as 'a predecessor of Wilkie;' but whereas he was there styled 'the son of a clothier,' he is here 'a carpenter's son' (i. 381). Then, as if Mr. Thornbury's own account of the so-called 'contemporaries' were not enough, we have, in vol. ii. 57 seqq., about thirty pages of twaddling reminiscences, traditions, and remarks about them by Mr. Trimmer, which even Mr. Thornbury himself confesses to be 'somewhat irrelevant;' and, on the principle of St. Jerome's biographer, we are further favoured with confused and unintelligible histories of the societies of artists which have been formed in England (ii. 100 sqq.), and of the charities for the benefit of artists (ii. 271). Whatever Turner was in any way connected with, of that his biographer seems to think himself entitled to inflict a loose, flimsy, and inaccurate account on us; except, indeed (which we thankfully acknowledge), that the chapter of extracts from Turner's verses is not preceded by a history of English poetry.

The iteration in which Mr. Thornbury indulges is beyond anything that we have ever seen, and, if this feature were removed, the book would shrink very considerably. Thus in vol. i. chap. xii. we have seven pages by Mr. Cyrus Redding about a tour with Turner in Devonshire (pp. 201-8); and immediately after we have another expanded version of the same tour by the same pen, which fills eleven pages (208-219). We are told twice (if not oftener) of the rapidity with which Turner executed an elaborate drawing for Mr. Fawkes (i. 134, ii. 88); twice, that Turner engaged to work for a publisher named Walker, and that Girtin refused (i. 75, 107); twice that Turner would not allow his lawyer to distrain for the rent of some houses (ii. 122, 133);

* 'Maclise, born 1811, 1831, R.A.; Sir E. Landseer, born 1826, R.A., in 1831' (i. 383).

twice that nearly all his illustrations of Scott belong to Mr. Munro (i. 192, 196); twice that a woman employed to stitch up the 'Liber Studiorum' stole some of the prints (i. 274, 409); thrice, that Turner would never verify the genuineness of pictures ascribed to him (i. 408; ii. 152, 248); thrice that he designed the doorway of his house in Queen Anne Street (i. 166; ii. 173, 177); thrice that a copy of the 'Liber Studiorum' has been sold for 3000*l*.^{*} (i. 271, 274, 286); twice that Charles Turner, the engraver, burnt many proof impressions of the plates, in ignorance of their value (i. 271, 287); twice that the painter was excessively obstinate, with a story from Petworth in each case (ii. 156, 160); times without number that he was not mean, but generous—not recluse, but social; and that he intended the picture of Carthage for his winding-sheet: and these are but a few out of many instances. Phrases on which the author prides himself are repeated before the reader can have had time to forget them; we have had an instance in the passages already quoted as to the 'bony claw.' So, we are told at vol. ii., p. 85, that in the drawing-room at Farnley, 'shining yet like a sun, is the great picture of Dort;' and at p. 89, that the collection 'has for its sun the luminous Dort.' But perhaps the most startling instance of iteration within a very small compass is contained in two lines of vol. i., p. 381: 'Geddes, a Scotchman, was born 1789, and died 1844. He went to Italy in 1828, and died 1844.'

Sometimes, however, the repetition is not without some variety. Thus, in vol. i. p. 330, we read that 'in 1837 he [Turner] painted "Regulus leaving Rome." This picture was painted at Rome in 1829.' In one place we are told that an artist named Dayes 'got embarrassed, and committed suicide, it was supposed, from envy at the progress of his contemporaries—Turner and his old pupil [Girtin]' (i. 102). But in the next page it is said that 'years after Girtin's death he committed suicide under the pressure of debts,' although 'jealousy at the success of his contemporaries is said to have been one of the accelerating causes of his dreadful death;' and somewhat later that, 'getting embarrassed and in debt, he killed himself about two years after Girtin's death' (i. 116). That a man should have killed himself out of envy of a deceased pupil, is certainly not very likely. And there is reason to believe that the whole account of this unfortunate artist is a gross misrepresentation.

* This turns out to be incorrect. See a letter from Mr. Pye, the engraver, in the 'Athenæum' of March 1. Mr. Wornum makes the more credible statement that the best collections of proofs, containing the plates in more than one state, are valued at from 200*l*. to 500*l*.—*Memoir*, p. xi.

His notice of Girtin, although certainly tinged by the remembrance of a quarrel, does full justice to the old pupil's abilities, and is probably not too severe in the reflection on his habits; and the notice of Turner is highly eulogistic. On every ground, therefore, we disbelieve the charge of envy; and, although it is very possible that debt may have helped to urge him on, the main cause of his suicide was (as we are assured by a gentleman who remembers him and highly respects his memory) a naturally melancholy disposition. Again, at vol. i. p. 172, a story is told by Mr. Trimmer that, when Howard was painting a child holding a cat, he could not manage the hind legs and tail; whereupon Turner suggested, 'Wrap them up in your red pocket-handkerchief,' and so the difficulty was overcome. But at vol. ii. pp. 37-8, the same story is related by Mr. Thornbury himself, with such embellishments of style as might be expected, and with an alteration which makes nonsense of it—besides that the painting of the addition—cat as well as handkerchief—is transferred from one artist to the other.

'There was a want of warm colour in the foreground. He [Turner] advised the introduction of a cat wrapped up in a red handkerchief [!]. The now-forgotten poet [*i. e.* Howard, the painter] was horrified, and did not see his way to such an introduction. Turner instantly took up his brushes, and painted in the ingenious expedient.'

As other striking instances of inconsistency, we may mention the impossibility of reconciling the summary of Turner's tours, vol. i. p. 198, with the details in other parts of the book; and the extraordinary difference between Mr. Thornbury's statements as to the painter's mother. Her maiden name is said to have been 'Mallord or Marshall' (i. 4), names which are surely not identical.* At one time she is 'a Nottinghamshire young lady,' with whom Mr. Thornbury supposes the elder Turner to have become acquainted through being 'called in to dress her hair while she was visiting down in Devonshire.' She is studiously styled 'the lady-mother' (i. 13, 19); and there are flings at her 'proud family,' with terrible sarcasms against 'the believers in two sorts of blood—blue and red—aristocratic and plebeian,' to whom it is supposed that 'the discovery of the fact that Turner's mother was of gentle birth will be of extreme importance.' (i. 10, 11.) But elsewhere she is described as 'a native of Islington' (i. 5), with whom the barber had become acquainted after his removal to London (i. 4); and it seems certain she had an uncle a butcher at Brentford, with whom the future painter lodged while at

* The only ground for identifying them is that, while the mother is always called Marshall, the son bore Mallord as a part of his Christian name.

school (i. 19). The 'believers in two kinds of blood,' therefore, are, after all, left in a distressing uncertainty.

But it is time to turn from such exposures of Mr. Thornbury's errors in detail, (and almost every page has its share of errors,) to Turner's personal character.

This is indeed a subject as to which we would gladly be silent; but the discussion of it is rendered necessary by idolising admirers. It seems, indeed, impossible to speak of Turner in a manner satisfactory to such partisans as Mr. Ruskin and Mr. Thornbury. They set before us statements which give a very unfavourable idea of him, and they themselves comment on these statements with the greatest possible freedom. But if any one else repeat their statements or their comments—much more if any one venture to question their more favourable inferences—there arises a furious outcry about calumny, slander, envy, malignity, and every base and hateful motive that can be imagined. Mr. Ruskin talks of the painter's 'errors and his sins'—of his 'failure and error, deep and strange,' which 'all came of his faithlessness—of the shadow which gained sway at last over his once pure and noble soul' ('Modern Painters,' 343, 346, 353),—phrases which seem to hint at something very dark, although it is impossible for the uninitiated to guess at their meaning, and, as coming from a writer whose habitual abuse of language is at least as remarkable as his extraordinary command of it, they might perhaps be suspected of meaning nothing. But Mr. Thornbury is more explicit. He tells us that, while Turner's 'enemies, whether his rivals or those detractors that swarm, small and poisonous as gnats, around all great men, blackened and defamed what was purely good in him,' they knew nothing of the vices to which he was really addicted (ii. 159); and of those vices he proceeds to give details which fully justify him in saying that he has observed Mr. Ruskin's charge, 'Don't try to mask the dark side.'

'I am sorry to say that I cannot say very much for Turner's moral character. A selfish and brooding solitary life, and naturally strong passions, could not be expected to lead to anything but a selfish and vicious old age. Latterly, Turner resorted to wine while he painted, to rouse his imagination; and at Chelsea, I fear, he gave way to even more fatal drinking.

'Nor were these his only excesses. He would often, latterly, I am assured on only too good authority, paint hard all the week till Saturday night; he would then put by his work, slip a five-pound note in [*sic*] his pocket, button it securely up there, and set off to some low sailors' house in Wapping or Rotherhithe, to wallow till the Monday morning left him free again to drudge through another week. A

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blinded [Samson, indeed!—a fallen angel forgetful of his lost Paradise.—ii. 167, 168.

We should not have copied this passage, but that it has already been so often quoted as to be generally known. In so far as we can discover, the statement as to Turner's 'wallowing' at Wapping has been received by those who knew him with astonishment, incredulity, and indignation. One of the most eminent among his brother artists, on hearing the story, thought it a sufficient refutation to exclaim, 'Only look at his pictures!' For ourselves, since no authority is given for it, and since we have seen—as in the cases of Scott's study, Howard's cat, and the old man of Auchterless—that Mr. Thornbury is incapable of reporting the simplest fact without some alteration, we hold ourselves entitled to disbelieve this tale until it comes to us better accredited. We do not venture to say that there is no foundation for it; but it will be very unlike such of Mr. Thornbury's stories as we have been able to test if it do not either vanish altogether when investigated, or come out of the trial shorn of all that is most startling in it. But supposing it all true, what a principle of biography is this! Are the lives of eminent men to be written with the aid of the detective police? Turner's professional character is, of course, public property, as the literary character of an author is. But to pry into the private conduct of a man just dead—conduct with which the world has no concern; which, if faulty, he had the decency to hide, and of which the exposure, while discreditable to him, can be of no benefit to any one—to circulate statements which he has never heard, charges which he has had no opportunity of answering, and all this under the pretence of a reverence approaching to idolatry—this is something which cannot be too severely reprobated. And we are sorry to say that, although Mr. Thornbury's book is an extreme example of such outrage, there have been of late too many biographies which offend in the same manner. Indeed, Turner is more fortunate than many others in one respect,—that, as he wrote but few letters, his biographer has not been able, like many other late biographers, to thrust on the public a mass of correspondence which, if it were ever to see the light, ought at least to have been withheld until it could be published without giving pain to the living or exciting bitter thoughts against the dead.

It is a favourite doctrine both with Mr. Ruskin and with Mr. Thornbury, that Turner was deeply wronged by the world, and that on the world his faults ought to be charged. We must express our entire disbelief of such a theory. We had, indeed, trusted that it had already been exploded by Leslie's well-known remarks

on Mr. Ruskin;* but here we have again the old complaint, with the odd variation that the idea of Turner's unsociability, which had been brought forward by Mr. Ruskin as a proof of his having been grievously injured by the world, is now—after Leslie's refutation of it—described by Mr. Thornbury as a base and malignant invention of his enemies!

In truth, few men have been more successful than Turner; and his success was early, unbroken, and increasing to the very end. The son of a very small tradesman, he received an education which, although scanty, might have been turned to greater account, if he had been disposed, like multitudes of men less favourably started in life, to follow it up by *self*-education;† at all events, whether by the help of a timely legacy or otherwise, (i. 53), the father was able to give him as good an education in art as England could offer. We are told again and again that early sufferings from grasping patrons and dealers in art made him distrustful; but in reality it would seem that, far from having had worse struggles than other men who have risen from humble beginnings, he must have escaped very easily. If he sold his early drawings for three shillings each, the price was probably as much as could have been expected by a boy of his age and condition. If he had died immediately after having executed those drawings, they would probably have never fetched more. And it was by the small earnings of his youthful days, as a draughtsman, as a teacher, and as an illustrator of topographical books, that he was enabled to maintain himself, until, at an unusually early age, he reached the first place in his art, and obtained the highest prices for his works. At twenty-four, he was an Associate of the Royal Academy;‡ at twenty-seven, a full Academician, although

* 'Autobiographical Recollections,' i. 201-5.

† Turner was a man of keen observation, and in one sense was always educating himself. But, although he seems to have read a good deal of poetry, his literary acquirements were always very defective. He could never spell: for instance, he writes *wife*, 'wife' (ii. 91). His penmanship, too, was probably bad; for it is clear that in the letters and verses which are printed there are many mistakes. And Mr. Thornbury seems to have been led by the misspelling of an autograph codicil into a misstatement as to his will at vol. ii. 289, where it is stated that Hannah Danby (whom Mr. Thornbury elsewhere calls *Ellen*, ii. 273) was 'appointed custodian of the Turner Gallery, at 100*l.* a year, with 50*l.* more for her services.' This is clearly nonsense. But on turning to the Appendix (p. 414) we find the original words to be 'one hundred a-year for her service, and fifty pounds for her assistance service which may be required to keep the said gallery in a viewable state.' 'Assistance seems to be Turner's way of spelling assistant's.'

‡ We need not say that it is mere nonsense when Mr. Thornbury writes of him, after his election as A.R.A., 'Then he is back again to London (sketching the Savoy Chapel in gray) perhaps with Girtin, for Dr. Munro's [*i. e.* Munro's] half-a-crown a-day and supper,' i. 357. Dr. Munro's patronage was, indeed, most kind and valuable to both Turner and Girtin. He set before them good models, directed

although Mr. Thornbury, while he abuses others for having been slow to understand him, has nothing but violent abuse for the Academy which so early showed its appreciation of his merit. (See vol. i. p. 99.) For fifty years before his death he was acknowledged to be the greatest landscape-painter of his own time, at least—for nothing can be more utterly groundless than the fancy which has lately grown up, that Mr. Ruskin, a few years before the painter's death, was the first to discover his surpassing excellence; and, having begun the world with nothing, he left property the amount of which is very inadequately represented by the appraiser's valuation, of 140,000*l*.* If his life was not happy, its unhappiness did not arise from any want of public encouragement. Even if it were true that a man is justified in avenging himself for early sufferings at the hands of a few persons by unamiable behaviour to a different, a far larger, and a wholly innocent set of persons in maturer years, we do not think with Mr. Thornbury (i. 393) that Turner had any such justification.

Mr. Thornbury thinks that Turner was ill-used by the nobility, who spent their money on the old masters; and that the first true recognition of him was reserved for the rich manufacturers of Birmingham and Manchester. But we find him employed by Lord Essex, a very early patron; largely employed by Lord Egremont, whom Mr. Thornbury, with his usual blundering affectation of knowledge, particularises as 'Lord Leconfield, the third Earl,'† (i. 306,) and whom he delights to speak of as a man of 'rough' and rustic manners, whereas he was notoriously a most accomplished and polished gentleman;‡ by Sir John Leycester, afterwards Lord de Tabley; by Lord Harewood, Lord Yarborough, by the Marquis of Stafford, afterwards Duke of Sutherland, and we believe, by his

directed them in their sketching from nature, and paid them as much as they could at that time have got anywhere. If the drawings executed for him have since risen in value, there is no ground for charging him with niggardliness.

* 'Turner's property,' says Mr. Wornum, 'was sworn under 140,000*l*., his pictures being appraised at the ordinary value of such effects.' ('Mémoir,' xx.) We have been informed on good authority that the pictures and drawings bequeathed to the nation may alone be now fairly estimated at *four hundred thousand pounds*!

† We need hardly say that the present owner of Petworth is the first person who has borne this title.

‡ At vol. ii. p. 48, the notorious 'Jack Fuller' and the story of his insulting the Speaker of the House of Commons are dragged in without any reason; and he is described as a 'boisterous country gentleman of the Lord Egremont stamp!' As to Lord Egremont, we may refer to the article on Leslie in this Review, vol. cvii. pp. 493-4. A friend writes to us—'I once met Turner at Lord Egremont's house in Grosvenor Place, as long ago, I think, as 1829. There were, so far as I recollect, six or seven besides the host and myself; but Turner is the only one of whom I have any distinct remembrance, an indication of his power, which strongly impressed my boyish mind; for at that time he was by no means the popular hero he has now become.'

younger

younger son, Lord Ellesmere (e. g. i. 268). To us this appears a fair amount of patronage, if we consider that it is not a necessary duty of every peer to buy pictures; that many noblemen have not the means; that many have other tastes, equally legitimate and equally expensive; that some have their galleries full; that some prefer other classes of art to landscape, which, after all, is not generally regarded as the highest class. And if it be a fact that the hereditary aristocracy leant to the painters of long-established reputation, while the men of newly-acquired wealth were the chief patrons of contemporary artists, surely there may even be something of fitness in such a difference of taste and such a division of patronage. Mr. Thornbury's abuse of the nobility for their alleged indifference to Turner, therefore, has hardly more of reasonable foundation than his assertion that 'it was the Reform Bill that gave birth to modern art, that threw open our exhibitions, and that originated our galleries of modern pictures.' (i. 354.) In what manner the purchase of Turners at 1500, 1732, 2000, 2520, and 3000 guineas or pounds each,* is connected with the ten-pound Franchise, we must profess ourselves unable to discover. And the statement that 'it was only after the Reform Bill passed *both* Houses, that national pictures were treated as national property and thrown open to the people' (ii. 238), is simply untrue; for, as Mr. Thornbury himself has elsewhere stated, in one of his unacknowledged appropriations from Mr. Wornum (i. 304), the National Gallery has been open to the public from the time when it was founded by the purchase of Mr. Angerstein's pictures in the spring of 1824.

One well-known patron of art there is on whom Mr. Thornbury is especially severe—Sir George Beaumont, whom he sometimes calls Sir John, and whose birth he places in 1782, 'seven years after Turner,' whereas the real date was 1753 (ii. 50). That Sir George Beaumont did not encourage Turner in his early days, we believe, on the authority of Leslie; and the reason probably was that his taste was somewhat 'conventional,' and not likely to discern merit of a daringly novel kind. But, in mitigation of our author's unqualified scorn, let it be considered that he patronised Constable, notwithstanding the difference of their views on art; that he patronised Girtin, of whose genius Turner showed his estimate by declaring 'If Girtin had lived I should have starved' (ii. 35); and that, however conventional his taste

* We take these prices from vol. i. pp. 232, 391; vol. ii. pp. 403-6; yet Mr. Thornbury elsewhere speaks of 1400*l.* as the highest price given for one of Turner's pictures since his death.

may have been in art, he will be remembered in the history of our literature as one of the first to appreciate the most *unconventional* poet of his age, to whom he remained through life a familiar and a munificent friend. It appears, too, that after all Sir George wished to buy one of Turner's pictures when exhibited (i. 297); and it requires a more implicit confidence than we can place in Turner's judgment to say that the painter was right in refusing to sell it.

As to the sale of Turner's pictures, the patrons of art have been charged with blame which they do not deserve. That a painting by him remained unsold was often not for want of offers, but because he would not part with it at any price, or perhaps because the offer was not made precisely at the right moment. Thus the story—which, if we remember rightly, is told by Mr. Ruskin—that the 'Old Téméraire,' when exhibited, could not find a purchaser at 150*l.* is here refuted by the evidence of a gentleman who went straight from the Academy to Turner's house, and, although the painter admitted that it was his 'two hundred guinea size only,' in vain offered three hundred, and even begged him 'only to put a price on it.'* And whereas the great national sin, not only in Mr. Thornbury's estimation, but seemingly in that of Mr. Jones and of Turner himself (ii. 245), consisted in allowing 'The Building of Carthage' to leave the exhibition unsold, it is remarkable that the especial prophet of Turner, Mr. Ruskin, regards that picture as 'one of the deepest humiliations which Turner's art ever sustained'—as belonging to an altogether mistaken class, 'utterly heartless and emotionless, dead to the very root of thought,' and so forth (*Turner Gallery*, 37; *Life*, i. 61). In Mr. Ruskin's opinion, therefore, the public was not so entirely wrong.† Nay, Mr. Thornbury himself, while he abuses the nobility for leaving the pictures of Venice to find a market among the rich men of Manchester (i. 354, ii. 239), charges the painter with 'changing and perverting Venice,' and 'never appreciating in the right way the poetry of its Oriental Gothic palaces' (i. 237-222). How is it possible to satisfy writers who thus contradict each other and themselves?

Mr. Ruskin tells us that in his last years Turner suffered cruelly from 'the evil-speaking of the world,' i. e. apparently

* ii. 342. Mr. Thornbury adds that 'in 1851 it had been metacally placed by him among the pictures he would leave to the nation,' but the subject did not fall in Turner's way until 1866, and the date of the picture was 1859 (ii. 335).

† Mr. Thornbury states that 'the picture was originally painted for 100*l.* for a gentleman who declined to take it' (i. 237). This is incredible: the fact probably was that, as in another case (i. 340), 100*l.* were paid as *avert*

from

from unfavourable criticisms on his paintings ('Mod. Painters,' v. 345). To the same effect Mr. Thornbury writes that—

'About 1844 the wits (wits are ever cruel) began to be very severe on the poor old painter, of whose greatness they were ignorant, and whose nobler works had pleased a previous generation. Turner felt terribly their cruelty and ingratitude. . . . It was as if an ape of St. Helena had sat down to write a Life of Napoleon, judging him only from his daily observations of him in that island.'—ii. 196, 198.

In proof of this he quotes from 'Punch'—and the references here are the only references that we have observed in the whole work—the following 'attack on the dying lion':—

'Trundler, R.A., treats us with some magnificent pieces.'

'34. A Typhoon bursting in a Simoom over the Whirlpool of Maelstrom, Norway; with a ship on fire, an eclipse, and the effect of a lunar rainbow.

"O Art! how vast thy mighty wonders are
To those who roam upon the extraordinary deep;
Maelstrom, thy hand is here!"

From an unpublished poem.

'4. (Great Room.) Hippopotamuses at play in the river Scamander.

'1311. The Duke of Wellington and the Shrimp. (Seringapatam, early morning.)

"And can it be, thou hideous imp,
That life is, ah! how brief, and glory but a shrimp!"

From an unpublished poem.

'We must protest against the Duke's likeness here: for though his Grace is short, his face is not of an emerald-green colour; and it is his coat, not his boots, which are vermilion; nor is it fair to make the shrimp (a blue one) taller than the conqueror of Assaye. With this trifling difference of opinion, we are bound to express our highest admiration of the work. It is the greatest that the English school of quiet landscape has produced. The comet just rising above the cataract in the foreground, and the conflagration of Tippoo's widow in the banyan-forest by the sea-shore, are in the great artist's happiest manner.'—ii. 194, 195.

No doubt much of art-criticism was then and is now written by persons alike unacquainted with art and with nature; even Mr. Thornbury himself appears to have been allowed to write on art in some periodicals, and Turner must have had to bear his share of ignorant and flippant remarks. But as to the specimen just quoted, we must say that it would be well if Mr. Punch had never been guilty of anything more unjust or more ill-natured. The titles of the supposed pictures fall short in oddity of those by which Turner about that time delighted to astonish the visitors of the Exhibition. The verses are not very decidedly worse than

those which he used to quote from his 'unpublished' MS. The descriptive criticism hardly exaggerates the strange effects which he then crowded into his pictures; and the comical hit about 'quiet landscape' is aimed not at Turner, but at Mr. Ruskin. Nor was this, or more serious unfavourable criticism of the same date, intended to wound the great artist's feelings or written in ignorance of his better works. It was not, we believe, written to insult him in the decay of his powers, but because the writers supposed him to be wilfully abusing those powers; not because they knew nothing of the 'Crossing the Brook,' the 'Polyphemus,' the 'Childe Harold,' or the 'Téméraire,' but because they believed that, with the ability still to equal these masterpieces, he preferred to produce such monsters as 'The Exile and the Rock Limpet,' and 'The Morning after the Deluge—Moses writing the Book of Genesis.'

In addition to the buyers and the critics of pictures, there were two other classes of persons from whom it is said that Turner suffered grievous injustice,—the engravers and the publishers of his plates; and in both cases the evidence appears to us to show that the wrong was on his side. As to the publishers and printsellers, it is enough to quote Mr. Thornbury's statements, that, 'regarding them as Pharaohs,' he exacted from them all that he could get (i. 398); that, when publishing the 'Liber Studiorum' on his own account, he refused to allow them the usual commission (i. 274). If, therefore, the publishers or the dealers met him in something like his own spirit, we cannot wonder or greatly blame them. To the engravers no painter was ever so much indebted: the best skill of the first artists was employed on his plates; they made him popular, by enabling the public to see in their clear black and white that which the ordinary eye could not discern through the peculiarities of his handling, and the perplexing splendour of his colours; and the greatness of his obligations to them is proved by Mr. Thornbury's frequent statements (however much these may require qualification) that his money was mainly gained, not by his pictures, but by the engravings after them. But the engravers found him troublesome beyond all other painters, by the alterations which he continually made during the progress of their plates; alterations which would have been welcome, if intended to bring out better the effect of the originals, but which were in great part deviations from these, and therefore gave just ground for complaint, on account of the additional and unremunerated labour which they entailed. Yet, we are told, 'it seems to be a general opinion among the engravers that Turner disliked them as a body' (i. 406). We have not space for the discussion of his

his quarrels with engravers, and can here only notice the ill-natured way in which Mr. Thornbury loads one of these gentlemen, Mr. W. B. Cooke, with imputations wholly unwarranted by Mr. Thornbury's own evidence—from which alone we know anything of the matter.

The charge of fondness for money, which has been generally brought against Turner, is fiercely denounced by the biographer, while his own pages contain not only abundant proofs of it, but strong assertions of it by Mr. Thornbury himself. Nor is the impression produced by the ordinary habits of the painter's life to be effaced by such counter-statements as that, although Turner never gave an invitation to dinner, he entertained Mr. Redding and others at a picnic in Devonshire, and sometimes paid the bill of a whole party at Greenwich or Blackwall (ii. 136, 208, 216); that he once gave a five-pound note to a petitioner whom he had treated roughly; that he declined to receive payment of a bill for 500*l.*; or even by the story, which looks very apocryphal, that he advanced 'many, many thousands—as much as 20,000*l.*'—to a friend who was in difficulties, and long after repeated this act of generosity to his friend's son—both father and son happily living to repay him (ii. 129), although the advances had been made anonymously, and the elder gentleman 'never knew who was his benefactor.' For such fitful and capricious acts of generosity are recorded of many men whom the world has agreed to stigmatise as misers—of the sculptor Nollekens, for example. Nor can we even agree with the biographer's estimate of Turner's intention to found a hospital for decayed artists—his bequest of '140,000*l.* to the nation that neglected him' (ii. 34).^{*} We need hardly say that his possession of such wealth is a proof that the nation did not neglect him; and it really seems necessary to remind Mr. Thornbury that Turner had not the option of carrying the money out of the world with him. Nor can we think it admirable that, for the sake (as is asserted) of this great purpose, he was content to 'live like the half-starved steward of a miser's property,' to 'let his house grow into a den,' and to bear the imputation of avarice (ii. 127-169). Surely it would have been better if his habits of life had been made to correspond with the station to which he had raised himself. And since there is such a thing as avarice—since the self-denial of a miser is a part of his character, whether the object of his hoarding be to found a charity or to enrich a family—it may be fairly asked whether charity was Turner's primary object, or whether

^{*} We have already seen that Mr. Thornbury speaks as if this intention had not been known until after Turner's death (ii. 126). But it is elsewhere truly said that 'it was known full thirty years before,' (ii. 320.)

he did not (as others had done before him) delude himself, by the thought of posthumous benevolence, into the indulgence of a passion for grasping all that he could get, and of holding it all so long as life should be left to him. He seems, indeed, to have been the slave of a mania for accumulation and retention, without any intelligible object—accumulation and retention, not of money alone, but of other things. Fond as he was of money, he was unwilling to part with his pictures, even at the great prices which they commanded. On the sale of a picture he would say, 'I have lost one of my children this week;' and when his works appeared in auction-rooms he often bought them back. Yet the pictures in his dingy gallery were suffered to go to wreck for want of care; and the thirty thousand proof-impressions which he had wrung from the engravers by so many special agreements, were left to perish by mildew and dirt in portfolios which were never opened.

That Turner's intentions as to the foundation of a charity have been frustrated, every one knows. His will was disputed by the next of kin, on the plea that the testator was of unsound mind. That plea was rightly overruled; but the document was so ill drawn and so inconsistent that nothing could be made of it, and at length a compromise was agreed on, by which the works of art were secured to the nation, the Royal Academy* receiving 20,000*l.*;† and the bulk of the residue was made over to the next of kin. A writer, who is quoted by Mr. Thornbury, remarks strongly, and with justice, on 'the large alloy of baser metal than usual' which is to be found in the will; on the condition that two of Turner's pictures should be hung between two celebrated works of Claude,—a juxtaposition which, in so far as the 'Carthage' is concerned, is not generally believed to show the English painter as victorious;‡ on the glorification of himself by a statue to be erected in St. Paul's;§ on his directions that there should be a 'Turner'

* Mr. Thornbury, finding 'Sir C. L. Eastlake Knight, P.R.A., and John Prescott Knight, R.A.,' named together in a decree (ii. 295), supposes the word *Knight* to be a title in both cases, and talks of 'Eastlake and Prescott' (i.), ii. 299.

† 'A poor 20,000*l.*,' says Mr. Thornbury, 'goes to the Royal Academy—a body already groaning with useless wealth' (ii. 326). But that *this* money (in receiving which, by way of compromise, we believe the Academy showed great moderation) is *not* useless will appear from p. 47 of the same volume, where Mr. Roberts tells us that 'the interest, 600*l.*, is distributed amongst certain old painters not members of the Academy, but whose necessities are such as to compel them to ask charity, in annual grants of 50*l.* each; so that, after all, Turner's wish has in some measure been realised.'

‡ See in vol. ii. 204, the extract from Leslie; also *Quart. Review*, xcvi. 404-410.

§ Mr. Thornbury would have had the statue to represent him as lashed to the mast of a vessel, in order that he might observe a snow-storm (i. 335). Bad as much of our monumental sculpture is, we may rejoice that there is nothing so outrageous as this.

Gallery, a 'Turner' medal; and that the charity for artists should be styled 'Turner's Gift,' as if the painter wished to 'raise his patronymic into a historical institution' (ii. 301-3). But in addition to this we may observe that the charity, if it had been founded, would have been somewhat narrow in its range. It was to be for 'male artists' only, as if Turner considered that women were disqualified for the practice of art. It was to be for persons of 'lawful issue' only; surely a very needless and harsh limitation when applied to artists themselves, however necessary such a rule may be in the case of persons claiming to be the children of artists or authors. And, farther, it was to be for men 'born in England, and of English parents only' (ii. 411). Thus it would have excluded, not only foreigners settled in England, and among them the unsuccessful countrymen of Roubiliac and Serres and Louthembourg, of Cipriani and Schiavonetti,—of Lely, Kneller, Cibber, Fuseli, Zoffany, and the elder Cozens—but natives of any part of the British Islands, except England; the countrymen of Wilson and Hugh Williams, of Wilkie, Nasmyth, and the Orcadian Strange, of James Barry, and Danby. It would have excluded natives of the British colonies, like Copley, West, and the Nova-Scotian, Newton; men born in England, whose parentage was not English on both sides, such as Nollekens, John Cozens, and Leslie; and children of English parents on both sides, if born out of England. These limitations would have been found in practice to operate very hardly; and, in so far as we can see, they were laid down without any reasonable ground.

Mr. Ruskin's statement that Turner, 'with the kindest heart and the noblest intellect of his time, never met with a single word or ray of sympathy until he felt himself sinking into the grave' (ii. 163), has been shown by Leslie to be ridiculously untrue. We can, indeed, believe Mr. Ruskin when he writes, 'My own admiration of him was wild in enthusiasm, but it gave him no ray of pleasure; he loved me, but cared nothing for what I said' ('Mod. Painters,' v. 352);* but it must not be inferred from his treatment of Mr. Ruskin that he was equally indifferent to the society of older acquaintances and less violent

* Turner is said to have declared to one person that he 'had never read a line of Ruskin,' and to another, 'The man puts ideas into my head I had never thought of.' 'These two stories,' says Mr. Thornbury, 'contradict each other; it is impossible that both can be true, and unlikely that either is so' (ii. 215). But (1) the stories may both be true, although one of the sayings may have been a 'mystification' such as Turner often indulged in; (2), without having 'read a line of Ruskin,' he may have known so much of his style of interpretation as would warrant the second saying; or, what is most likely, (3), the sayings may be reconciled by supposing some interval of time between them.

admirers. There were those who felt a strong regard for Turner, and for whom he had a sincere regard, such as the artists Chantrey, Eastlake, Callcott, Phillips, Jones, Hardwick, Roberts, and Boxall, Mr. Fawkes of Farnley Hall, Mr. Munro of Novar, and the Rev. E. T. Daniell, a clergyman of great taste and of admirable skill as an artist, whose name may be remembered by some of our readers in connexion with the Lives of Edward Forbes and Blanco White. Although, as Leslie says, 'nobody knew where or how he lived' (i. 201)—although, partly from constant occupation in his art, and partly (it would seem) from caprice, he did not appear much in society, yet this was not for want of invitations,—'which,' as the same authority tells us, 'he seldom even answered, but appeared at the table of the inviter or not, as it suited him' (i. 204). All agree in praising him as a remarkably pleasant companion. He delighted in a dinner of artists, in a rough excursion on the river, and at the luncheon of the Academicians on varnishing-days 'he was the life of the table' (Leslie i. 201). Of a different kind, but still more favourable to him, is the testimony of Mrs. Wheeler, daughter of an artist named Wells (ii. 53-7). She tells us how Turner wept at her father's death (ii. 56), and he paid the same tribute to the memory of Chantrey. In evidence of his feeling for Mr. Daniell, we have heard a story which seems to be the original of one told by Mr. Ruskin, and after him by Mr. Thornbury:—

"One of my friends," says Mr. Ruskin, "had desired to possess a picture which Turner would not sell. It had been painted with a companion; which was sold, but this reserved. After a considerable number of years had passed, Turner consented to part with it. The price of canvases of its size having, in the mean time, doubled, questions arose as to what was then to be its price. 'Well,' said Turner, 'Mr. — had the companion for so much. You must be on the same footing.' This was in no desire to do my friend a favour, but a mere instinct of equity."—*Mod. Painters*, v. 346.

To us it appears that such an act, unless prompted by the desire which Mr. Ruskin studiously disclaims for his hero, would have been a proof not of equity, but of childishness. But the true version of the story we believe to be as follows, and it is one which supplies an intelligible and a touching motive for the painter's conduct. Mr. Daniell asked Turner to paint a picture for him, and named 200 guineas as the price which he could afford to give. The commission was accepted and the work was admirably executed, but in the mean time Mr. Daniell had died in the East. For a long time Turner refused all offers for the picture, although they mounted far beyond even twice the sum
for

for which it had been bespoken. 'No,' he said; 'that was Daniell's picture. I won't part with it.' At last, however, he yielded to the urgency of a friend who already possessed a picture of the same size by him; but Turner insisted that the price should be only 200 guineas, because 'that was Daniell's price.'

It is strongly in favour of Turner that all the chief artists who knew him agree in speaking of him with regard, and in reprobating Mr. Thornbury's book. They not only reverence his genius, but entertain kindly feelings towards him as a man; they deal tenderly with his failings, and tell stories of his unostentatious bounty to poor members of the profession,* which, in our opinion, are more creditable to him than the scheme for immortalizing himself by the foundation of a charity which should bear his name. Yet, such were the strange contradictions mingled in him, that while the heartiness and depth of his regard for his friends is beyond all doubt, there was not one of them with whom he associated on the footing of ordinary intimacy; to no one did he open himself—to every one he desired to remain a mystery. To his own father he seems to have been sincerely attached; yet he made him his drudge,—his gardener, the stretcher of his pictures, the doorkeeper of his gallery; and when the prosperous Academician lived at Twickenham, the poor old man (if we may believe Mr. Thornbury) was left to trudge daily to his duties in Queen Anne Street, or to bribe a market-gardener with a glass of gin to carry him 'up in his cart, on the top of the vegetables' (i. 165). It is altogether a strangely unsatisfactory character.

Much stress is laid on an early love-affair, in which it is said that Turner's letters were intercepted by the maiden's 'wicked stepmother,' and that the wrong was not discovered until too late (i. 70-74). But the details of this story are so hazy that we can have no confidence in it; and, unless some really bad means were used, there was surely no great wickedness in the attempt to stop a love-correspondence with a lad of nineteen, whose worldly means were limited to the prospects of a very uncertain profession, on which he had hardly entered. And we may ask what is the world to come to, if a disappointment in love at nineteen be admitted as an excuse for the grievous faults of a life favoured in most respects by extraordinary prosperity, and protracted to seventy-six?

If Turner was not happy, the cause appears to have been in his own perverseness; to himself, too, is to be attributed the failure of his designs after his death. By the expenditure of a

* He was associated with Chantrey and Phillips in founding that excellent charity, the Artists' Benevolent Institution, of which he became a trustee.

few pounds, he might have got his will so framed as to defy all assaults. By a reasonable provision for his relations—a provision limited by the consideration that his wealth was of his own earning, and that a great and sudden gift of riches is no real blessing to persons who have not been trained for the use of them—he might have cut off all pretext for assailing it. Nay, it is even possible that, by requesting some competent friend to draw up a modest memoir of him, and furnishing the necessary information, he might have saved himself from the worst of his posthumous misfortunes—that of falling a victim to such a biographer as Mr. Thornbury.

Perhaps the appearance of this wretched book may be the means of calling forth some writer qualified, by knowledge of the man and of his art, to investigate the truth and to tell it as it ought to be told. In the mean time we should be glad to see a reprint, in a more accessible form, of Mr. Wornum's brief but sensible and judicious sketch, which is at present only to be obtained in connexion with a costly folio collection of engravings. We need not now enter into any criticism on Turner's art, which has been discussed in a recent number of this Review.* That he is faultless, no one will maintain; although the same things which some would note among his faults are extolled by others as his most transcendent beauties. But no one can visit that room of the National Gallery in which the chief part of his great bequest is now displayed—enabling us to trace him from his modest beginnings to the culmination of his first style in the 'Apuleia' and 'Crossing the Brook;' and thence, through the gorgeous period of the 'Polyphemus' and the 'Téméraire,' to the wild magnificence of his decline—without marvelling at the originality, the versatility, the untiring industry, the technical skill and facility, which gave being to that unequalled collection. It is not necessary for Turner's honour, nor is it any true tribute to his merits, that other men who before him won high fame in art and pointed out the way to him should be disparaged. Let Claude and the Poussins, Ruysdael and Cuyp, Hobbins, Van-develde, Canaletti, and Wilson, keep the honours which the world has until now been glad to pay them; let it be owned that without them Turner would not have become what he was; that in his rivalry of them he has often failed to equal them; but in variety and reach of genius, in poetical spirit, in the representation of light, and air, and space, of the storm and the sunshine, of the restless sea and the ever-changing clouds, he has far surpassed them all.

* No. cxcvi., Art. iv.

- ART. VI.—1. *Dictionary of the Indian Islands.* By John Crawford, F.R.G.S. London, 1859.
2. *Java; or, How to manage a Colony.* By J. W. B. Money, Barrister-at-Law. London, 1861.
3. *The Indian Archipelago: its History and Present State.* By Horace St. John.
4. *Report of Her Majesty's Secretaries of Legation, No. 4.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament. 1861.
5. *A Visit to the Philippine Islands.* By Sir John Bowring, LL.D., F.R.S., late Governor of Hong Kong, H. B. M. Plenipotentiary in China, &c. London, 1859.
6. *The Singapore Free Press.*

A FEW years ago great interest was felt in the Indian Archipelago as the theatre of a very remarkable enterprise. A private individual had formed the strange, and, it was thought, the chimerical project of establishing an ascendancy in a portion of the largest island of the Indian Seas, for the purpose of effecting a radical change in the pursuits of an aboriginal race, reclaiming it from piracy, and instructing it how to acquire property with less effort than was required to wrest it from others. Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, if he has not yet fully accomplished all that his philanthropic scheme embraced, has made considerable progress in the noble work to which he addressed himself. He has planted the germ of European civilization in the least known island in the world, accustoming a portion of its people to a steady dispensation of justice, and made the name of England respected among fierce and lawless races.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, the Spanish, and the English governments have all possessed at different times important trading establishments in this archipelago of freebooters. Several considerable islands have long been in their possession, and the seats of settled government. Java has attained a high but peculiar civilization. Sumatra has not yet felt the influence of European intercourse, except on a small portion of its coasts. Of the interior of Borneo, scarcely anything is known; but there have long been important settlements on its shores. The group of the Philippines, exhibiting many interesting features, has received the civilization of that great power of the sixteenth century which, planting a foot in either hemisphere, bestrode the world like a colossus. The Moluccas, the almost fabled land of spices, still own the sway of a remote nation of merchants; while Great Britain, hitherto diverted by her vast enterprises in continental India, and perhaps disdaining the comparatively

comparatively insignificant temptations presented by the islands of the intertropical seas, has, by her settlement at Singapore; by the generous encouragement which, on the first achievement of his great successes, she afforded to the Rajah of Sarawak, and recently by her occupation of Labuan, evinced a determination to extend her commercial and political relations into regions which have been hitherto considered the appanage of a small European power, to whose influence they have been almost exclusively left.

We propose to take a survey of the present condition of the principal islands of the Eastern Archipelago, their productions, commerce, and governments, believing that their importance will from year to year become more highly appreciated, and that they are rapidly acquiring a value in European estimation far greater than they have hitherto possessed.

The Eastern Archipelago extends over a space of more than 8000 miles, and consists of an immense labyrinth of islands, among which are at least twenty countries of considerable size, and one which nearly equals Europe in extent. This cluster of islands and islets, scattered in irregular profusion over the Southern Ocean, is supposed by some geologists to consist of the fragments of a vast continent which has been broken up by some mighty convulsion of nature in ages far beyond the historical era; but whether it is composed of the *débris* of a former continent, or whether a multitude of islands have arisen slowly from the deep, is a problem which no one has yet satisfactorily solved. Commencing at the further extremity of the Bay of Bengal, this wonderful archipelago stretches eastward far into the Pacific, through 50 degrees of longitude, while in breadth it extends through 31 degrees of latitude. It comprises islands, and groups of islands, inhabited by races differing widely in character. It is not exposed to the extremes of heat. The air is cooled by constant currents; and the monsoons, in their regular recurrence, purify the atmosphere, and disperse the pestilential miasma generated by a fierce sun in forests and swamps which remain in a state of primitive nature. Abundant rains fertilize the soils, and produce a magnificence of vegetation which no country but Brazil can rival; and it has been, and still to some extent continues, the theatre of prodigious volcanic action, to which it owes much of its unrivalled beauty and fertility; for ashes and scoria, if they blast and destroy for a time the luxuriant tropical flora, afterwards constitute the basis, and become the cause, of a most exuberant vegetation. In Java there are forty-six volcanic peaks, twenty of which still occasionally emit vapour and flame.

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The whole archipelago, indeed, forms part of a great volcanic area extending into the very centre of Asia. These eruptive forces must have operated in remote ages with inconceivable violence, detaching masses of land from the continent, shattering islands into fragments, and throwing the whole into disorder. Of the fearful energy with which these subterranean forces have manifested themselves, even in modern times, the great eruption of Tomboro, in the island of Sumbawa, about 200 miles from the eastern extremity of Java, is a notable example. In 1815 this volcano, which had been for some time in a state of smouldering activity, burst forth with the most tremendous violence in the month of April, and did not cease to eject lava until July. The sound of the incessant explosions was heard in Sumatra, distant 970 geographical miles in a direct line; and at Ternate, in the opposite direction, at a distance of 720 miles. Out of a population of 12,000 in the province of Tomboro, only twenty-six individuals survived. On the side of Java, the ashes were carried to a distance of 300 miles, and 217 towards Celebes; and the floating cinders to the westward of Sumatra formed a mass two feet thick, and several miles in extent, through which ships with difficulty forced their way. The finest particles were transported to the islands of Amboyna and Banda, 800 miles east from the site of the volcano; and the area over which the volcanic effects extended was 1000 English miles in circumference, including the whole of the Molucca Islands, Java, and a considerable portion of Celebes, Sumatra, and Borneo.*

But what are the true boundaries of this great archipelago? Geographical science is somewhat arbitrary in its classification. Where is the line of demarcation to be drawn if there is none apparently traced by nature between the different groups ranging from Ceylon to New Guinea? For even Ceylon, it has been recently suggested, possesses far more affinity with the islands to the east than with the continent of which it would seem, from its position, to have once formed a part. Sir Emerson Tennent, in his admirable and exhaustive work on this beautiful island, considers it erroneous to regard it as a prolongation of the great Indian mountain-chain, although he admits that in its geological elements there is a similarity between the southern extremity of India and the elevated portions of Ceylon, while stating that there are many important particulars in which the specific differences are irreconcilable with the notion of any previous continuity. The flora and fauna of the island, it is said, suggest a distinction between it and the Indian continent. Without at present discussing this

* See Lyell's '*Principles of Geology*,' ch. xv.

interesting subject, we may observe that the climatic conditions arising from the insular character of the country, and the consequent exposure to the influence of the sea, may go far to account for most of the specific differences between its flora and that of the continent of India; and that if it possesses some botanical affinities with islands of the further east, they may be accounted for by atmospherical influences. Thus the nutmeg and the mangosteen, two plants peculiar to the Eastern Archipelago, have been introduced with singular success at Ceylon, while their cultivation has entirely failed in Bengal. The true cinnamon of Ceylon, again, is not a native plant of any island of the Asiatic archipelago; but most of the large islands produce a small species of little value, although Ceylon cinnamon has been cultivated with success in Java and in the British settlements in the Straits of Malacca. We must, therefore, reserve for future consideration Sir Emerson's theory that this island, separated from the Indian continent only by a narrow strait, ought to be regarded as the centre of a geographical circle, possessing within itself forms whose allied species radiate far into the temperate regions, as well as into Africa, Australia, and the isles of the Eastern Archipelago.

But, whatever may be its natural boundaries, the archipelago, if its islands were combined, would undoubtedly constitute a mass of land forming the Terra Australis which ancient geographers imagined to exist, and which they conceived necessary for the balance of the world. The Eastern Archipelago is, however, limited by modern geography to the boundaries before indicated; and if the disruptive forces in these regions have been formerly predominant, the creative and constructive power is now the most active. The zoophyte is adding silently and incessantly to the number of these island-groups; coral-reefs are constantly emerging from the waters; seeds, deposited by birds, or wafted by winds, quickly vegetate; verdure spreads over the waste; and palm-trees rise in tufted groves, as if by enchantment, from the ocean. The hidden but ever active energy of the coral-insect makes the navigation of the archipelago exceedingly difficult, for charts and soundings do not long form safe guides where an unseen power is always at work, reducing the depth of seas, and converting water into dry land.

The intercourse between continental Asia and the islands of the archipelago dates from a very remote period. Their rare products were in request in China and India long before they were heard of in Europe. Camphor and spices, two of the most esteemed productions of these islands, were used by the Chinese two thousand years ago; the one for diffusing an aromatic fragrance

grance through their temples, the other as indispensable condiments in their feasts. A Hindoo empire long flourished in Java, where many magnificent ruins still attest its duration and greatness. The Arabs subsequently gained a footing there, as well as in the other islands of the archipelago, and gradually supplanted the religion and governments of India. The Malays are now the dominant race, and they have reduced, where it was possible, the aboriginal population to slavery. The Malay kingdoms have generally perished; but the Malay people remain, and constitute the most energetic portion of the inhabitants, possessing virtues which, developed by a firm and beneficent government, might raise them high in the scale of civilization.

Although the piratical system has received a severe check, and may be considered as destroyed in some of its former haunts, it is still in full operation elsewhere. On the north-west coast of Borneo, the Dayaks have been reduced to order, but the Malays in other parts of the archipelago still carry on their depredations: much, therefore, remains to be done before the seas are completely cleared of these lawless freebooters. The Malay pirates have had their apologists in England;* and an outrageous system of robbery on the high seas was assumed to be only a war of tribes, originating in an imperfect civilization. Although their power has been broken, and their numbers have been considerably diminished, their deeds fill so large a space in the modern history of the archipelago that we shall concisely describe them and their system.

Piracy seems to be the normal condition of a people in a certain state of civilization, inhabiting islands or the indented coasts of maritime countries. The Archipelago of Greece swarmed with pirates when Rome was in the zenith of her power; and it required all the energy and ability of Pompey to exterminate the hordes which had become the nuisance of the civilized world. The career of some of those remote ancestors on whose blood we pride ourselves in England, would not, we fear, bear a very rigorous scrutiny. The Mediterranean in modern days has exhibited a piratical power, with which regular governments held a quasi-diplomatic intercourse, and to which they even paid a species of black-mail. The Malay pirates exist under somewhat similar circumstances, and are exposed to the same temptations as the vikings of Europe when they issued from creeks and bays to prey upon defenceless traders, sack peaceful villages, and even considerable towns. The Malays

* Our readers will remember the persevering parliamentary attacks upon Sir James Brooke in reference to this subject, and the denunciations of Exeter Hall.

do in their generation, in the nineteenth century, what these heroes of history did in the fifth.

To a needy and energetic people, with no higher law than force, and no recognised standard of morals, the temptation to piracy must be irresistible. The wealth of the world daily passes along their shores. Ships freighted with the commodities and luxuries of Europe and Asia are often becalmed in lagoons, or entangled in a labyrinth of shoals and islands, from which they can discover no escape. The natural character of the Malay adds force to other strong inducements to rob. Piracy is not merely a habit; it is a passion. The organisation of a community for this purpose is as formidable as it is complete. High up the stream of some beautiful river, presenting the most enchanting scenery, the banks exhibiting pictures of Arcadian simplicity and primitive innocence, are moored fleets of boats, waiting for the well-known signal to put to sea. The vessels are built to subserve the exact purpose for which they are intended: the largest are 100 feet in length, with a proportionate beam, carry a gun in the bow, swivels on each broadside, and are propelled by sixty or eighty slaves; others, drawing only a few inches of water, are designed to approach as swiftly as the swoop of a hawk, and to board some unsuspecting ship before her crew can make any preparation. The platforms of the larger prahus are crowded with men who, at the prospect of a fight, generally deck themselves in scarlet; and the spectacle is said then to be eminently military and imposing: the brass guns glitter on the bows, spears and double-handed swords gleam in the sun; the fighting men often appear resplendent in steel armour, and their courage is animated by the beating of drums and gongs. A defenceless trader has little hope of escape from such formidable enemies.

It is not the mere hope of plunder that inspires the Dayak of Borneo in his expeditions, but a singular passion has long prevailed for the possession of human heads. A Dayak is not considered an eligible suitor until he has presented his mistress with one; and the possessor of several is said to be readily distinguishable by his proud and lofty bearing. Heads are displayed in the most conspicuous parts of the houses, and might at first be supposed to be those of a long line of ancestors. One house, belonging to a Dayak chief, was found to be a perfect Golgotha, containing 500 human skulls, which had descended as heirlooms for generations. The origin of this singular passion is a belief that the persons whose heads are thus obtained will be the slaves of their possessor in a future state; they have become
even

even articles of commerce, prized in proportion to the dignity of their former owners ; but the heads of women and children are as eagerly sought as those of men. Whole families are slaughtered for the human spoil ; and such is the ferocious character that this horrible passion has impressed on some of the tribes, that a chief has been heard to declare that if any one of his people met his own father in a head-hunting expedition he would undoubtedly kill him.

That portion of the archipelago which has been the most vigilantly watched by the cruisers of civilised governments has been nearly cleared of piratical prahus ; but among the multitude of small islands, and in several rivers, they still swarm, and inflict serious injury on commerce. As the crews are generally massacred, nothing is ever heard of these vessels, and their loss is probably often attributed to shipwreck when they have been pillaged and burned by the pirates of the Eastern Seas. The gradual introduction of trade will prove the most effectual measure of suppression, and its influence in Sarawak in changing the character of the people is most encouraging and satisfactory. The piratical system of the archipelago might now be easily crushed. Officers of Sarawak, well acquainted with the habits, language, and haunts of these people, could point out the proper localities for operations and direct the appropriate punishment. The vigilance of the Rajah of Sarawak is necessarily confined to his own coasts. A fleet of ten formidable piratical prahus still pays an annual visit to these waters, but prudently avoids an encounter with the forces of the English Rajah, and passes on to prey upon the commerce of the neighbouring seas and the Dutch settlements in their vicinity ; but it is said that Sir James Brooke's representative is about to look out for their next annual visit, and that he fully expects to give a good account of them.

The Governments of Holland, Spain, and Great Britain, all of whom have important interests at stake, have of late directed much of their attention to these countries. The interest of England is confined to the development of her trade ; since, with the exception of the small island of Labuan, and of Singapore, she possesses no territory in the Indian Archipelago. In commercial importance, although not in size, the island of JAVA ranks first in the Oriental Archipelago. The country to which it bears the nearest resemblance in beauty of aspect is perhaps Italy, and it must always possess an interest for England, as she ruled it for six years. It received from her an improved revenue system ; and an impulse was communicated to industry, which was beginning to produce great results, when, by the arrangements of the peace of 1815, the island was restored to

Holland. The name of Sir Stamford Raffles, its Governor, is still pronounced with reverence in Java by many who knew him in their youth. The area of Java is rather less than that of England and Wales, and its length is somewhat greater than that of England and Scotland. Its breadth varies from 56 to 136 miles: therefore no part of its interior is very distant from the sea. The population is rapidly increasing, and has doubled itself in twenty years. It is irregularly distributed, and more than half of the cultivable surface is uninhabited. The faith of the entire people is now Mahomedan.

Java is traversed from east to west by a chain of mountains, which are nearest to its southern shore. The island is probably of volcanic origin, the great Asiatic chain which extends down the Malay Peninsula terminating there. It possesses, like other volcanic countries, neither iron nor gold.* The fertility of its soil is extraordinary: the island is therefore eminently an agricultural one. The heat of the coasts is great, but frost is not uncommon on the mountains. The capital is unfavourably situated in the midst of a pestilential swamp; but the mortality, which is inevitable from its position, is probably compensated, in the opinion of the Dutch Government, by the difficulty of the approach and by its security. The flora of Java is varied and magnificent; but as few of the plants are deciduous, the country presents always nearly the same appearance, being clothed with a brilliant and unchanging verdure. The vegetation struck Sir Stamford Raffles when he first visited the island as 'fearful.' Mountains 10,000 feet high are cultivated half way to their summits. On the coasts palms and bananas conceal the marshes and jungles from which they spring. Rising gradually, the country then assumes a more varied surface, and at the height of 1000 feet, ferns preponderate with a thick growth of bamboo. To these succeed forests of tall and spreading fig-trees; ferns then increase in size; orchideous plants of rare beauty are intermingled with the exuberant vegetation, and fig-trees are succeeded by the oak and the laurel. In the region above, the trees are dwarfed, their tropical character disappears, and heaths and conifers, with cryptogamous plants, abound. The ferns then become diminutive, and mosses and lichens denote an almost alpine temperature. With a range of climate between the tropical and the temperate zones, Java produces all the fruits and cereals of Europe and Asia. The vegetable wealth of the island is therefore immense. Six zones exist, each of which yields in rich abundance its peculiar productions. Rice, maize, cotton, coffee, sugar, tobacco, indigo,

* A little iron has been discovered, but so diffused in the soil that it is useless.
pepper,

pepper, the cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, sago, wheat, the potato, and almost every other European vegetable thrive luxuriantly. Fruits of exquisite flavour abound, and flowers of unimaginable beauty load the atmosphere with perfume.

‘ Whatever fruits in different climes are found,
That proudly rise or humbly court the ground ;
Whatever blooms in torrid zones appear,
Whose bright succession decks the varied year ;
Whatever sweets salute the northern sky,
With vernal lives that blossom but to die :
These, here disporting, own the kindred soil,
Nor ask luxuriance from the planter’s toil ;
While sea-borne gales their gentle wings expand,
To scatter fragrance round the smiling land.’

The Dutch first formed a settlement in Java in 1611. The progress of their ascendancy has resembled that of other nations placed under similar circumstances. European influence was at first opposed, then gradually and firmly established, and native kingdoms were ultimately converted into subordinate and dependent states. The native government was an hereditary despotism, and the sovereign was addressed in the highest style of Oriental flattery. He became, under the rule of the old Netherlands East India Company, as mere a shadow of royalty as the Great Mogul. The court of the nominal prince was permitted to retain its national customs ; and the royal palace, although lying immediately under the guns of a small Dutch fort, was denominated the habitation of the Sun.

The Dutch East Indies were for two hundred years administered by a company of merchants, subject to the control of the States-General. There was therefore a considerable resemblance between the Dutch and English East India Companies in their constitution and privileges ; but here the likeness ends—the one, degraded and impoverished, terminated a disreputable career in bankruptcy and ruin ; the other, full of honours, succumbed only to the altered commercial policy of the age, after having extended its dominion to the farthest regions of India.

The injurious effect of the ancient Dutch commercial system was nowhere more marked than in Java. An island proverbial for its fertility became impoverished, the cities decayed, and the jungle, which in many places native rulers had cleared and cultivated, again spread itself over the plains. The short-sighted policy of looking to immediate profit instead of to ultimate wealth produced its natural result. When Holland succumbed to the yoke of revolutionary France, Java necessarily fell with it. Napoleon

probably attached little value to the acquisition, regarding it at first only as a dilapidated possession of an old spendthrift corporation. In one point of view, however, it appeared to him of great importance. It might be made a base of operations for his meditated conquest of the British possessions in the East. These intentions were anticipated by the capture of the island in 1811, and Java, for three hundred years the seat of Dutch empire in the Eastern Archipelago, became a British dependency. A reversal of the old policy ensued. The rights of British subjects were guaranteed to the population, freedom of trade was established, torture and mutilation, which had been occasionally resorted to by the Dutch Government or their agents, were abolished, and the penal law of England was introduced. The administration of Sir Stamford Raffles was worthy of the character of his country. The system of forced deliveries of produce was abolished as unjust. Oppressive burthens were taken off, and a moderate land-tax was substituted. A desire for improvement was immediately manifested by the natives, and a complete revolution was effected in their disposition. The revenue greatly increased, and at the same time prosperity and contentment were universal. The country was ruled in accordance with its ancient customs and institutions, and, except to defend it from foreign aggression, there could have been no necessity for retaining a single British regiment in the island.

The Dutch shook off the French yoke, and became again a nation. The Netherlands were reconstituted as a limited monarchy; and by the Treaty of London in 1814, all the transmarine possessions of Holland which had been captured by England were restored, except the Cape of Good Hope. As the British Governor had reversed the system of the Dutch, the Dutch now reversed the system of the English, and a country which had enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity became at once agitated over its whole extent by political and agrarian discontent, the prelude to that general insurrection which broke out with such disastrous violence in 1825.

The conduct of Holland to England after the restoration of her Eastern colonies was abominable. They were no sooner regained than it became a primary object of the Dutch Government to obliterate every trace of the British rule. It grasped at the undivided sovereignty of the archipelago, deposed the Sultan whom we had placed on the throne of Java, laid claim to territories to which it had no right, opposed the formation of a settlement for affording aid and refreshment to British ships, and was obviously bent upon re-establishing its old commercial monopoly. With that intention, it possessed itself of the only two channels

channels by which ships could pass into the archipelago and the China Seas—the Straits of Sunda and Malacca. These measures might have inflicted irreparable injury upon the trade of England if Sir Stamford Raffles had not fortunately established, almost on his own responsibility, the free port of Singapore.

Holland, as a state of any European consequence, now depends upon the maintenance of its empire in the Eastern Archipelago. The system on which it relies for augmenting its revenue has been very carefully described in the work of Mr. Money. It certainly presents a remarkable picture of successful administration, wherein the Dutch Government fills the several characters of a landowner, cultivator, trader, and ruler. By means of those offices combined it has made Java the chief source of the present financial prosperity of the Netherlands, and has derived from it the means for paying off a large portion of the national debt, providing compensation to the holders of slaves in the West Indies, and expending ten millions of florins annually upon railroads. On the restoration of Java to its old masters, trade had flowed into new channels, and the land-tax was the only existing substitute for the old Dutch monopolies. The government is considered the supreme lord and absolute proprietor of the soil. The ancient rent of land was one-fifth of the produce, and one-fifth of the labour of the occupier of the soil. A system denominated the culture-system was introduced in 1830. It may be briefly described as a return to the old plan of forced deliveries of agricultural produce, combined with compulsory labour. Under this arrangement a portion of the land-tax is remitted, and some of the best land, together with the labour of its peasantry, is appropriated to the cultivation of produce deemed peculiarly fitted for the European market. The profits are divided between the grower, the manufacturer, and the Government. Into the complicated details of this system it is impossible here to enter. It rests upon the supposed sovereign right of disposing of the labour of the natives, and upon their obligation to cede one-fifth of the produce of their occupied land to the government. The labour of the people, although compulsory, is not, however, entirely without remuneration. Sugar, indigo, cochineal, tea, tobacco, coffee, cinnamon, and pepper, are raised by native labour, with or without the intervention of a European contractor. The Government thus receives from the crown-lands from 60,000 to 70,000 tons of coffee, with large quantities of other valuable produce; the whole of which is consigned to Holland for sale.

The financial result of this system is highly satisfactory to the Government of the Netherlands. The gross revenue from Java has
risen

risen from a former average of 24,000,000 of florins to 115,000,000. In 1859 it amounted to nearly 10,000,000*l.* sterling, and has been and is still steadily on the increase. The sum annually expended by the Government in works of reproductive industry averages about 2,000,000*l.*, and is analogous to the judicious outlay of a landlord upon his estates. Whether this mode of 'managing a colony' is consistent with the higher functions of government may be questioned, although the material interests of the people have been considerably benefited by it. The Government believes that Java presents a field of almost indefinite financial prosperity, and is destined to restore to an old and decayed state a portion of its former commercial and political greatness. But although it may have conferred present prosperity on Java, and so far benefited its people, the avowed policy of the Dutch Government is not to elevate the native race, but to keep them in a state of moral and intellectual bondage as a cheap and easy method of maintaining its supremacy.

Java is the entrepôt of the commerce of the Netherlands in India. Private trade between Holland and Java is now unrestricted. The Netherlands Trading Company is employed only as the agent of Government, and possesses the exclusive privilege of carrying the produce of the crown-lands to Europe. The merely mercantile aspect in which alone Holland regards her fine dependency is certainly not consistent with our notions of government; and it may be doubted whether, if the State were to give up to private industry the vast estate which it now manages with so much skill and success, and apply itself to its more legitimate functions, even the financial success would not ultimately be as great as any that has hitherto been realised by an opposite system.

England possesses a considerable interest in the trade with Java. The value of the goods imported into Java from the Netherlands, Great Britain, and France, in 1859, was as follows:—

From the Netherlands	13,936,298 florins.
„ Great Britain	9,494,258 „
„ France	459,079 „

There was exported direct from Java, in goods and specie:—

To the Netherlands	77,071,070 florins.
„ Great Britain	771,013 „
„ France	2,648,851 „

The returns from Java to England appear inconsiderable; but the portion of the produce of Java due to England is first conveyed to Europe in Dutch vessels and is afterwards exported from

from Holland. Much produce also finds its way to Singapore, and adds to the returns from that thriving settlement. Indeed, the larger portion of the trade of the archipelago is carried on by native craft, which make Singapore their principal port. Thus the number of ships belonging to the Netherlands engaged in the archipelago trade amounted, in 1859, to 138, with a total burthen of 42,875 tons. Of all other European countries, the ships numbered only 20, with a total burthen of 14,313 tons; Australia possessed 43 ships, with 28,453 tons; while the native ships of the archipelago numbered 1755, with 90,580 tons. The Dutch administration of Java has its favourable aspects; but to make a distant people a source of mercantile profit by a system of forced labour and a studied disregard of their moral interests, is but a modification of slavery and a persistence in the nineteenth century in that exploded system which valued colonies only as subservient to the commercial aggrandisement of nations. The government of Java is carried on by native chiefs, termed Regents; but European officers, denominated Residents, have a controlling authority, and constitute, in effect, so many local centres of administration. The native aristocracy has thus been transformed into the salaried officers of government. The system is said to give satisfaction; the allowances of the native rulers being higher than those of the European Residents.

The great island of SUMATRA is, with the exception of Borneo, less known than any island in the Eastern Archipelago. A chain of mountains, as in Java, divides it longitudinally, running nearest to the western coast. It contains five active volcanoes. Three-fourths of the island, especially towards the south and east, are covered with impenetrable woods. Fifteen nations, speaking as many different languages, inhabit it, and six have made considerable progress in civilization. The Malays are here also, as in Java, the dominant race. The island, although three times the size, contains only one-fifteenth of the population of Java. There are plains and mountains of volcanic origin that rival in fertility the richest portions of Java; but many of the raised valleys of the country present a very different aspect. A recent Dutch writer has given a description of two of the great elevated plains or table-lands, which present a uniform scene of sterility, a horizon without bound of rank grass destitute of animal life and varied only by a few stunted trees; a scorching wind blows over them without intermission for months, and spontaneous fires wrap the country in a dull canopy of smoke through which the rays of the sun can scarcely penetrate. An area of 42,000 square miles on the eastern side is covered with a stupendous forest, probably older than the race of men that inhabit

habit or wander through it. Little, in truth, is known of the interior. The inhabitants chiefly live on extensive plains. Sumatra possesses European commercial settlements on its coast, but its chief interest consists in its having been for some time the seat of government for the British settlements in the archipelago. Sir Stamford Raffles, when Java was given up, was directed to make Bencoolen, on the south-western coast, his official residence; and those who are acquainted with the record of his useful and honourable life will remember the picture of happiness which has been drawn of his brief rule in Sumatra. No European had ever ventured beyond the range of the guns of the fort; but Sir Stamford Raffles fixed on a lofty station, twelve miles from the fort, and termed it the Mountain of Mist. One of the richest districts in the world lay below, and at a short distance the waves of the Indian Ocean were heard perpetually beating upon the rugged coast. He built a country-house, established himself in it with his family, and was surrounded by wild beasts, and by natives almost equally wild. In three years he had obtained a complete ascendancy over the people, and was able to penetrate further into the interior than any European had ever before attempted. An ardent lover of natural history, he revelled in the abundance of the new flora and fauna with which he was surrounded. Three hundred years of European intercourse with the coasts of Sumatra have yielded but little knowledge of its interior, or of the character of its native races. That it abounds in the elements of wealth is certain, and many of its native manufactures are considerably advanced. The British settlement of Bencoolen was one of the first establishments formed by the East India Company in the archipelago. It was selected solely for the purpose of growing pepper. The expenses of the establishment were enormous, and the returns only a few tons yearly, obtained by compulsory labour. The British establishment in Sumatra was withdrawn in 1824, and the place relinquished to the Dutch in exchange for Malacca and the Straits settlements. Nothing shows more clearly the advanced state of native civilization in portions of Sumatra than the development of manufacturing industry the products of which have long been known in commerce. The workmanship in iron and steel is unsurpassed, and the kris or dagger-blades are famous throughout the archipelago. China silk is worked up into excellent fabrics, and the manufacture of cotton cloth was once extensive, but has been destroyed by the introduction of British goods from Singapore. The aversion of the native chiefs to the re-establishment of the Dutch power is said to have been very decidedly displayed; and so strong was the feeling of one of the principal native rulers,

rulers, that he offered his territory to the British Government if one-half of its revenue was reserved to him. England, by yielding the whole of Sumatra, undoubtedly sacrificed important interests, and resigned a prospect of service to civilization in a country which might then have had a great career. The Dutch have entered on a course of systematic territorial conquest, and claim a sovereignty over the whole. The financial prospects are said to be the reverse of satisfactory.

There is something which strongly excites the imagination when the island of BORNEO, divided into two nearly equal parts by the Equator, is contemplated, with its vast area and almost unknown people dwelling in a land of fertility unsurpassed probably in any other region of the earth, supplied with most of the useful and valuable metals, and provided with a hundred navigable rivers to transport the varied produce of their magnificent country to the sea. The interior is still hidden in almost impenetrable mystery. The existence of lofty ranges of mountains in the centre is undoubted; and in the north-west, as far as the country was penetrated by Mr. Spencer St. John, its first and only European explorer, in 1858,* the whole was found to be mountainous, each range becoming more lofty as he approached the interior, but presenting one uniform aspect of jungle covering hill and valley. From the summit of the great mountain Kina Balu, in the north-east of Borneo, 13,000 feet high, and when looking towards the interior in a southerly direction, Mr. St. John obtained a distant view of a mountain peak which he supposes to be very considerably higher than the one on which he stood, and to be situated very nearly in the centre of the island. The land on all sides gradually slopes towards the coast. Borneo may be said to bear the same relation to Eastern India that the continent of America has borne to Europe, being a region in which tribes inhabiting the remoter East have occasionally found a refuge from religious persecution and from the pressure of a superabundant population. Brazen images, ruins of temples, and other remains of Hindoo civilization, are still to be seen on the southern coast. The shores are inhabited by nations totally unconnected with each other. The west is occupied by Malays and Chinese, the north-west by the half-caste descendants of the Moors of Western India, the north by the Cochin-Chinese, the north-east by the Sulus, and the east and south coasts by

* A work of great interest on Borneo, entitled 'Life in the Forests of the Far East,' which we have been favoured with an opportunity of perusing, by this gentleman, late H.M. Consul-General for Borneo, and now British Charge d'Affaires in the Republic of Hayti, is in the press.

the Bugis tribes of Celebes. There are besides numerous tribes who live in prahus among the islands near the coast. The Dutch claim a territory exceeding 200,000 square miles; but all beyond a mere fringe of the coast was, until the recent exploration of a portion of the interior, absolutely unknown.

Balambangan, at the north-east side of Borneo, was once a possession of England, and from the extreme richness of that portion of the island it might have proved a settlement of great value, but it was relinquished to Holland in 1827. The west coast possessed a considerable commerce before the arrival of the Dutch in the archipelago, and fifteen large junks arrived annually from China laden with cloth and porcelain, and returned freighted with gold, diamonds, camphor, beeswax, edible birds'-nests, ebony, and fragrant woods. The trade must have been highly remunerative, for the passion for European and Asiatic manufactures now continues general: thus two China jars of no remarkable workmanship have been known to be exchanged by an American trader for produce worth 200*l.* sterling; and six cakes of beeswax, each a foot thick and three feet in diameter, were commonly given for a musket, which, like the powder supplied to the pirates from the United States, may be presumed to have been of a very harmless character. The Borneo gold is very pure, and is worked with considerable profit by the Chinese. Antimony ore abounds, and is obtained with facility. This mineral forms one of the chief sources of the revenue of the English Rajah of Sarawak. The diamonds of Borneo are small, but of a brilliant water: they have been hitherto chiefly found in districts occupied by the Chinese, but will probably be discovered in other localities. The equatorial position of Borneo and the character of its alluvial detritus afford a strong presumption that it is a country rich in gems. There is a tradition that a great diamond is in the possession of a petty chief, and that it is worth by weight 270,000*l.* Mr. St. John heard something of this wonderful diamond during his recent explorations, and was gravely informed that the prince who owned it would gladly bestow it on him if he would kill for him a rival chief and assist in a projected war. Few courts in Europe, Sir Stamford Raffles states, could boast of more brilliant diamonds than were displayed by the ladies of Batavia in its prosperous days. They were obtained doubtless at a small cost from Borneo.

The prevailing warmth and moisture of Borneo, acting upon its rich soil, have covered it with forest: but it is nevertheless a country which, if brought under cultivation like Java, would even exceed it in the abundance and variety of its productions. The planters of Java are so well aware of this, that they

they have desired to form settlements for sugar plantations, for which the soil is known to be better adapted than in Java; but the want of labour has been an insuperable obstacle, no Chinese being permitted to enter the country. It is believed to be capable of supporting at least a hundred millions of people, and possessed of every requisite for the sustenance of civilized man. Nine-tenths of it are as yet an untrodden wilderness, and the remainder is subject to petty chiefs, under whose barbarous rule neither commerce nor agriculture can make any progress, and the exuberant riches of nature are as useless to themselves as to the world.

The Sultan of Brunei, who claims the sovereignty over the independent portion of Borneo, is a mere shadow of royalty. His government is weak and corrupt, and seemingly incapable of improvement. It can neither dispense justice nor compel obedience, and a general lawlessness prevails. There is a system in the interior called the *serra* or forced trade. Any noble who may think proper goes to a tribe with cloth or some other commodity, and calling upon the chief orders him to divide it among his people. He then demands as its price a sum enormously exceeding its value, and debts thus unavoidably incurred enable him to exercise a fearful oppression for years, and under the pretence of their liquidation to carry off children into slavery. This nominal sovereign draws from his kingdom a revenue of 2500*l.* a year. The city of Brunei, the capital, with its 25,000 inhabitants, presents an aspect of the most squalid poverty. The Sultan's palace is a rude barn. He and his nobles are said to deplore the condition of their country, but do not comprehend that it is the consequence of their own rapacity. There is no regular system of taxation, and the aborigines suffer so severely from exactions that in despair they cultivate less and less every year, and look to the jungle instead of to their fields for a subsistence. The late Sultan offered, in consideration of a pension, to resign the sovereignty of the whole of his country to Great Britain.

The country of Sarawak is governed by Sir James Brooke, under a cession from the Sultan of Brunei. He has now ruled a territory containing a mixed population of a quarter of a million of souls, for ten years almost wholly by moral influence. Sarawak, including its dependencies, possesses a coast line of about 300 miles, and presents every variety of surface from the low fertile soil that skirts the river banks to the lofty mountains that rise in picturesque grandeur towards the interior. It is one of the best watered countries in the world, possessing rivers adapted for ships of considerable burthen. The exports consist at present chiefly
of

of the produce of the forests and of metals. The capital now numbers 15,000 inhabitants, and the perfect order which prevails has given an extraordinary impetus to industry, and created an emulation under which in a very few years Sarawak will become one of the most important trading countries of the archipelago. A portion of the north-west of Borneo, which has been recently ceded by the Sultan of Brunei to Sir James Brooke, is a valuable addition to his state, and includes fine forest-covered plains, with navigable rivers, and districts rich in mineral productions, including gold, antimony, coal in abundance, iron, copper, and lead, and possesses a more industrious and energetic population than most other parts of Borneo. The Dayaks of Sarawak have become exceedingly expert in commercial transactions, and many who formerly did not know the value of money are now active traders. A Dayak calculates on being cheated by a Chinaman once, but never a second time. A steam communication has been established by Sir James Brooke between Sarawak and Singapore, by which Chinese emigrants are granted a free passage to his state, which they are steadily enriching by their industry; for in the present condition of the aborigines, although their progress is satisfactory, cultivation depends chiefly on Chinese labour. A Chinese population has its disadvantages, but in Sarawak it is gladly welcomed; the people soon amalgamate with the native race; and as that part of Borneo, like England, possesses a redundancy of females, the Dayak women, many of whom are pretty, are by no means unwilling to unite themselves with these sturdy immigrants. The Chinese, when prosperous, are found to be great consumers of English goods, and are excellent customers, as they live freely and are far from being parsimonious in their habits.

The principle of government which Sir James Brooke has applied with such remarkable success at Sarawak, is applicable to all countries in a similar state. That principle is to rule by and through the people, scrupulously abstaining from wounding their pride and hurting their self-respect. No people in the world are so sensitive to rudeness, arrogance, and self-assumption as the Malays. Sir James Brooke at once recognised the importance of this social feature, and his first and greatest difficulty was in exacting that habitual courtesy from his subordinates which was indispensable to the success of his scheme. The result has been that the innate gentleness of the natives has gradually softened and refined the rudest Europeans. The government is more popular than monarchical. Taxes are imposed and justice is administered by the assent and co-operation of the inhabitants. The ruler is strictly dependent on the country for support; and the

the population is consulted, and its consent required, before any new impost is created. The militia has recently given place to a small regular force, with the full concurrence of the people, who thus strongly display their confidence in the good intentions of their chief and the security of their freedom.

Of a population consisting of about 250,000 souls, the Malays number from 30,000 to 40,000, the Chinese 3000, miscellaneous tribes 15,000; and the remainder are Dayaks, or the aborigines of the country. Much remains to be accomplished before these people are trained to habits of regular industry; but the materials are promising, and a few more years of settled government and good example will probably effect a complete revolution in their character. Model gardens and farms will bring home to their understandings the practical results of well-applied labour. They present a marked difference to the Malay element of the population in one very important respect. As Mahomedans the Malays are impervious to any impressions from the Christian Missionary. The Dayaks, on the contrary, are extremely susceptible of religious instruction. They have no stubborn prejudices or fanatical priesthood. They hold a simple faith, although doubtless overlaid by many superstitious observances. They possess a clear idea of one Omnipotent Spirit who created and governs the world, and they believe in a future life; holding that the spiritual part of man lives for ever. They worship no graven images, nor do they practise any species of idolatry, but have a general sense of Providential government; and it is a common saying among them, 'With God's blessing, we shall have a good harvest this year.' The field is an inviting one for the Christian missionary, but hitherto the labourers have been few. The elements of European civilization are presented in Sarawak in connexion with a Christian government—a combination not often seen in the regions of missionary enterprise, and which can scarcely fail to subserve the high purposes to which it is zealously, but prudently and cautiously directed.

The first attempts to work a coal-field at Sarawak were not successful; but the coal-fields of Borneo are believed to be almost coextensive with the island—a circumstance which must necessarily increase its importance in the estimation of those powers whose possessions lie in or contiguous to the archipelago, and which indicates for it a great future in the progressive civilization of this region of the globe. The small island of Labuan, the latest addition to our colonial empire, is well situated for the suppression of piracy and the extension of commerce, and its coal is the best in the Eastern seas.

The success of the Dutch in colonising and turning to their profit

profit the islands of the Eastern Archipelago has varied according to the character of the native population. In Java they have found a gentle and tractable people, who have been on the whole successfully ruled by the instrumentality of a native nobility. But even in Java a spirit of nationality has been evoked, and in 1825 an insurrection broke out which extended over an area of 700 square miles. Two native armies, each 10,000 strong, were in the field, and placed Dutch supremacy for a time in considerable peril. In other islands a spirit of revolt has occasionally manifested itself, and is at the present time convulsing a portion of the empire. In CELEBES an incessant struggle has been maintained, for no intelligible purpose but to establish a barren supremacy. The island yields none of the productions which first tempted Europeans to the archipelago, and probably was at first only valued as a connecting link between Java and the Spice Islands. Celebes is a most remarkable island. In configuration it has been compared to a star-fish, from which the radiating limbs on one side have been removed; and this very singular form also distinguishes Gilolo, an island not far distant from it to the eastward. The bold and broken coasts possess several excellent harbours, but the principal interest which attaches to Celebes consists in the character of its population. Physical causes have doubtless operated to form a people essentially different from any other in the archipelago. Its surface possesses more of a European than an Eastern character, presenting on the coast broad plains gradually rising into regions of forest. The inhabitants of Celebes are the most enterprising of the Eastern Archipelago. Although they bear some personal resemblance to the Malays, arising probably from a common origin, in every quality but courage they are essentially different. Exposed to the same temptations, and most skilful and adventurous navigators, they have never adopted the occupation of piracy, but abhor and resist it, and defend themselves against the Malay prahus with the most heroic and desperate valour whenever they are attacked, proceeding, if overpowered, to blow up their vessels rather than submit. The poorest of these hardy islanders is as impatient of a blow as a European gentleman, and it is permitted to any one to avenge an affront by the death of the person who offers it. A more than Spartan training is bestowed on children. The males at the age of five or six are removed from their parents lest they should be made effeminate by indulgence, and they are not restored to their family until they are of an age to marry.* They are the

* Such, at least, is the statement of Malte Brun.

Phœnicians of the Indian Archipelago, and there is not a coast from the northern shores of the Australian continent to the Malay peninsula where their ships are not habitually seen. These adventurers leave their country in the beginning of the eastern monsoon on a trading voyage, and proceed westward until they reach Singapore. With vessels of peculiar build, of from forty to fifty tons burthen, they conduct almost the whole carrying trade of the archipelago. They own at least 1000 ships, the outward cargoes consisting of cotton cloths, gold dust, edible birds'-nests, tortoise-shell, trepang or sea slugs for Chinese epicures, scented woods, coffee, and rice; and, in spite of the jealous and restrictive policy of the Dutch, they have greatly contributed to diffuse British manufactures throughout the islands of the Eastern Seas. The political institutions of this energetic people bear some resemblance to a constitutional monarchy. Women also possess a status and an importance wholly unknown in savage communities; they take an active part in all the business of life, and are consulted in public affairs. The native governments in Celebes are not despotisms, such as were found in Java, but elective monarchies, somewhat resembling the old constitution of Poland. A woman or a minor may be raised to the throne, and in the latter case the constitution provides a regent. The honour in which women are held strongly contrasts with the Mahomedan faith, but political traditions have here proved too strong to be counteracted by religion.

Like Java, Celebes became a temporary possession of England, but was restored to the Dutch. An attack was made, under the British *régime*, upon the native king of Boni for the purpose of regaining the crown jewels belonging to the king of Macassar, of which he had wrongfully possessed himself. The expedition was successful. The regalia were found to consist of a book of the laws, a fragment of a gold chain, a pair of china dishes, an enchanted stone, a scimitar for executing state offenders, and a pop-gun. The Dutch have recently established a free port at Macassar, and another on the northern peninsula of the island, in the hope of diverting some of the trade of the archipelago from Singapore, but it has not hitherto met with any remarkable success. The population of Celebes is estimated by Mr. Crawford at 900,000: if it were as well peopled as Java, it would number 14,000,000 inhabitants.

It would be difficult to fix on any regions on the earth's surface which have been more conspicuous for the display of human passion than the famous group of islands extending from the eastern coast of Celebes to the western coast of Papua or New Guinea, and
known

known as the *MOLUCCAS*, or *Spice Islands*. Before they were visited by Europeans, the Chinese had accidentally landed on them, and discovered the clove and the nutmeg; and a taste for these pungent spices was thus communicated to India, and soon extended to Persia and Europe. The Arabs, who then engrossed almost all the commerce of the world, speedily sought out the country of these valued productions. The Portuguese followed, engrossed the traffic, and took possession of the islands. The wildest dreams of avarice were, they thought, about to be realised as soon as they had obtained possession of the countries in which grew the nutmeg and the clove. The tales which were told by navigators of the wonderful things they had seen in this remote region were generally listened to with a smile of incredulity. Thus a distinguished geographer of the sixteenth century, with that learned incredulity which is sometimes as difficult to overcome as popular ignorance, warns his readers to give no credit to such 'a huge and monstrous lie' as that there were in that sea stones which grew and increased like fish. The description given of the Moluccas by De Barros, one of the first Portuguese visitors, was not inviting. 'The land of these famous islands,' he says, 'is ill-favoured and ungracious to look at, for the sun is always very near—now going to the northern and now to the southern solstice: this, with the humidity of the climate, causes the land to be covered all over with trees and herbs. The air is loaded with vapours which always hang over the tops of the hills, so that the trees are never without leaves. The soil for the most part is black, coarse, and soft, and so porous and thirsty, that, however much it rains, the water is drank up; and if a river comes from the mountains, its waters are absorbed before they reach the sea.' Four of the Moluccas are, in fact, mere volcanic cones; the more northerly and important of them is still an active volcano, which has been the scene of more eruptions than any other in the archipelago.* De Barros also gives an unfavourable character of the people,

* On the 30th of last December the island of Makian, one of the group of the Moluccas, was laid waste and almost wholly destroyed by a terrific volcanic explosion. In the afternoon of the 28th the horizon to the south of Ternate (in which island the description seems to have been written) presented the appearance of a vast conflagration. At midday on the 29th the sky was overcast, and showers of ashes began to fall. On the following morning the ground at Ternate was fouled covered, in some places to the depth of six inches, with ashes and fine sand. At 2 p.m. the darkness was so intense that it exceeded that of midnight. At Makian, the seat of the eruption, all the inhabitants who were unable to quit the island perished; and of those who fled, many were killed in the boats by the falling of red-hot stones. Not a living creature was found on the island when it was visited after the eruption; and it was covered with a layer of ashes eight feet deep. See the 'Homeward Mail,' March 21.

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and says that the islands are 'a warren of every evil, and contain nothing good but their clove-trees.' The Portuguese had just been engaged in a stubborn contest with the natives, which sufficiently accounts for the dislike with which they were regarded. They held the island during eighty years of almost uninterrupted disorder. The Dutch drove out the Portuguese; but their government was even more oppressive. The British and Dutch commercial interests then struggled for supremacy, and massacres that would have disgraced savage tribes characterised the intercourse between two civilised nations. To secure a monopoly of the commodities for which the most extravagant prices were readily paid in Europe, the merchants rooted up the clove and nutmeg-trees from other islands on which they naturally grew, and restricted their cultivation to Amboyna and Banda; and the fabled dragon could not have guarded with more sleepless vigilance the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides than did these grasping Dutch traders their groves of spice from the intrusion of other nations.*

When it was known that the Portuguese navigator, Magellens, had discovered the Spice Islands, the excitement in Europe was almost as great as that which had been created by the discovery of America. Vessels returned from the Eastern Seas laden with aromatics which diffused a ravishing fragrance and perfumed the neighbourhood of the warehouses which received the precious freights. A passion for spices took possession of Europe, and is one of the most singular of the manias with which mankind seem to be periodically affected. It was the more remarkable since the inhabitants of the islands on which they grew never used them either as condiments or medicine. In Europe they became instantly and immoderately prized as both. They flavoured every dish, and were consumed in every form. The true elixir of life was believed to have been at length discovered; and the most wonderful properties were attributed to the oil which they were made to yield. The universal demand for these new products enhanced their price three thousand per cent. above their original cost; but there was doubtless quite as much of fashion as of taste in this craving for the new luxury.

The cultivation of spices is now permitted in all the possessions of the Dutch in the Eastern Seas; but from the extreme

* The horrible massacre of Amboyna in 1623, when so many unhappy Englishmen lost their lives, originated, as is well known, in Dutch commercial jealousy.

uncertainty of the crops,* it has been found more profitable to grow other descriptions of Oriental produce. The area adapted for the production of nutmegs and cloves has been found to be larger than was formerly supposed. Thus the nutmeg now grows freely in Java; and in 1819 it was introduced at Singapore, where for a time it was largely cultivated; but although it produced abundant crops, and of a quality even superior to those of Banda, the soil had an injurious effect upon the trees, which perished in a few years, exhausted by their profuse bearing. The profits of the spice cultivation in the archipelago are now so small that, if left solely to free labour and private enterprise, it is thought that it would almost entirely cease. It is curious to note the revolutions of taste for these Eastern productions. The passion for the clove has subsided, while the consumption of black pepper in the United Kingdom is now twenty-fold greater than that of cloves. The importation of pepper, which, in 1615, was estimated at 450,000 lbs., had increased, in 1853, to 3,200,000 lbs.; while that of nutmegs, which, in 1615, was estimated at 115,000 lbs., was not greater, in 1853, than 200,000 lbs.

The Dutch possessions in the Archipelago are bounded by the Timor chain of islands, extending westward and connecting the Banda group with Java. In its geological structure this chain of islands belongs to the secondary formation, being distinguished by the horizontal position of the strata; while in Borneo and other islands to the north the primitive rocks prevail, and the strata are more vertical, and contain gold and tin, which are not found in the Timorian chain. These islands do not seem to have yet acquired any commercial importance. Timor is about the size of Jamaica, and remarkable for its picturesque and romantic scenery.

The Dutch colonial possessions in Asia, with their geographical areas, are as follows:—

	Square miles.		Square miles.
Java	50,000	Timor	13,500
Madura	2,700	Bali	3,000
Sumatra	160,000	Lombok	2,500
Billeton	2,250	Sumbawa	8,800
Borneo	200,000	Mangeray	500
Celebes	70,000	Junduna	3,500
Amboyna	1,320	Semao	200
Ternate	32	Billeta Island	2,250

* Thus the produce of cloves in Amboyna, which in 1846 was 869,727 lbs., fell off in 1854 to 89,923 lbs. In 1856 it was 617,250 lbs., and in 1859 only 160,000 lbs.

In addition to these the Dutch Government has recently taken possession of New Guinea up to the meridian of 141° east of Greenwich; and along nearly the whole of the coasts included within the northern and southern extremities of this line an extensive trade is carried on in vessels sailing from various ports of the Moluccas and carrying the Dutch flag.*

The use which Holland has made of these great possessions is indicated in her past history. In none of the islands, Java excepted, is any native machinery interposed between the European Government and the native population. The difficulties of administration are proportionably great, and much vigilance is required to repress native insubordination, and to prevent outbreaks. Although the commercial system has been somewhat relaxed, jealousy and suspicion still characterise the colonial policy of Holland. Thus she has endeavoured to bind the native princes of the archipelago never to cede any portion of their territories to another nation, and not to enter into any negotiations without the consent of the Government. She was strongly opposed to the recognition of Sarawak, and even protested against the cession of Labuan.

The nation which, next to the Dutch, has the largest possessions in the Eastern Archipelago is Spain; and the principles of her colonial government, although in some points similar to those of the Dutch, differ from them in one important particular. Spain has in all her conquests kept prominently before her the propagation of Christianity in the form embodied in her Church. The Philippines, therefore, present a spectacle which contrasts strongly with the Dutch dependencies in the East. Spain appears in the archipelago in her religious earnestness, her ecclesiastical assumption, and her gorgeous establishments. The natives of the Philippines have generally been converted and received into the Catholic Church. It is observed by Malte Brun, in his sketch of the inhabitants of the Philippines, that they are the only people in the Eastern Archipelago who have improved in civilisation from an intercourse with Europe. A commercial monopoly formed no part of the Spanish policy in that quarter of the world. The islands of which she took possession produced neither spices nor gold; moderate taxation left industry free; no check was imposed on European colonisation; liberal grants were made of unappropriated land; and, while deriving a considerable revenue from the Philippines, Spain has neither degraded nor oppressed them, for slavery has not been introduced or sanc-

* 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' 1860. Notes of a Voyage to New Guinea, by Alfred R. Wallace, F.R.G.S.

tioned in that part of her colonial empire. The Philippine Archipelago extends for 300 leagues from north to south, and 160 leagues from east to west. A range of irregularly-shaped mountains runs through the whole, but the bounties which Nature has showered on these islands have often been neutralised by the terrible forces hidden under their beautiful exterior. They are often shaken by earthquakes, and volcanic explosions are so frequent as to be regarded almost as common occurrences. In no other part of the world are storms so terrific as there during the change of the monsoon. In his 'Geographical History of the Philippines,' M. Mallet remarks that, of all the colonies founded by Europeans, these regions are perhaps the least known and the most worthy of being known. The number of the islands which constitute the archipelago, their extent and variety, their teeming population, their climate and wonderful fertility, are all (he says) deserving of the highest admiration. M. Mallet, however, entertains a somewhat extravagant expectation of the future of the Philippines when he thinks that they may become the dominant power of the Eastern world. The Philippines will doubtless increase in value and importance, but they can scarcely aspire to so brilliant a position.

Spain has retained possession of the Philippines for about three hundred years, and the policy of the Government appears to have been characterised by wisdom and moderation, and to have met with corresponding success. The comparatively small number of European settlers would not allow them to interfere unnecessarily with the native usages and forms of government, except so far as a conversion to Christianity required. The contrast between the two systems of government adopted by Spain in her colonial possessions is very marked. While by a cruel and illiberal policy she justly lost her dominions in the New World, her wise and prudent conduct in the administration of her Eastern possessions has produced a grateful and contented dependency. Spain in her extreme need has often appealed to the Philippines for pecuniary relief, and she has never appealed in vain.

The colonists who were attracted to the Philippines from Europe differed widely from the adventurers who rushed with frantic eagerness to America. They found in the islands of the Eastern Seas only a delicious climate, a bountiful soil, and a simple, hospitable people, very susceptible of religious impressions. Agriculture and conversion seem to have supplied the chief inducement to colonisation. The Spanish settlers knew not that these islands, covered with eternal and enchanting verdure, teemed with mineral wealth. They saw only mountains, valleys, and plains rivalling each other in the variety and utility of their productions.

ductions. The Philippines therefore became the abodes of steady industry instead of wild speculation, and that character they still retain. It is a principle of the Spanish colonial government that the native who cultivates the soil shall derive from it a comfortable subsistence. It does not recognise in him any territorial right, but land is held on condition that it is cultivated. The stipulations are minute, and regulate the different crops and their succession. Sir John Bowring is of opinion that the Philippines afford a good field for agricultural investment. There is a labour question not more easy of solution in the Philippines than in other tropical countries; but all nations, even the most opulent, have passed through their stages of indolence and inactivity. Sugar is the most profitable subject of cultivation. Wheat and maize were introduced by the Spaniards, and there is now a sufficient supply of wheaten flour for all classes. Rice returns, on the authority of De Mas, whom Sir John Bowring quotes, a minimum profit of 24 per cent. and a maximum of 76 per cent. per annum. Indigo will render, according to the same authority, 100 per cent. profit; coffee will double its capital in four years; and cocoa will return 90 per cent., notwithstanding the present deficiency of labour and capital.* Australia and California, Sir John Bowring thinks, will hereafter be largely if not wholly supplied with sugar from the Philippines. Manilla hemp has acquired a high character in Europe: 25,000 tons were shipped in 1858 from Manilla alone, of which Great Britain received one-fourth. Gold is found in the mountains and in alluvial deposits, and with proper machinery copper may be raised in abundance. A sample taken from a lode, seven feet in width and only four yards from the surface, gave on analysis 44 per cent. of pure metal.†

Spain is here even less advanced than Holland in her commercial policy. The heavy differential duties in favour of Spanish ships fetter trade in the Philippines and are injurious to the general interests. The increasing importance of Singapore will probably soon compel a change in Spanish colonial commercial legislation.‡

According

* These estimates are, however, considerably reduced by Sir John Bowring, who places the profits on sugar plantations at from 20 to 30 per cent., of rice from 12 to 20 per cent., and of general agricultural investments from 20 to 30 per cent.

† Sir John Bowring's 'Philippine Islands,' p. 280.

‡ Sir John Bowring mentions, among the curiosities of Spanish commercial legislation, a decree of the Governor of the Philippines issued only a few years ago, by which it was ordered that no vessel should be allowed to introduce a cargo from China or the East Indies unless an engagement was entered into by the captain to bring to Manilla five hundred living *shrikes*, a species of bird reputed to be most useful in destroying certain insects which were at that time seriously damaging the crops. The difficulty of catching, caging, and keeping these birds,

does

According to an official Report delivered to the Spanish Minister of Finance in 1855, instead of producing a clear revenue to Spain of 9,500,000 dollars, the Philippines might easily be made to yield 48,000,000 dollars. The immense tracts of fertile soil; minerals and marble in abundance, and forests with trees adapted for every useful purpose—four hundred specimens of different woods were on the occasion displayed in the Great Exhibition of 1861. The varieties of infinite variety are found in the productions of the natives make them peculiarly valuable to any Asiatic or African traveller. The authority. By the Report presented before Parliament in 1855, it was estimated that the Philippines exceed the total value of the States of Europe, Asia, and Africa combined, and all the islands of South Asia—the total value being 48,000,000L.

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archipelago; but nothing has been able to arrest the irresistible stream of immigration. In Borneo they have been subjected by the Dutch to the most galling oppression. Their settlements have been isolated, their intercourse with the sea has been cut off, and attempts have been made to starve them. By a most preposterous and contradictory policy, they are not only prohibited from entering the country, but from leaving it.* In spite of all the restraints which governments can impose, these people will continue, by an ordination of Divine Providence which it would be in vain to oppose, to escape from the evils of a redundant population. They are the only people who can adequately develop the riches of the Eastern Archipelago, and they will ultimately occupy in large numbers these underpeopled regions of the earth.

It would be impracticable here to enter upon so wide a field as the ethnology of the Eastern Archipelago. The aboriginal races are various, and their study is replete with interest. There is, however, one race in the Philippines which presents such remarkable peculiarities that we venture briefly to describe it, as it has been represented to us, although it is likely enough that the description would require modification on further acquaintance. In the mountainous regions of Mindanao, we are told, there exist human beings in so low a state of barbarism that they seem to bear a near resemblance to the Bushmen of Southern Africa. They are well formed, nearly black, with woolly hair, rarely exceed four feet six inches in height, live chiefly on roots and fruit, and occasionally on game; they wear no clothes and build no houses, but sleep among the branches of trees. They are without any form of government or religion; their voices resemble the cries of animals, and their language the chattering of apes or the chirping of birds; their weapons are a bamboo lance, and bows and poisoned arrows. The discovery and concoction of poisons seem to exclusively employ the little intellect which these savages possess. The least prick from one of their arrows is mortal and produces an inextinguishable thirst, and the man or animal dies the moment he has gratified it. These Negritoës ascend trees like monkeys, seizing the trunk with both hands and applying the soles of the feet, and their flight is as swift as that of the deer.† Although these people seem scarcely human, they are not incapable of being civilised. One of the race, a boy who had been offered for sale as any wild animal might have been, was after-

* An exorbitant fee for a licence to go away is demanded, which puts it beyond the power of the majority.

† The principal features of this description are given by M. de la Gironière, in Earl's *'Native Races of the Indian Archipelago.'*

wards seen waiting at the table of the Governor of Tamboanga, and appeared sprightly and intelligent, watching every sign and mandate of his master. The people are said to bear some resemblance to the wild tribes of Madagascar.

There is a small group of islands which, although not strictly within the defined limits of the Eastern Archipelago, are so intimately connected with it in commerce that they deserve a brief notice. The Arru Islands are a closely-packed group, distant about sixty miles from the south-west coast of New Guinea, extending over a space of 100 miles in length, and from 40 to 50 in breadth. These islands have become the emporium of the south-east corner of the archipelago, and form a connecting link between the rich islands of the Indian Seas and the Australian continent to which they are ethnologically related. They are probably destined to attain considerable importance when the northern shores of Australia are settled and civilised—an event which may now be considered as not very distant, since the recent important discoveries. Indeed the future intercourse of Australia with the islands of the Eastern Archipelago will doubtless be very great, and a highly profitable commerce cannot fail to spring up between them. The rich produce of New Guinea, of Ceram, and the islands to the north and north-east of Timor, is now collected in the Arru Islands, and vessels belonging to British and Chinese merchants annually resort to them to obtain the commodities which they require in exchange for the manufactures of Europe and continental India. The Arruans possess many characteristics in common with the people of New Guinea; but one of their most singular peculiarities consists in the value which they attach to elephants' tusks, brass gongs, and huge porcelain dishes. An odd custom, and one that is probably unique in the world, consists in the destruction of a man's goods on his death, instead of a distribution of them among his surviving relations. All the chattels which he has collected during his life, including tusks, gongs, and precious china dishes, are broken in pieces and thrown away; and in the villages may be seen heaps of these fragments of property which custom or some singular superstition has deterred the living from appropriating.

On the banks of a small stream, in an island about one-third larger than the Isle of Wight, at the extremity of the Malay peninsula, and until 1819 the resort only of a few native trading prahus, now stands the rich and flourishing town of SINGAPORE. By no act of his life did Sir Stamford Raffles evince greater prescience and sagacity than by recommending the establishment of this settlement and its erection into a free port. 'Take my
word

word for it,' he once prophetically said, 'this is by far the most important station in the East, and, as far as naval supremacy and commercial intercourse are concerned, of much higher value than a whole continent.' The correctness of his judgment was speedily proved. In two years the imports and exports rose to the sum of 2,000,000*l*. In 1824, five years after its foundation, the population had risen from 150 to 11,000. Singapore exhibits a remarkable proof how the sagacity of individuals often anticipates and outruns the slow action of governments. For three years Singapore was not recognised by Great Britain. The island was ultimately ceded for a pecuniary consideration by its native prince. The importance of this settlement to British trade follows from its position. Equidistant from Calcutta and Canton, voyages can be made to each with equal facility. It lies only a short distance from the Equator; but the temperature of the island is 9·90 lower than that of many other places in the same latitude; it possesses an ample roadstead and harbour; vessels having crossed the Pacific from the north coast of America meet others from the eastern side of the same continent, which have sailed round the Cape of Good Hope; and flags of all nations are intermingled with the streamers of Chinese junks and native prahus. An ordinary price-current often contains as many as forty different articles, the produce of the archipelago.

Batavia is the exclusive emporium of the Dutch trade; but Singapore is the port chosen by the independent traders of the archipelago. It appears by the 'Singapore Free Press' that there were in the roadstead and harbour, at the same time, in January last, sixty-three ships, of burthens varying from 2600 to 150 tons. The prosperity of this small settlement has been of so rapid a growth that it resembles that of some American Western city. Much of the trade even of the Dutch dependencies is carried on here in preference to the highly-taxed ports of Java. The port is open to all, and there is no impost whatever. Attracted by these advantages, native traders flock from the continental ports of the East to Singapore, to exchange the manufactures of India and China for the valuable productions of the archipelago. The resident population is composed of fifteen different nationalities, of which the Chinese is the most numerous. In addition to the immense commerce with China, India, and the archipelago, Singapore has extensive transactions with North and South America, Arabia, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Australia, and Continental Europe. A few figures derived from the latest returns will show the extraordinary commercial progress of this small settlement. In 1852 the value of the British exports

exports to Singapore was 637,981*l.*; in 1860 it had risen to 1,671,092*l.* The imports from Singapore amounted in value, in 1854, to 794,105*l.*, and in 1860 to 1,054,042*l.* The most satisfactory feature in the returns is the marked increase in the demand for cotton goods, as it proves that the demand for British manufactures is rapidly increasing throughout the archipelago. In 1852 the exports of cotton goods to Singapore were of the value of 452,927*l.*; in 1860 they had risen to 1,079,098*l.*

The great archipelago, of which we have taken a necessarily imperfect survey, exhibits society in every phase of barbarism and civilisation, from the primitive tribes inhabiting the forests of Borneo to the polished splendour of Europe. The opulence and trading activity of Amsterdam and London are represented in Batavia and Singapore, and the commercial and religious exclusiveness of Spain in the Philippines. The future of the magnificent islands of the archipelago must be a subject of some anxiety to the power which has acquired the chief dominion over them. The native states are clearly incompetent to discharge the ordinary duties of government, and they will probably be gradually absorbed into European settlements to which they are contiguous. But can so small a state as Holland, with a very limited population from which her army can be recruited, permanently retain territories of such enormous extent and peopled by races bound to her by no ties of gratitude or interest? That Holland cannot rely upon mercenaries for the support of her colonial empire has been shown by the revolt of her Swiss troops. One of two results must follow the failure of Holland to retain the allegiance of her Eastern possessions: either these regions will be abandoned to native barbarism, or some great European power must step in to restore order, protect commerce, and carry on the work of civilisation. The Eastern Archipelago lies between Australia, India, and China; therefore any considerable naval power that should establish itself in so central a position might intercept our communications, threaten our Asiatic possessions, and cripple our trade. We earnestly hope that the Government of the Netherlands may never be involved in a struggle such as that from which we have recently emerged. We covet no territory in the archipelago; but should a reverse befall Holland in her colonial empire, there is but one nation that can safely occupy the position she will have lost. The moral power of England is already great. The character which she acquired during her short possession of Java has left a deep impression upon the native mind, and is understood and appreciated in every island where her name is pronounced. Her flag is not merely a symbol of freedom, but a pledge of commercial prosperity

prosperity and social progress. With the exception of the small island of Labuan she owns not a foot of territory in any portion of the archipelago, but her influence is as great as if her guns commanded every native capital and her cruisers were seen in every sea.

The future importance of Borneo can scarcely be exaggerated. One of its states now presents an example of a well-governed and progressive community. The Rajah of Sarawak has achieved one of the greatest of triumphs. He has constituted out of the most unpromising elements a native state which exhibits a model of the policy to be adopted for gradually reclaiming a people from barbarism, and giving them the blessings of order and law. He has caused them to work out their own improvement under guidance of a superintending intelligence. The enterprise was as full of genius as of humanity. The influence of Sarawak upon the future civilisation of Borneo may be important. Borneo Proper is still steeped in utter barbarism, and no healthy progress can be reasonably expected in those portions of the country which are subject to the dominion of the Dutch. The impulse which will convert this vast island into an orderly and progressive country may be communicated from Sarawak; and its future importance may even bear some proportion to its enormous dimensions. But the permanent independence of Sarawak is, we fear, not so fully assured as the friends of progress in the archipelago could desire. It is exposed to two dangers which loom not indistinctly in the distance. It may be the object of some violent outbreak of neighbouring Mahomedan fanaticism exasperated at the spectacle of a Christian Rajah governing a native state; or it may be endangered by the intrigues of a European power which has always regarded it with jealousy and makes no secret of desiring and looking forward to its subversion. Public opinion in England has been strongly expressed on the achievement of Sir James Brooke. He has publicly received the thanks of the commercial world, and one of the most esteemed honours that his Sovereign could bestow. It is impossible for England not to regard with favour and watch with interest so remarkable an application of her own principles of government in a territory which, a few years ago, was the seat of savage lawlessness and crime.* Public indignation would assuredly be strongly manifested if by any act of treachery or violence the integrity and independence of a country which had excited so strong and general an interest should be overthrown. Some interference could probably be demanded by opinion.

* The former practice of head-hunting has been completely abandoned.

The flag of Sarawak has, we believe, been recognised by Great Britain. We are far from thinking that as a rule protectorates are desirable arrangements or conducive to the true interests of a small community; but in such a case as Sarawak, it might be plausibly contended that a protectorate could not entail any inconvenient obligations; and that it would constitute an effectual security against hostile designs, if any such exist, and put an end to all Mahomedan conspiracies and European machinations. It might also produce a salutary influence upon independent Borneo, and prepare the way for an extension of British influence in that direction, should the course of events ever justify or require it.

This great region may be hereafter one of the most important that is occupied by the dispersed and diversified human family, and no long period may elapse before islands upon which Providence has showered some of its choicest blessings will exhibit a far higher social and political development than they at present seem to promise; Europe and America may hereafter even find rivals in countries which now occupy scarcely a moment of their thoughts; bays shaded by groves of palms may display forests of masts; and marbles hidden in the recesses of virgin woods and unexplored mountains may be wrought for the erection and adornment of temples and cities surpassing as much in their splendour any that have hitherto been erected in the archipelago as they will excel them in the religion to which they may be dedicated, and in the civilisation which they will represent.

ART. VII.—*The Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt.* By Earl Stanhope. Vols. III. and IV. London, 1862.

A SHORT time ago we had occasion to review the two first volumes of this biography, and to commend their merits to our readers' notice. The two new volumes will not be found to fall behind their predecessors either in charm of style or in sterling value. Indeed their interest is greater, in that they have the advantage of dealing with a much more attractive period, and of dealing with it for the first time—since even the feeble and flickering light of Bishop Tomline's biography has not been thrown over the history of Pitt's later years. There is nothing, it is true, in our parliamentary history that can equal in interest the strange vicissitudes of the stormy contest in the midst of which Pitt rose to power. But after this opening, the first half
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of his career is monotonous and tame. It required no small literary art to throw any charm over the tedious prosperity of the years that intervened between the American and the Revolutionary wars. But the period with which the volumes before us deal offers no such difficulty. The biographer is embarrassed with the press of interesting matter, and is obliged rather to guard himself from allowing the eventful history of the time to oust his hero from the prominence which belongs to him. And we should assign to these two volumes the superiority in value as well as in interest. It appears that Lord Stanhope owes to the kindness of Mr. William Dacres Adams, Pitt's private Secretary, who still survives, the communication of many interesting particulars and important manuscripts. The documents, therefore, which he prints for the first time are numerous and valuable; perhaps more so, on the whole, than those which were contained in the two first volumes. The domestic element in the series of letters is naturally weaker. The Minister's life becomes more wholly identified with the history of his time, and his friends become more purely political. The correspondence with his mother almost entirely disappears. But, on the other hand, the Melville papers, and the correspondence with the King, yield documents of great historical value. The only episode—if we except the tragical death-scene—that is not of a public character, is the brief history of his short-lived, soon conquered attachment to Eleanor Eden, in 1796. The ground upon which he suppressed his avowed affection seems a strange one in a Prime Minister, who was also the possessor of the then lucrative sinecure of the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. In a letter to her father, he apologises for the necessity of discontinuing his visits by expressing his regret that his circumstances do not permit him to presume to make her an offer of marriage. Lord Auckland would seem not to have been able to remove the obstacles to their union. So notorious were his embarrassments, and so overwhelming had they already become!

But it is very seldom that, even for so brief an interval as this, Pitt's biographer can travel out of the beaten political track. His life and his public career are almost coincident. The Parliamentary portion of his public life, which occupied almost the whole narrative in the two previous volumes, falls naturally into the background in these, especially at first. From the moment of the junction between the Government and the old Whigs to the year 1801, the course of Parliament was unvaried and uneventful. The ascendancy of the Minister was undisputed; the Opposition was entirely powerless and almost silenced; and Parliament met for little else than to register the Minister's decrees. It is not till the Catholic Question arises to disturb the even tenor

of his domination, that Parliamentary history acquires its usual interest, and the animation of party government is restored. So far as regards the latter half of Pitt's career, the interest of home politics centres almost exclusively upon the net-work of difficulties which arose out of the political necessity of Catholic Relief and the King's conscientious aversion to it.

Lord Stanhope has devoted a great deal of research to the strange complication of political manœuvres which caused the interregnum of Addington, and so seriously hampered Pitt's closing days. The changes which in that brief time passed over the political scene are very curious. In the beginning of 1801 Lord Grenville was Pitt's attached colleague; Mr. Addington was Speaker, by his nomination; Mr. Fox was in bitter opposition both to Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt. In the spring of 1804, Pitt, Fox, and Grenville were fighting side by side for the purpose of displacing Addington. In the autumn of 1806, Grenville, Fox, and Addington were fighting side by side against Pitt. And yet all this time there was no definite question of domestic, and scarcely of foreign, policy at issue; and Fox, the only man among the four who can be fairly charged with want of principle, was the only man among the four whose course, for this interval at least, was thoroughly consistent.

Lord Stanhope certainly succeeds in removing from Pitt much of the blame that has been cast upon him. The difficulty under which Pitt laboured both in 1801 and 1804 was a difficulty which must be of perpetual occurrence in every constitutional State—the difficulty of marking the exact point at which the responsibility of the Sovereign ceases, and the responsibility of the Minister begins. In governments where the theory of responsibility has been worked out with greater care, and the attributes of each particular officer are more sharply defined, this difficulty never can arise. Mr. Seward carries out President Lincoln's views, and is not held to have disgraced himself if those views differ from his own. M. Walewski and M. de Persigny must have been made a score of times the instruments of a policy in which they could not coincide; but no one thinks the worse of them on that account. It is a well-understood fact that the Emperor in the one case, and the President in the other, bear the sole responsibility of the acts which are done in their name. But in England the case is very different. We have eased the descent from a monarchy that once was absolute to the indefinable balance of power under which we at present live, by the convenient help of constitutional fictions. Our theory, as it stands, is that the Sovereign exerts all the power of the executive, while his Minister bears all the responsibility. Of course in its literal sense this never has been true, and never can be. No honourable

honourable man, scarcely any sane man, would accept the responsibility of all that another might think fit, without consulting him, to do. Ministers have always insisted, as a condition of their retaining office, that in the main the policy of the Sovereign shall be guided by their advice. But no Minister has ever yet succeeded in pushing this claim so far as to reduce the Sovereign to a mere cypher. Notorious cases have more than once arisen—and doubtless there have been many more which have never come to light—in which the Sovereign has, as it were, turned to bay, and has adhered to his refusal to adopt some distasteful course in spite of the Minister's threats of resignation. 'I had rather go back to Germany,' was the common form in which Sovereigns of the House of Hanover were wont to announce to their Ministers that the limits of pliability had been reached. It is difficult, when matters have come to this pass, to say what a constitutional Minister ought to do. On the one hand, it seems hard to say that he is to remain in office, to bear the responsibility of a policy that is not his own, and to endure the reproaches of his enemies, perhaps of his former friends, for sacrificing his principles and his pledges to the fascinations of place and power. On the other hand, his resignation may involve the most serious dangers. The condition of the House of Commons, or of the Sovereign, or the state of affairs at home or abroad, may be such, that his continuance in office is the only mode of averting evils which may threaten the deepest interests, perhaps the very existence of the realm. Either alternative seems equally intolerable. Every Minister will decide the question more in accordance with his own feelings than in deference to any fixed rule of action. But the insoluble difficulties of the problem ought to be a bar to the condemnation of bystanders or historians. One Minister may elect to be true to his pledges: another may elect to break them for his country's sake. But it is impossible to say with justice that one is more culpable than the other.

It is obvious that such difficulties must arise. Keen constitutionalists seem to have assumed that in all cases the King, somehow or other, must be made to give way. But Sovereigns are men, and have scruples and strong convictions like other men. For the sake of the public weal they renounce the freedom of speech and action which the meanest of their subjects enjoy. They bow their necks silently to a yoke which must often be galling to men of warm feelings and active minds. It is happy for England that, since the Revolution, her Sovereigns have been almost uniformly willing to offer what must frequently have been felt as a humiliating submission to views and wishes the most repugnant to their own. It would have scarcely been possible, considering the gravity of the subject-matters that have
often

often been in issue, antecedently to have calculated on so uniform a facility of disposition. But it would have been madness to expect that such a complaisance should be absolutely without limit. There are subjects upon which no man of common spirit or common conscience can tolerate to be made the tool of opinions not his own. There are compliances that leave behind them a remorse and a self-contempt for which ten times the greatness of an English Sovereign would be a miserable repayment. Such a subject was Catholic Emancipation. It would be idle labour to blow up again the embers of a controversy that is thoroughly forgotten. It is a subject on which there is no difference of opinion now. All are agreed that it was no breach of the Coronation Oath, and that whatever evil fruits it has in practice borne, far greater evils would have resulted from its being withheld. But, in the year 1800, the mass of English opinion was the other way. Enlightened men, like Mr. Pitt, and Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning, who saw beyond their age, recognised the fact that it must be granted, and that it would be granted under worse conditions if the grievance should be made the subject of systematic agitation. But neither the mass of the members of the Established Church, nor the majority of the two Houses, shared this view; and the King, who, though shrewd, was not far-seeing, held it in especial detestation. He had conceived the idea that it was a breach of his Coronation Oath. Such an interpretation of the Coronation Oath, though probably contrary to the intention of those who framed it, was far from being untenable. Ancient oaths, framed with a regard to circumstances that have ceased to operate, are apt to ensnare tender consciences by their ambiguity. But whether the King was right or wrong in the interpretation of his oath, there is no doubt that he held it very sincerely, and that he was confirmed in it by the two highest authorities to whom he could appeal. Both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor took the strong Protestant view of the question. Whether Lord Loughborough's convictions on this point were purely disinterested, it is not worth while to discuss. The more his character and career are examined by successive historians, the more pitifully they show. But he contrived thoroughly to inoculate the King's mind with the scruples which he only simulated himself. The letters which passed between the King and Mr. Pitt, some of which are printed by Lord Stanhope for the first time leave no doubt upon the reader's mind of the entire sincerity of the King's convictions, and of the pain it caused him to carry them out. The style in which they are written is slovenly to the last degree; but the very haste and carelessness of their composition is in some sense an evidence that they were a faithful

faithful and unvarnished picture of his thoughts. The language which he is recorded to have held in conversation about this time is equally decisive of his sincerity:—

‘Under such circumstances, and as if to tranquillize his mind, he reverted again and again to the religious obligation which he conceived to bind him. One morning—so his faithful equerry General Garth many years afterwards related—he desired his Coronation Oath to be once more read out to him, and then burst forth into some passionate exclamations: “Where is that power on earth to absolve me from the due observance of every sentence of that oath? . . . No—I had rather beg my bread from door to door throughout Europe than consent to any such measure!”

‘Another day, at Windsor—this was on the 6th or 7th of the month—the King read his Coronation Oath to his family, asked them whether they understood it, and added: “If I violate it, I am no longer legal Sovereign of this country, but it falls to the House of Savoy.”

‘In the middle of February the King fell ill. His illness was at first no more than a feverish cold. On the 17th he saw Mr. Addington, and on the 18th he saw the Duke of Portland. With the latter he talked very calmly on the general aspect of state-affairs. “For myself,” said His Majesty, “I am an old Whig; and I consider those statesmen who made barrier-treaties and conducted the ten last years of the Succession War the ablest we ever had.” The Duke only noticed as unusual that the King spoke in a loud tone of voice. But it is remarkable in this conversation that George the Third discerned, what since his time has become much more apparent, how, not by any sudden change, but by the gradual progress of events, the Whig party has drifted away from its first position in the reign of Queen Anne, and come round to occupy the original ground of its opponents.’—vol. iii. pp. 292, 293.

It was inevitable that with such feelings he should have refused to entertain the propositions upon which Mr. Pitt and his Cabinet had agreed. As soon as his resolution was intimated to the Minister, the latter appears to have recognised the hopelessness of struggling against it, and resigned without even demanding a personal interview. The suddenness with which this step was taken at a moment when his power in Parliament was more unquestioned than ever, caused much surprise and some suspicion. The suspicion was without ground. The rumours which were current at the time to the effect that the Catholic claims had only afforded a colourable pretext for escaping from the humiliation of making a peace which had become inevitable, have been laid aside by general consent. The documents which have been published in later times sufficiently dispose of the malignant insinuations with which Lord Auckland took occasion to repay the favour of his early patron. At least, if Pitt ever entertained

any such idea, he never breathed it to any human being. Nor were the colleagues who acted with him the most cordially upon this question, Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer, either conscious of any such manœuvre, or aware of any point in his conduct which would suggest the need of such an explanation. Fox's 'juggle,' and Lord Auckland's 'mystery,' were figments of their own distempered minds. With the exception of Lord Brougham, no modern authority of importance has adopted them. In truth the grounds of Pitt's conduct were so obvious that the mystery is rather that any party spirit can have mistaken them. Without passing an actual pledge, he had allowed it to be intimated to the Catholics of Ireland that the Ministry was favourable to them, and that it would be in a much better position for considering their claims when the Union with England had become law. On the strength of these assurances, which probably did not lose either in force or precision in the hands of the inferior agents of the Government, the Catholics gave the project their support. It is very clear that opposed as it was both by the secret treason of some, and the unconcealed self-interest of many, it never could have been carried if the Catholics had opposed it. Pitt felt himself bound to pay a fair price for value received. He did not think himself at liberty, after he had gained his object, to repudiate the understanding on which the votes that gained it were given. And when he found in the King's persistency an unexpected and insuperable obstacle, his only mode of fixing the responsibility where it really lay was to resign. A contrary view of political morality has been so often sanctioned within the last thirty years by distinguished statesmen of all parties, that Pitt's scruples upon the subject of breaking implied promises may appear Quixotic. But no one who applies to public affairs the morality of private life, will doubt that Pitt was in the right.

It by no means follows that the King was in the wrong. Of the two, his grounds of action were the strongest: for while Pitt was only fulfilling an implied engagement, the King was keeping what he believed to be a solemn oath. Such has not, however, been the judgment which it has been fashionable with Liberal historians and critics to pronounce. In fact their principal motive for sparing Pitt in respect to this transaction, appears to have been that they might be better able to turn the full force of their animosity upon the King. Fox's opinion of the scruple entertained by the King was, that 'the mention of the Coronation Oath was one of the most impudent and disgusting pieces of hypocrisy he had seen.'* If he judged of

* Fox's Mem. and Corr., iii. 153.

the King's esteem for his oath by the esteem which he himself had shown in 1783 for his own most solemn asseverations, he could not well come to any other conclusion. If at any time of his life he had professed to take an important political step, out of a regard for his own previous promises, the proceeding would have been most justly designated by the vigorous epithets we have quoted. The fury with which his later followers have attacked the King's persistency on this occasion is less intelligible. One would have thought that that persistency was exacted by the most rudimentary principles of honour. His view of the bearing of his Coronation Oath might have been erroneous; but it was the belief of many persons far more gifted and far more cultivated than himself. It implies neither intellectual nor moral obliquity to entertain a belief which is the popular persuasion of the age. And, assuming that it really was his belief, it was not only natural that he should have acted up to it, but he would have been the most contemptible of men if he had disregarded it. For the sake of a worldly interest of no very pressing kind, he would have perjured himself of an oath sworn to in the most solemn manner, and relating to the most sacred subject. Not only no wise king, but no man who was fit to associate with gentlemen, would have done that which some writers inveigh against George III. for having refused. The 'Constitutional duties' of an English King are a matter of prudence, not of special obligation; but, even if they had been imposed by law instead of by a vague and shifting custom, they could not have bound him to a perjury. Nor did the importance of the question in any way affect his duty. As it happened, his decision, though of great, was not of vital moment. It embarrassed the subsequent settlement of the Roman Catholic claims; but it produced at the time no consequences of importance. But, if it had been as momentous as it was trivial in its immediate results, it would have been far better for the fair fame of George III. in the eyes of posterity—to speak of no higher tribunal—that he should have forfeited his crown or his life in resisting Catholic claims, than that he should for expediency's sake have yielded what in his own belief he had sworn to refuse. And yet, if he had consciously forsworn himself, he would have been judged more kindly by many at least of his critics. It is a sad comment on the morality by which historians try the actions of great men, that Henry IV.'s abandonment of Protestantism, or Charles I.'s abandonment of Episcopacy, to serve the purpose of the moment, have not been visited with one tenth part of the invective that has followed George III.'s honest, though blind veneration for his oath.

Though Pitt had rightly estimated the strength of the King's determination, he had not anticipated the depth of the King's attachment to himself. The struggle of parting with him for conscience' sake was too severe for a mind already shaken by insanity. Before the new Ministers could be installed, the old symptoms of 1778 returned. The attack was quite as severe; fortunately it was not quite as obstinate. Addington's happy suggestion of the hop-pillow—which Lord Stanhope will not allow to have originated the *soubriquet* of 'the Doctor'—brought about an amendment before any steps had been taken for the appointment of a regency. But it was a narrow escape, and the risk that had been run made a deep impression upon Pitt. As soon as the King was well enough to receive the message, Pitt sent him a promise, by Dr. Willis, that he would never during the King's lifetime renew the question of the Catholic claims. As soon as this had been done, it occurred to some of Pitt's subordinates, who were sharing his loss of office without sharing in any degree his credit for magnanimity, that as the cause of his resignation had disappeared, there was no reason why the resignation itself should not follow its example. Pitt did not view this process of reasoning with absolute disfavour. He would take no step himself; but he did not conceal his willingness to resume office from his friends, or forbid them to mention it to others. But to Addington the idea did not seem quite so natural. He was not so much impressed with his own enormous inferiority to Pitt as Dundas and Pelham seem to have expected. Moreover, having been made to resign the Speakership by the representation that he alone could save the country from ruin in such a crisis, he was not inclined to fall between the two stools, or to become the victim of a lovers' quarrel between the King and Mr. Pitt. So he gave the strongest possible discouragement to Dundas's modest proposal. As soon as his reluctance was ascertained, Pitt interfered to rescue him from further pressure, and suppressed the murmurings of his own displaced friends with a strong hand.

Pitt's inconsistent conduct on this occasion has been very severely blamed. Even the calm and judicial mind of Sir G. C. Lewis refuses to acquit him. 'Why,' he asks, 'if he was so willing to remain in March, was he so resolved on resigning in February; or why, if he was so resolved upon resigning in February, was he so willing to remain in March?' No doubt, if the intervening fact of the King's insanity be left out of sight, Pitt's conduct was marked by a levity worthy only of a coquette. But this fact, with all the contingent consequences that hung on it, entirely altered the state of facts upon which he had to form his judgment.

ment. It was one of those political cases of conscience of which we have spoken, which a constitutional Minister may at any moment have to solve, in which a possible act of patriotism lies on one side and a certainty of obloquy on the other. Whatever decision Pitt had taken, he could not have expected to avoid some degree of blame from those who were not disposed to view his conduct leniently. Lord Stanhope puts the case on Pitt's behalf as forcibly as it can be put:—

‘I would venture, in the first place, to ask how the critic can feel the smallest difficulty in explaining at least, if not in justifying, the change which he here describes. As reasonably might he state his surprise that the Emperor of Austria was not willing to treat on the 1st of December, 1805, and was willing on the 3rd of the same month; the fact being that the battle of Austerlitz was fought on the intervening day. The intervening illness of George the Third affords, as I conceive, a no less clear, a no less sufficient explanation. When it became manifest that the proposal of the Roman Catholic claims had not only wrung the mind of the aged King with anguish, but altogether obscured and overthrown it, the duty of a statesman, even if untouched by personal considerations, acting solely on public grounds, was then to refrain from any such proposal during the remainder of His Majesty's reign. Loyal Roman Catholics themselves could not expect, could not even desire, their claims to be under such circumstances urged. Let me moreover observe that the restraint which Mr. Pitt laid upon himself in consequence was one that came to be adopted by all other leading politicians of that age. It was on the same understanding that Lord Castlereagh took office in 1803; Mr. Tierney also in the same year; Mr. Canning in 1804; Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox in 1806. All these, with whatever reluctance, agreed that on this most tender point the conscience of George the Third should be no further pressed. And surely if the ground here stated was sufficient, as I deem it, to justify Mr. Tierney, who had never before held office, and who owed no special attachment to the King, the ground was far stronger in the case of Mr. Pitt, who had served His Majesty as Prime Minister through most trying difficulties and for more than seventeen years.

‘It may be said, however, that although Mr. Pitt was right to relinquish the Catholic Question in March, 1801, he should not have been willing to resume office at once upon such terms. If, however, the Catholic Question were honourably and for good reason laid aside, the special, and indeed the only, reason for calling in “the Doctor” was gone. Under him there was every prospect that the new Government would be a weak one—even far weaker than from various causes which I shall hereafter explain it really proved. I have already shown what were the anticipations upon this point of so experienced and so far-sighted a politician as Dundas. A weak Government was then in prospect; and that at a period when the national interests called most loudly for a strong one. It was the duty of a patriot Minister

Minister to avert, if he honourably could, that evil from his country. It was his duty not to shrink from the service of his Sovereign, if that Sovereign thought fit to ask his aid, and if the question which had so recently severed them was from other and inevitable causes to sever them no more.

* For these reasons I believe, and must be permitted to maintain, that the conduct of Mr. Pitt in March, 1801, is free from all ambiguity, and open to no just imputation, but guided from first to last by the same high sense of duty as distinguished his whole career.'—vol. iii. pp. 311-313.

Whether Pitt was right or wrong, his change of conduct was intelligible enough. In February, 1801, he had to consider which was the least evil—that Addington should become Minister, or that the Catholics of Ireland should think that they had been deceived by their Government. In April the question had wholly changed. The notorious illness of the King had set all suspicions of bad faith at rest; and a change was threatened far more formidable in its results, and far more irremediable in its character, than the accession of Addington to office. The question which he had then to decide was, whether it was better that the Catholics should wait till the King's death, or that the King should be driven mad. As the event has proved, England would have flourished, whichever horn of the dilemma had been chosen. At the time, however, it had been proved by experience that the Catholic claims could have been postponed without danger; whereas the dangers of a Regency were untried and unknown. There had been no Regency in English history since the Reformation. In French history the experiment of a Regency had been exhaustively tried, but not with results of a character to encourage imitation. In any case, whatever the expediency of the question may have been, Mr. Pitt will be forgiven by most men for having declined deliberately to drive into insanity an aged Sovereign, whose confidence and intimacy he had uninterruptedly enjoyed for the period of seventeen years, merely for the purpose of hastening by a short space the relief of the Catholics from a grievance that was in a great measure sentimental.

His conduct, upon this as upon most other occasions, appears in the brightest light when it is contrasted with the conduct of Mr. Fox. As long as we compare it with what might theoretically have been done, or with what we, judging after the event, would have been inclined to recommend, portions of it may seem open to doubt. But when we compare it with what was actually done by the idol of a whole school of statesmen, we see how high Mr. Pitt soared above the highest ideal of Liberal politicians. Mr. Pitt pressed the King while he was in office, and spared him
when

when he had left office. Mr. Fox took precisely the opposite course. As long as he was in opposition, no words that he could use could be too strong in denouncing the religious scruples of the King and his supporters. The mention of the Coronation Oath was one of the most disgusting pieces of impudence and folly he had seen. Even so late as the year 1805, he was virtuously indignant with Mr. Pitt because no Catholic Relief Bill had been recommended from the throne—'a subject so important, that if it be not speedily taken into our consideration, no honest man can say there is anything like stability and security to that part of the empire.'* A year passed, and most unexpectedly he found himself in office. Count Stahrenberg, the Austrian minister, very naturally asked him whether he did not feel a difficulty respecting the Roman Catholic Question. 'None at all,' said Fox; 'I am determined not to annoy my Sovereign by bringing it forward.'† The seals of the Foreign Office had exercised a marvellous virtue in quickening the loyalty which had slumbered for so many years.

Pitt's self-imposed exile from office did not last very long. Perhaps it was that he had been too well used to power to bear to see it for long in other and weaker hands. Perhaps it was that he listened too readily to the suggestions and innuendoes of his political friends, who were less tolerant of inactivity even than himself. Certain it is that his hearty support of the Addington Government grew beautifully less with each succeeding year. In 1801 he was almost enthusiastic in his championship of the promoted Speaker. In 1802 there were only occasional clouds between the two former friends. In 1803 Pitt treated Addington with distance, refused him his advice, and pointedly abstained from commending him in Parliament. In 1804 he joined with Fox and Grenville to throw him out. When Addington gave way in consequence of this combined attack, Pitt attempted to bring his new allies into office, and to include in his Cabinet all the existing Parliamentary talent of the country. But the King's aversion to Fox was too strong to be overcome. He could not forgive either his share in the corruption of the Prince of Wales, or the open support which he had given to the Jacobins. Pitt pressed it on him with great earnestness, but the King stood firm. As soon as Pitt saw that the King would rather fall back upon the Addington Government than assent to any combination that should include Fox's name, he gave way. Lord Grenville, for some inexplicable reason, preferred to cast in his lot with the new ally with whom he did not agree, rather than

* Jan. 15.

† Life of Lord Sidmouth, ii. 435.

with the old chief with whom he did ; and Pitt was accordingly forced, in Lord Grenville's words, 'to eke out his Ministry with Roses and Dundases.' With a Cabinet thus patched up, he resumed office, and Addington, Grenville, and many of the old Whigs who had joined Pitt in 1792, now rejoined Fox in opposition.

Two separate complaints have been urged against Pitt on account of his conduct at this juncture—one on behalf of Addington, the other on behalf of Fox. Addington's admirers have been comparatively rare, and therefore his grievance has found few advocates to press it ; but if any one was ill-used in the transaction, he was certainly the man. He had been enticed from the dignified repose of the Speaker's chair by an assurance that his acceptance of office alone stood between the Crown and ruin, and by the promise of Pitt's cordial support. He had broken no pledge, belied no profession, and had not committed any evident blunder upon which his adversaries could lay their hands. He was a mediocrity, it was true ; but he had always been a mediocrity. What he was in 1801, that he was still in 1804 ; and after having been lured out of the Speaker's chair to save the State in the first of these two years, it seemed hard to throw him away like a sucked orange in the second, because it was Mr. Pitt's good pleasure to return to office. It is true Mr. Pitt had given no promises of *perpetual* support ; but he had promised his support in very emphatic terms. It would have been better for his own fame if, before he was so profuse in his professions, he had realized the necessary consequences of Addington's incapacity, and had recognised his own inability to stand patiently by while the government was being mismanaged.

On the other hand, few passages in Mr. Pitt's life have been so angrily assailed by the friends of Mr. Fox. It certainly needs to be a warm admirer of Mr. Fox to understand even the imputed crime, without entering upon the proof of it. Mr. Pitt thought that the circumstances of the time demanded a comprehensive Ministry. A factious and powerful opposition would have added seriously to the difficulties of the country, in the midst of its struggle for existence ; and the only way of avoiding a factious opposition was by buying up the possible heads of it. Therefore Mr. Pitt proposed to give office to Mr. Fox and his friends. Doubts have been thrown upon the sincerity of Mr. Pitt in proposing this profitable bargain to the King. Those doubts, however, have been generally given up. If need were, the correspondence between the Minister and the King, which Lord Stanhope publishes, would set the most obstinate

nate scepticism at rest. But Pitt's wishes only went up to a certain point. He desired to purchase Fox; but there was a limit to the price which he was prepared to pay. He had no intention, by persisting in his demand, again to worry the King into insanity. There was the more reason for precaution upon this head, that in the beginning of the year the King had suffered a return of the old symptoms of 1788 and 1801. To avert this danger, Pitt had consented to abandon the claims of the Catholics; and he did not rate so much more highly the claims of Mr. Fox, or the value of his goodwill, as to persist in his case when he had yielded in theirs. This was no sudden impulse. He had distinctly explained, both to Fox and Grenville, that he should yield to any objection on the King's part, before the operations in the House of Commons were commenced by which Addington was displaced. It would seem to be self-evident that the course he took was the only course that he could have rightly taken. Whatever the advantages may have been of Fox's presence in the Government, or rather of his absence from the Opposition bench, no one can seriously maintain that they outweighed the dangers of a Regency crisis in the face of a foreign invasion. And the obvious course for every genuine patriot, under the grave circumstances of the time, would have been to join together to make the strongest Ministry that the King would be content to accept. But Lord Grenville, by some mysterious process of reasoning or of temper, contrived to persuade himself and his friends that the best way of remedying Fox's exclusion by the King was for them all to exclude themselves. Accordingly he flew into furious opposition; and to mark his disapproval of Pitt's concession to the King in 1804, he changed his party altogether, and for fifteen years acted with men of whose pacific policy abroad and reforming policy at home he equally disapproved. It has been said by Lord Macaulay that if Pitt had persisted, the King would have given way, as he gave way two years later, before 'the immutable resolution of Lord Grenville.' The reply is very simple. The circumstances of 1806 were not the circumstances of 1804. The King was not recovering from a fit of insanity, and the army of Boulogne was not threatening the English coast; and consequently Lord Grenville could press his demands with safety. On the other hand, Addington was no longer in the House of Commons, and therefore, in default of any other leader to whom he could have had recourse, the King was compelled to surrender at discretion. But the haste with which he rid himself of his 'immutably resolved' Minister, on the very first opportunity that offered, showed how keenly he felt the humiliation to which he had been made to stoop. In 1804; it would have driven him
mad;

mad; or if it had not driven him mad, it would have irritated him into returning to Addington again. It is difficult to say, under the circumstances of the moment, which of the two alternatives would have been the most disastrous for the country.

In any case a lukewarm enthusiasm for Fox can hardly be imputed to Pitt as an unpardonable sin. Pitt can hardly have been ignorant of the bitter and relentless hatred with which Fox continued to regard him. It is not probable that the scurrilous abuse of Pitt, in which we know from Fox's letters that he indulged in private intercourse, can have remained wholly unknown to the object of it. It may well be doubted whether Fox could have heartily worked with a man whom, at the time, he was designating in his correspondence as a 'mean, low-minded dog,' 'a mean rascal.' It is certain that by such a coalition Pitt must have foregone the allegiance of many of the staunchest members of his party, who looked upon such an alliance as 'nothing less than execrable.' It is difficult to believe that Fox could have been, under any circumstances, a useful instrument in carrying on a war which for ten years he had opposed with such unmeasured vehemence. The man who could write to his political friend, 'The truth is, I am gone something further in hate to the English Government than you and the rest of my friends are, and certainly further than can with prudence be avowed: the triumph of the French Government over the English does in fact afford me a degree of pleasure which it is very difficult to disguise,' was not exactly the man to conduct a French war with vigour and success.*

But the blames and the regrets of historians upon this point appear to be very vain. If Pitt had been ever so resolute, or George III. ever so yielding, it seems that Fox had made up his mind not to take office in any Government of which Pitt was Prime Minister. It is needless to argue that, considering the temper which then prevailed in the nation, as well as the existing necessities of the empire, any other arrangement would have been absurd. Lord Stanhope suggests that the offer of the Foreign Secretaryship to Fox, even if it had been refused, would have been of advantage to Pitt, in that it would have released Lord Grenville from his engagements, and have enabled him to join the Ministry. It seems very doubtful whether Lord Grenville's difficulties, which were difficulties of mere temper, would have been smoothed by so technical an excuse. If his party allegiance was in question, it was due to Pitt, whom he had served for eighteen years, and to whom the whole of his political

* Fox's Mem. and Corr., vol. iii. p. 349.

importance was due. If his opinions had been in question, they assuredly should not have inclined him towards Fox. The 'co-operation,' as it was delicately called, of the most extreme advocate of war and the most extreme advocate of peace could not have rested on any congeniality of opinion. But as his sole motive appears to have been his desire to humiliate the King, it is not likely that he would have been appeased by anything short of an agreement to Mr. Fox's utmost demands. His persistence should not, however, be too hardly censured, for it was fraught with advantage to his country. If he had joined Pitt, he must, upon Pitt's death, have become the leader of Pitt's successors. He would have enjoyed the chief share of the influence which Pitt's great ascendancy secured to the statesmen who claimed to inherit his traditions. In that case it would have fallen to him to shape the policy under which the war was to be terminated, and the foundations of the peace that followed it were to be laid. He would, in short, have taken the lead which fell to Lord Castlereagh in his default. In such transactions his unreasoning obstinacy, and incapacity for the management of men, would have poorly replaced Lord Castlereagh's cool, self-restrained sagacity.

But it is not only upon these petty personal details that Pitt's conduct during this concluding portion of his career has been arraigned. The whole policy of his administration, the whole of his system of defence against the enemies at home and abroad by which England was beset, have been assailed with great vehemence by the Whig writers of later times. Those who assailed him during his lifetime drew no distinction between the earlier and the later phases of his career. They did not pretend to discern any difference between his principles of action before and after the overthrow of monarchy in France. Fox and Grey found it all consistent, because they looked upon it as all bad; but the writers who profess to have inherited their principles, and have accepted the obligation of their defence, are precluded from these easy tactics. Lord Macaulay and Lord Russell cannot re-echo the invectives of Fox and Grey against Pitt's financial and commercial policy, because that policy rests on principles which the Whig party have since been driven to adopt; neither can they indorse the condemnation with which Pitt's successive measures of uniting Ireland to England were received by the Whig orators of that day, for they have themselves upheld the Union against O'Connell. But they do not on that account abandon Fox and Grey. They pass these errors gently over, and content themselves with remarks upon Fox's genial character

and

and Grey's early promise. But there is a portion of Pitt's career in regard to which their hands are freer. Mr. Pitt's mode of confronting the sudden perils with which the French Revolution menaced both England and Europe is of necessity more open to criticism than any other portion of his policy. The dangers which he was called upon to meet were in their nature novel and exceptional, and the remedies they required must needs be exceptional too. The mode in which domestic sedition is to be repressed or foreign attack averted involves no principle, and therefore cannot expose those who censure it to any charge of inconsistency. Recent Whig historians, therefore, have taken a course exactly the reverse of that which was taken by the majority of Whig partisans at the time. Those who followed Fox when he was alive upheld him while he resisted Pitt's policy during peace, and renounced him when he inveighed against Pitt's policy during the war. Those who have canonized Fox since his death cannot follow him in his censures of the French treaty or the Irish Trade Resolutions; but they make up for their desertion by the zeal with which they reproduce his denunciations of Pitt's repression of Jacobinism at home and his resistance to French aggression abroad.

The first part of the charge—that of undue severity to the Jacobins at home—has been repeated frequently enough; but of recent years it has been renewed with a rather gentler emphasis and in a less confident tone. The sacred right of insurrection has lost many of its most devoted admirers both in the Old World and in the New, in the course of the last fifteen years. Lord Russell himself passes over the question of domestic sedition with a gentle hand. Possibly he did not feel, after the experience of the year 1848, that he could denounce 'Gagging Bills' and State Prosecutions with the unhesitating fervour that would be looked for in the panegyrist of Mr. Fox. For a hearty and vigorous reiteration of Fox's attacks upon this point we must look to Lord Macaulay, who was less fettered by the entanglements of office. The accusation which that eloquent writer has recorded in one of his latest works, charges the Minister 'with harsh laws harshly executed, with Alien Bills and Gagging Bills, with cruel punishments inflicted upon some political agitators, with unjustifiable prosecutions instituted against others.' This is a strange hotchpotch of charges! When he wrote this sentence Lord Macaulay must have been under a momentary delusion that he was describing the guilt of some Turkish Vizier, not that of an English Minister. England was not governed by a despotism even in the reign of George III. Ministers did not pronounce the sentences, if they were 'cruel:' nor had they—

at least in the cases of treason to which Lord Macaulay seems to allude—the power of instituting ‘unjustifiable prosecutions’ at their own discretion. If such things took place, they were the fault of the judges and grand juries, who are provided by the law for the special purpose of guarding against them. Mr. Pitt had no more power over these authorities than he had over the Emperor of Russia. No doubt many violent things were said and done; but they were not said or done by Pitt. The carnage practised by the friends of liberty in Paris had filled all classes with a horror which occasionally extended itself to the judicial authorities, and hurried them beyond the limits of humanity and prudence. But there is no pretence of justice in selecting Pitt, who was neither a magistrate nor a jurymen, to be the scapegoat on whose back all the sins of all the magistrates and jurymen in the country should be laid. Lord Stanhope very justly says:—

‘I do not conceive the fame of Mr. Pitt involved in every act of every magistrate and every judge. I do not think it bound up with all the judicial decisions of Lord Chancellor Loughborough. In several cases, then, which the adversaries of this Government have held forth and selected out of many, I do not deny, and, on the contrary, intend to show, that the zeal of some men, and the fears of others, transported them beyond the bounds of right. But that is not the point which Lord Macaulay puts.’

In truth the responsibility of instituting prosecutions can only attach to an English Minister in a very limited degree. If he is advised that a flagrant breach of the law has been committed and can be proved, he has scarcely any choice but to order a prosecution. His responsibility, on the other hand, if he neglected to do so, and any evil resulted from his neglect, would be very deep indeed. It need hardly be said that the moment the order has issued from his lips, his responsibility is absolutely at an end. There may be a show of reason, though a very slight one, in charging upon him ‘unjustifiable prosecutions,’ if such there were. But it would be as reasonable to blame Julius Cæsar as Mr. Pitt for the ‘cruel punishments’ which the Judges in their discretion may have thought fit to inflict. He might as well be held responsible for Lord Kenyon’s fury against the forestallers of corn.

He was undoubtedly answerable, however, for the repressive measures which he prevailed upon the House of Commons to pass. He procured the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act on several occasions; he prohibited secret societies; he assumed a control over the immigration of aliens; and he placed both printers and lecturers under the necessity of obtaining licences from justices of the peace. There is no doubt that these were

curtailments

curtailments of the liberty that had for many years been enjoyed in these islands. There is no doubt that they were foreign to the system of government which Pitt had hitherto pursued. The question is, whether they were justified by the circumstances in which he suddenly found himself; or whether they were a feeble concession to the clamour of the frightened country-gentlemen.

It seems almost a hopeless controversy to decide. There are no data, no fixed principles on which to reason. No one disputes that attempts at insurrection justify a proportionate coercion. No one disputes that the coercion may be disproportioned, and may degenerate into causeless tyranny. But between those two limits all is indefinite and vague. There is no standard by which the measure of coercion can be adjusted to the measure of sedition. To say that the coercion must be no greater than the necessity of the case requires is merely to shroud the difficulty in verbiage. It is a waste of words to argue whether, if Mr. Pitt had abstained from coercive measures, the 'liquid fire of Jacobinical principles' would or would not have desolated England. There are no means available to us, as there were none to him, of solving such a problem. His condemnation or acquittal must be decided by other tests than that of hypothetical prophecy. If we wish to determine whether he did or did not go beyond the urgency of the case, our only course is to compare his proceedings with those of other governments in other lands or times. It is impossible to institute an exact comparison, because no two historical situations are exactly parallel. But still we have seen enough of revolution during the last seventy years, and of the mode in which those governments have met it who have met it the most successfully, to be able to form at least a relative estimate of the emergency which Mr. Pitt had to confront. We have every ground for believing that the urgency of the danger was very great. We know that he entertained that conviction himself. He expressed the opinion in private to Wilberforce, when he could have had no motive for exaggerating his fears, that if he were to resign, his head would be off in six months. Had it stood alone, this expression of opinion should have counted for a great deal. Pitt's courage was high, and his information was at least better than that of any other living man. But it did not stand alone. Two Secret Committees in 1794 and 1799, chosen on each occasion by ballot, after investigating the evidence which the Government had to lay before them, and composed of some of the shrewdest men of the day, reported that the ramifications of conspiracy were very extensive, and that the danger of revolt was imminent. And it is to be remembered that

that these reports are the best evidence which the nature of the case permits us to obtain. Conspiracies do not publish their proceedings from day to day, and unsuccessful conspiracies, especially if they are composed of illiterate men, leave no record behind them. It is easy for Lord Russell * to assert that one of these societies only consisted of the frequenters of some thirty low taverns. It is easy for Lord Macaulay to lay down with indefinite confidence that 'the Reformers never dreamt of subverting Government by physical force.' They have no means of information that can justify them in traversing the averments of the Cabinet and the Committees. The observations of this or that unofficial man are absolutely valueless compared with the intelligence that it was within the power of the Government to collect, and that was probably to be found in the sealed papers that were laid before the Secret Committees. What those papers contained it was of course impossible to divulge. Some things indeed were matters of notoriety. No one was ignorant of the existence of the treasonable societies, of their correspondence with the French Convention, or of their Jacobinical doctrines and aspirations. It was known that both French and Irish agents were extensively employed, and that French money was lavishly spent to propagate revolutionary opinions. There was no need for concealing the fact that the societies had been deeply concerned in the naval mutinies, or that they had been largely tampering with the soldiers, or that formidable risings in London formed part of the plan of rebellion which the Society of United Irishmen had contrived. But upon the details of the schemes of these societies, and upon the evidence of their extensive power, the Committees and the Government were necessarily silent. Mr. Fox spoke entirely at his ease when he challenged the Government to produce their evidence of the insurrectionary spirit which they professed to fear. He knew that the disclosure for which he called was an impossibility. It would have discredited and jeopardized every spy whom the Government were employing. It is a grave error to reason or to act as though the existence of a conspiracy that has not succeeded were necessarily susceptible of public proof. The solemn declaration of those to whom the investigation has been entrusted is the only evidence of which the nature of the case admits. The statements, moreover, of Mr. Pitt's government with respect to conspiracies deserve especial credit, for they had one great opportunity of proving their acquaintance with this particular subject-matter to the world. The success with which they tracked and

* *Life of Fox*, ii. 293.

foiled the conspiracy in Ireland, which commanded so large a share of popular support, sufficiently demonstrates the accuracy of their secret information. Lord Auckland's reports from the Hague show that the apprehensions which they entertained were not confined to the English Government:—

'It is known that immense sums have been distributed in England by order of the *Conseil Exécutif* to make an insurrection in different parts of the kingdom in the last week of November, or in the first week of this month. And the villains were so confident of success that they anticipated it in Paris, and I have accordingly seen *Paris bulletins and letters with all the details of a revolt in Westminster*, similar to many of the horrid scenes in Paris.'—Lord Auckland to Sir M. Eden, Dec. 7, 1792.

Surely this intelligence might be held to justify an Alien Bill! The Dutch diplomatic despatches of the time contain abundant evidence that the proofs and details of a plan for seizing the Tower and effecting a revolution were in Mr. Pitt's hands.* We have, therefore, on the one side the assertion of Mr. Fox that there was no danger of an insurrection; and on the other side the assertion of the Ministers and the Secret Committees, that the danger was very great. We know that the Ministers and the Committees had before them evidence to which they at least professed to attach great weight; and it does not appear that Mr. Fox professed to have any evidence at all. We have no choice, then, but to trust those who spoke from information to which we have not access, in preference to those who avowedly spoke from no information whatsoever. It must be taken as an historical fact, that a formidable conspiracy did exist; that large numbers of the lower classes, especially those of Irish race, were tainted with Jacobin doctrines, and inspired with Jacobin hopes; and that strenuous efforts were being made to bring about a bloody revolution, such as that which was raging in France. Under such circumstances, were Mr. Pitt's measures too severe? Did he overstep the precautions to which other governments in the presence of similar dangers have had recourse? It is needless to refer to the examples that have been furnished by Germany or France. It is notorious that Mr. Pitt's coercion was a mere pastime compared with the measures which in those countries have been again and again thought necessary for the preservation of society. Such examples will probably be repudiated, as inapplicable to the English people. Fortunately we have another standard of comparison, to which no exception can be taken. The United States cannot be accused of monarchical leanings,

* Von Sybel, ii, 57.

or of following old-world traditions. The right of insurrection has been as strongly upheld there as it ever has been, or is ever likely to be, in any other civilised community. In no other country have the claims of the executive upon the obedience of its subjects been so lightly rated. They have recently been plunged into difficulties such as those to which in the course of the last seventy years all European nations have been exposed. It will be instructive to inquire how they have met their troubles. We shall be able to measure the extent of Mr. Pitt's tyrannical excesses by studying the conduct of a state founded upon the sovereignty of the people, and embodying the rights of insurrection in its constitution. What is the teaching of their example? The cases are not dissimilar. New England is as loyal to the Union as England was to its Sovereign. The Confederates are as anxious as the French were to propagate rebellious sentiments among their Northern neighbours. The Northern States are threatened as England was by treason in their midst, though of the loyalty of the mass of the population in both cases there can be no doubt. How has the model Republic behaved under the trial? Has she rigidly upheld the Habeas Corpus Act which Pitt has been so much blamed for suspending? Has she jealously preserved the liberty of the press with which Pitt sacrilegiously tampered? It would have been happy for the United States if they had retained one-tenth part of the practical liberties which England enjoyed under the 'harsh laws, harshly executed,' of Mr. Pitt. The repressive vigour of the 'land of the free' has thrown Mr. Pitt's precedents far into the shade. The fear of retaliation, on the part of a powerful rebellion, has deterred Mr. Lincoln's Government hitherto from inflicting the punishment of death. It has been often threatened; but the menace of reprisals has prevented the threat from being carried into execution. But, short of this extreme, no restriction upon freedom has been thought too severe that should facilitate the operations and increase the security of the executive. Hundreds have been cast into filthy dungeons, without cause assigned or trial allowed. The post-office has been used without scruple as an engine for repressing the free expression of opinion, either in private letters or in public journals. Women have been incarcerated for wearing seditious colours; judges have been imprisoned for executing the law; members of the legislature have been seized under the suspicion that they intended to give votes opposed to the policy of the Government; military officers have presided over the polling-booths, and have systematically and avowedly excluded the votes that were hostile to the party of their chiefs. This is the pattern method of dealing with conspirators that has been set up for the

imitation of the world by the Model Republic. If Mr. Pitt diverged at all from the usual practice of governments before and after his own time, in dealing with insurrection, it was on the side of leniency, and not on the side of harshness. If, then, with Lord Macaulay we condemn him for his measures of repression, we condemn with him the universal policy of all governments, republican as well as monarchical. To have departed from this universal tradition would have been to stake the existence of England upon a novel experiment, a sentimental trust in the virtues of conspirators, to which their language and conduct gave no encouragement, and which no previous government had ever entertained.

* We were wrong. There was one Government that had entertained that trust, and had acted upon it: there was one precedent for the neglect of repressive measures in the face of a wide-spread conspiracy: there was one example of that tender confidence in the moderation of the people, which even the democratic government of America is too cynical to feel; but it was an example that acted rather as a beacon than as a guide. Those who judge Pitt's domestic policy during the revolutionary wars, should never forget that he was fresh from a spectacle which would have disposed to far harsher measures a mind less balanced and less humane than his. He had seen the gentler policy tried out: he had heard the flattering promises and roseate dreams that accompanied its commencement: he had watched the fearful tragedies that marked its close. We who live at a distance from the period of the French Revolution, and have witnessed many a revolution since, can form no conception of the depth of the horror with which it impressed the generation before whose eyes its deeds of blood were perpetrated. Such things were then new to Englishmen. They were not then familiar with the ideas of *mitrailleurs* and *noyades*, and prison massacres, and the never-resting guillotine. They were almost stunned with the horrors amid which the new democracy was making its entry into the old world—almost maddened when they found that there were any among themselves who were ready to make of England the pandæmonium into which Liberal theories had already metamorphosed France. They were ready to welcome every policy that would rescue them from such a fate. Why trust to old remedies? The very terror of the new state of things was its utter novelty. The rapidity, the contagiousness, the appalling results of the disease, were new to the experience of mankind. It was madness to be content with the slow and feeble treatment of a statecraft that was antiquated. If any fact was clear amid the bewildering confusion of the French Revolution, it was that the gentleness, the concessions,

sions, the morbid tenderness of Louis XVI. had only tended to precipitate his own and his people's doom, and aggravate the ferocity of those whom he tried by kindness to disarm. It was a lesson against over-conciliatory government, which a whole generation of statesmen were not likely to forget. It was natural enough that the mariner should occupy himself chiefly with avoiding the reefs upon which his consort had just foundered before his eyes. It was equally intelligible that the statesman to whom the destinies of England were entrusted should think more of the dangers of anarchy and mob-rule than of any other dangers; and should have preferred to err, if he erred at all, on the side of excessive precaution. But, in truth, the very facts which were calculated to magnify the danger to his eyes were calculated to enhance it in reality. The presence of the French Revolution seemed entirely to have changed the natures with which statesmen had to deal. Men were not in those days to be measured by ordinary standards, nor their acts calculated by any ordinary computation. The reasoning which in other times had held them seemed empty verbiage now. They had forgotten the emotions which had formed 'the cheap defence' of order. The moral epidemic that was in the air distorted their intellects, and made all their better feelings the ministers of crime. In the presence of the paroxysms of anarchical frenzy which were racking the nations of Europe, it would have been mere fool-hardiness to have relied upon the restraints which had been ample in calmer times.

Pitt's foreign policy, during this eventful period, has been impugned, if possible, even more vehemently than his domestic measures. It has been assailed upon the most opposite grounds. He has been blamed because his war against France was a Tory crusade, and because it was not a Tory crusade; because he considered the interests of the French Royal Family too much, and because he considered them too little; because he neglected the balance of power by permitting the dismemberment of Poland, and because he upheld the balance of power by arresting the dismemberment of Austria. Perhaps it would be safe to leave these conflicting forces to neutralise each other. When Davie Deans pronounced Reuben Butler's grace to be too short, and the Captain of Knockdunder pronounced it to be too long, his discerning biographer justly concludes that it was of precisely the right length. It might be fair to argue on similar principles that Pitt must have exactly hit the golden mean in a policy which could provoke such contradictory denunciations. But as the two distinguished Whig critics whom we have named have recently reproduced (between them) the whole of this motley catalogue of

accusations, it may be worth while to remind our readers of the exact nature of the circumstances under which Pitt went to war with France, and the real extent to which that war was a success. The *cultus* of Fox exacts considerable sacrifices from its votaries; and in order to relieve him from the charge of unexampled factiousness in the impediments which he attempted to offer to the Government at moments of the utmost danger, they are compelled to subject the events of history to a little gentle violence.

The accusation that Pitt undertook a crusade against democratic principles in France, which has been reproduced so often by Liberal writers, and to which Lord Russell gives the sanction of his name, is another curious instance of the tendency to centre upon the prominent man of a generation all the faults and follies with which that generation can be charged. There is no doubt that in that generation there were very many eminent men who wished for war, and wished to make it a war of principles. Dundas, Burke, the King himself, belonged to this number; and they had the great mass of the clergy and country-gentlemen at their back. It is no new thing that, among the mass of men who act with no responsibility and little knowledge, passion should be more powerful than reason; or that the same error should, in exciting times, extend to others whose high position shuts them out from the same excuse. And if ever it could be justifiable to wage war for the gratification of mere feeling, the excuse might be claimed for a war against the fiends who ruled in Paris at the beginning of 1793. But whatever the blameworthiness of those may have been who did wish to preach an Anti-Jacobin crusade, it can in no way affect anybody but themselves. These feelings found no place in the calmer mind of Pitt, nor did he suffer his own fixed course to be swayed by the passionate impulses of others. Lord Macaulay's assertion, that he was hurried into the war against his own better judgment, Lord Russell's assertion, that he declared a political crusade against the Jacobins, are accusations which it is impossible to prove from the history as it actually occurred. The crusade was all on the other side. So accurate a copy of the wolf's reproaches against the lamb is not often to be met.

In the spring of 1792 Pitt, as is well known, neither wished nor looked for war. He gave the best pledge of his pacific views and hopes by repealing taxes and reducing establishments. Neither the declaration of war made by the Assembly against Austria, in the month of April, nor the Duke of Brunswick's invasion which followed it, nor the earnest solicitations of Russia and Prussia, tempted him to compromise in the slightest

slightest degree the neutral position he had taken up. As long as English interests were untouched, he pursued the wise policy of non-intervention. But English interests could not remain untouched very long. The first onset of the French, as soon as the Duke of Brunswick had been driven back, was naturally directed to the frontier of Flanders, which was Austria's weakest point. Belgium was soon overrun. The antiquated military system of Austria was no match for the youthful energy of the Revolutionary strategy. The victory of Jemappes carried Dumouriez to the banks of the Scheldt; and the Revolutionary Government intimated their intention of opening the navigation of the river to armed vessels for the purpose of investing Antwerp. At this point it became impossible for England to continue to look on in silence. The closing of the Scheldt was guaranteed by treaty with Holland; and we were bound by treaty to interfere on her behalf, if her rights were assailed. Nor was this the only point where this aggression upon neutral rights concerned us. England has ever watched the Scheldt with an especial jealousy. It has always been one of the cardinal maxims of her policy to secure that it should not fall into the hands of any power whom she had need to fear. Napoleon fully appreciated the sagacity of this resolution. He was always wont to say that Antwerp, in the hands of France, was a loaded pistol held to England's head; and accordingly, in the last desperate negotiations at Châtillon, which preceded his fall by a few weeks, he always clung to the hope that, whatever else might be wrenched from him, he should not need to surrender Antwerp. Lord Russell himself has never been slow to recognize the same truth, and laid down, not long ago, that the invasion of Belgium by France would be an aggression which England could not safely condone. In both aspects, as a matter of policy, and as a matter of treaty obligation, it was impossible to submit to this act of unprovoked aggression. The necessity of resistance was wholly unconnected with any question relating to the form of government in France. It would have been as necessary ten years before as it was then, and it would be equally necessary now, to fulfil a treaty covenant and to guard the mouths of the Scheldt from France. But still the Government clung to peace. On the 6th of November Lord Grenville was writing to Lord Auckland that the best mode of preventing the introduction of Jacobin principles into England was to 'keep ourselves out of the struggle on the Continent;' and on the following day, in a letter to his brother, he was still indulging in projects for the remission of taxation. The following letter, which Lord Stanhope has printed, shows how sincerely Pitt himself desired peace, and how perfectly free he was from any design

design of 'crusading against democracy.' It is addressed to his colleague Lord Stafford:—

'MY DEAR LORD,

'Downing-street, Nov. 13, 1792.

'The strange and unfortunate events which have followed one another so rapidly on the Continent are, in many views, matter of serious and anxious consideration. That which presses the most relates to the situation of Holland, as your Lordship will find from the enclosed despatch from Lord Auckland, and as must indeed be the case in consequence of the events in Flanders. However unfortunate it would be to find this country in any shape committed, it seems absolutely impossible to hesitate as to supporting our ally in case of necessity; and the explicit declaration of our sentiments is the most likely way to prevent the case occurring. We have, therefore, thought it best to send without delay instructions to Lord Auckland to present a memorial to the States, of which I enclose a copy. I likewise enclose a copy to Sir Morton Eden, at Berlin; and those to Vienna are nearly to the same effect. These are necessarily in very general terms, as, in the ignorance of the designs of Austria and Prussia, and in the uncertainty as to what events each day may produce, it seems impossible to decide definitively at present on the line which we ought to pursue, except as far as relates to Holland. *Perhaps some opening may arise which may enable us to contribute to the termination of the war between the different powers in Europe, leaving France (which, I believe, is the best way) to arrange its own internal affairs as it can.* The whole situation, however, becomes so delicate and critical, that I have thought it right to request the presence of all members of the Cabinet who can, without too much inconvenience, give their attendance.'

We know from Noel's communications to Danton that Pitt had six weeks before intimated to the French agent his willingness to undertake a mediation.* It is curious to compare with these facts the words of Lord Russell†:—

'The only cure for such an evil, if cure was still possible, was a just interposition between the contending powers. . . . The genius and benevolence of Fox might, in such a spirit, have found the means of sparing to Europe rivers of blood and heaps of treasure.'

It was a cruel freak of ill-luck which caused Lord Russell to light upon the very idea which Pitt had suggested to his colleagues, as a text for hypothetically eulogizing the peculiar 'genius and benevolence' of Fox. The genius and benevolence in question were at that time more congenially employed in exulting among his friends over the victories of the ruffian government which had just recovered from the fatigue of massacring its prisoners, and was making preparations for the murder of its King. Mr. Fox, in his familiar letters of that

* *Von Sybel*, ii. 55.

† '*Life of Fox*,' ii. 301.

period; declares that not even the reverses of his countrymen in America had pleased him so well. "No!" he exclaims, "no public event, not excepting Saratoga and Yorktown, ever happened that gave me so much delight."*

Two things are incontrovertibly clear from this confidential letter from Pitt to his colleague. One is, that even on the 13th of November, 1792, he hoped for peace, and clung to the belief that it was possible; and the other is, that he entertained no project for putting down Jacobinism by force of arms. Nor was he satisfied with mere discussion. On the 16th of November he addressed a communication to the German Courts, requesting them to state the terms upon which they were willing to make peace with France, and offering the good offices of Great Britain as a mediator.† But though he was no 'crusader' for a principle, he had to deal with those who were. Three days after the date of this note the Convention issued their famous decree, which was translated by their orders into every European language, offering fraternity and assistance to every nation that desired to rise against its rulers. Two days afterwards another decree declared, in defiance of all treaties, that Savoy was annexed to France. In the face of such evidence as this, it was vain for the English Ministers to flatter themselves that the Convention desired peace. Yet even on the 2nd of December,‡ Maret, who was then in England, writes to his Government that 'Mr. Pitt dreads war much more than the aristocracy of the Opposition.' Though Pitt was determined that war should not find him unprepared, and took measures accordingly for increasing the national defences, he was careful to do nothing that should justly provoke it.

It is a curious illustration of Mr. Fox's zealous sympathy for his country's enemies that in December, 1792, while the trial of the King with whom we had been in alliance was going on, while the insulting decree of November, inciting all subjects to overthrow their rulers, had but just been issued by the Convention, and when the French troops were making an unprovoked assault upon our allies, he thought it a fit moment for proposing to the House of Commons to recognise the Republic, and to send a minister to Paris. It is also a curious fact that the journalists of the insurrectionary Government in Paris knew of his intention before his friends in England did.§ But the Convention knew what they were aiming at better than Mr. Fox. The decree of the 19th of November had been meant for a declaration of war, and it was speedily followed up. On the 15th of December Belgium

* 'Fox's Mem. and Corr.,' ii. 372.

† Von Sybel, ii. 56.

‡ 'Ann. Reg.'

§ 'Auck. Corr.,' ii. 482.

was annexed to France by a decree; and on the 23rd of January, 1793, M. Chauvelin, the French agent, was recalled, though his recall did not reach him till after the English Government, on the receipt of the news of the King's death, had sent to him his passports. But Pitt still harboured no wish for war. Maret arrived in England on the 29th, and Pitt declared to him at the first interview his readiness to negotiate.* But the more moderate Girondins had ceased to have any influence in the guidance of affairs at Paris. The die was already cast. On the 29th the French Government had resolved on war, and on the 1st of February it was formally declared by the Convention.

It is difficult to conceive by what process of perversion the myth of 'Pitt's crusade against Jacobinism' grew out of such facts as these. Without a shadow of provocation upon his part, the Convention declared war upon him. The causes they assigned were, that after the 10th of August our ambassador left Paris; that when the King of France ceased to exist, the ambassador who bore his credentials was sent back; and that after the propagandist decree of November, the English army was increased, aliens excluded, and an embargo laid upon corn and military stores. Pitt's only chance, therefore, of avoiding war would have been to have left the English ambassador to be murdered by the *Septembriseurs*, and to have neglected, after the receipt of a formal defiance from the French Convention, to take the ordinary precautions for self-defence. That he did not adopt this course constitutes his provocation. This is Fox's solitary ground for his bitter philippics against the 'diabolical principle of the present war.' This is the whole of Lord Russell's justification when he taxes Pitt with having undertaken a crusade.

Lord Russell, however, attempts to eke out his case by complaining that Pitt belied his professed neutrality by remonstrating against the French invasion of Flanders, when he had taken no notice of the Austrian invasion of France. It is obvious to reply in the first place that Flanders, and Flanders alone, was the special concern of England; in the second, that remonstrances, whether well or ill founded, are no fair cause of war. But the whole accusation is as baseless as the last. Mr. Pitt never could have remonstrated against the Austrian invasion of France, for the simple reason that France had of her own accord declared war against Austria two months before. Both in the case of England and of Austria it was France that began, and in both cases Lord Russell, misled by the perverse factiousness of Fox, complains of 'unjustifiable invasions' and 'crusades.' He may,

* Von Sybel, ii. 116.

indeed,

indeed, say that the Declaration of Pilnitz in the year before was a fair cause of war, and constituted Austria the aggressor. But if he does, he falls into this dilemma. The Declaration of Pilnitz, and the decree of the 19th of November, were precisely analogous documents. If one was a fair cause of war, both were. If France, therefore, was right in going to war with Austria in the April of 1792, England would have been right in going to war with France in the following November, and *à fortiori* was right in taking precautions against the possibility of war. Lord Russell cannot escape from the admission of one of two alternatives, both of which will probably be equally distasteful to him. Either Fox's French friends must have been wrong in April, or Pitt must have been right in November.

It seems, however, to be of little service to Pitt's memory to multiply proofs that he did not go to war for an idea; for they only furnish to his enemies new weapons of attack. The advocates of Fox, who by force of the term are also censors of Pitt, avail themselves largely of that quaintly Hibernian licence of recording contradictory pleas which is popularly supposed to be the delight of English pleaders. When the news of Mack's surrender at Ulm arrived, Lord Sidmouth announced his intention of attacking his old friend for being 'both precipitate and remiss.' As Lord Stanhope observes, these epithets 'were very convenient because almost contradictory; any specific accusation that would not fit into one basket would be quite sure to find a place in the other.' Lord Russell and Lord Macaulay have adopted very much the same principles of criticism. They first prove that Pitt went to war for an idea, and blame him for that; and then they prove that he did not go to war for an idea, and blame him for that. Lord Macaulay complains that the war was not vigorous enough for a crusade.

'He went to war; but he would not understand the peculiar character of that war. He was obstinately blind to the plain fact that he was contending against a state which was also a sect, and that the new quarrel between England and France was quite a different kind from the old quarrels about colonies in America and fortresses in the Netherlands.'

On the other hand, Lord Russell complains that the war was not disinterested enough for a crusade. He is shocked by the mean and commonplace character of the operations which were conducted upon the principles of ordinary war, and consisted of occupying the territories of the enemy.

'England sought to share the riches and inherit the force of the torn and dismembered monarchy, instead of showing sympathy with the cause of the murdered monarch. . . . When we find the Emperor
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of Germany appropriating a fortress, and the King of Great Britain conquering an island, we are lost in amazement at the effrontery which could cover a scheme of plunder with the cloak of religion and humanity.*

It might have suggested itself to these two distinguished critics that the most probable explanation of these uncrusaderlike proceedings was that the war never was a crusade at all. The cloak of religion and humanity could cover nothing, because it was never assumed. The whole perplexity has arisen from the inveterate passion of historians for discovering far-fetched reasons when obvious reasons exist. Nothing can be plainer than the case of the English Government in regard to the war of 1793, if it is only allowed to be, what it professed to be, a commonplace war on the ordinary pattern, and is not subjected to the distorting process of a high philosophical explanation. Mr. Pitt was not desirous of war, and did his utmost to preserve neutrality. He did nothing which any fair interpretation could have construed as a provocation to war. On the other hand he received provocations, in the attack upon our allies and the decree of the 19th of November, which would be looked upon as just cause for war at the present day. Of these provocations he took no practical notice, except by putting England into a condition of defence; and, though they left upon his mind no doubt that war must ensue, the declaration, when it did come, came from the Convention, not from him. The war thus begun remained throughout its whole course true to its origin. It was carried on upon the same principles as those on which it was commenced. It was from the first a war of self-defence, not a crusade; and therefore it aimed, after the fashion of all wars, simply at damaging an enemy, not at protecting 'religion and humanity.' That instead of devoting his efforts to the overthrow of the republic he at once attacked the strongholds in which monarchy and republic had an equal interest, is in itself a sufficient proof that the war was undertaken, not to propagate a set of principles, but to defend England from her foes.

There is undoubtedly more foundation for the charge that the war when it was begun was conducted feebly. Lord Macaulay characteristically exaggerates its force. The assertion that 'the English army under Pitt was the laughingstock of Europe,' and that 'his military administration was that of a driveller,' is simply rhetoric run mad. Still the accusation of failure is not such a perfect myth as the accusation of having undertaken the war as a crusade, or being driven into it by the fears of the

* 'Life of Fox,' ii. 378.

country gentlemen. But it is taking a very long step in argument, on that account, to infer that the balance of the failures must be laid to the door of Pitt, or that in any case they involve the condemnation of his whole military administration. The cause of Pitt's military ill-success may be summed up in one sentence. He had no commanders. The men of the Seven Years' War were dead; the men of the American War were worthless; and the men whom the new war was to train to greatness were still obscure and unknown subalterns. Failing any distinguished name, he had but one choice. The King was unfortunately possessed with the idea, which is common to his order, and which has been the ruin of more than one monarchy in its time, that persons of royal rank must be Heaven-born tacticians. The same delusion was fatal to both the Austrians and the Prussians in this very war; and even Napoleon, with all his vigour of intellect, did not escape from its influence, and was not exempt from its results. The King insisted on the appointment of his son, the Duke of York. Pitt might have guessed that the Royal scion was, from inexperience, if from no other cause, absolutely incompetent for the work; but he could suggest no other name to which the same reproach might not in some degree have been applied. And, unhappily, the selection of military commanders was one of the points where the King's habitual good sense wholly failed him. On a later occasion he showed in a still more striking manner how much more he thought of the claims of the officers than of the exigencies of the campaign, when he was selecting a leader for the Peninsular expedition. It was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon in 1809 to suffer even the Indian achievements of Sir Arthur Wellesley to weigh against the claims of some wholly undistinguished seniority.

So the Duke of York was appointed to begin the war in 1793. It does not appear that he was in any way responsible for the miscarriages of that inglorious campaign. On the contrary, he urged upon his allies the march to Paris, which would undoubtedly have brought the war to a very speedy end. But the Prince of Coburg, who had studied tactics in the best books, and had a dim recollection of the Seven Years' War, and Colonel Mack, who even at that early period displayed the aversion to bloodshed for which he afterwards became so famous, showed no admiration for so unscientific a quality as haste. They set about the sieges that were thought requisite with the utmost possible deliberation, and continued to waste their time so adroitly that the favourable opportunity offered by the defection of Dumouriez was allowed to slip away. They succeeded before some towns,
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and failed before others : but, long before they had made any impression upon the frontier of France, the French had re-assembled in numbers, and under Generals with whom the Prince of Coburg was wholly unequal to cope. After much varying fortune, and many useless evolutions, the campaign was practically brought to a close by Jourdan on the plains of Fleurus. The French entered Brussels, unopposed, in the autumn of 1794, and by the end of the following year were masters of Cologne and Amsterdam.

This untoward result was in no sense the direct fault of the Duke of York ; for if his advice had been followed, matters would probably have taken a different turn. But it was the consequence of his being at the head of the English army, that the English army were obliged to submit to the leadership of such men as the Prince of Coburg and Colonel Mack. The same inglorious fate would have awaited our arms in the Peninsula if Lord Wellington had been compelled to obey the orders of the Portuguese and Spanish generals. The difference in the two cases lay in the position of the English commander. Lord Wellington's tried ability and established fame enabled him to dictate to his Peninsular allies. The Duke of York was probably destitute of military skill, and certainly destitute of reputation ; and therefore his allies overruled his opinions, and compelled him to follow them to defeat.

But how was this unfortunate state of things the fault of Pitt ? England's lamentable indigence of military commanders was shown by the fact that when Pitt had at last prevailed upon the King to recall the Duke of York at the end of 1794, the only officer the English Cabinet could think of to succeed him was Lord Cornwallis, whose most notorious achievement as a soldier was that he had led an English army into the crowning disaster of the most disastrous war that England ever waged. Lord Grenville—who, as Foreign Secretary, had had abundant occasion to turn his mind to these matters—pointedly puts the true state of the case in a confidential letter to his brother in 1799 : ‘What officers have we to oppose to our domestic and external enemies ? . . . Some old woman in a red riband.’ What is it, then, that those who censure Pitt for the miscarriage of the campaigns of 1793-1794, expect that he should have done ? Was he to procure good generals by contract, along with the other army-stores ? Or was he bound *ex officio* to possess the virtue of second sight, and to discover the future field-marshal under the outer garb of an obscure lieutenant ? This last appears to be Lord Macaulay's view of a Prime Minister's powers and duties :—

‘In such an emergency, and with such means, such a statesman as Richelieu,

Richelieu, as Louvois, as Chatham, as Wellesley, would have created in a few months one of the finest armies in the world, and *would soon have discovered and brought forward generals worthy to command such an army.* Germany might have been saved by another Blenheim; Flanders recovered by another Ramilies; another Poitiers might have delivered the Royalist and Catholic provinces of France from a yoke which they abhorred, and might have spread terror even to the barriers of Paris.'

That the supply of masterly strategists, as of every other article of human consumption, must always equal the demand, is a dogma which is naturally pleasant to a fervent political economist. But history warrants no such comfortable belief. Again and again in the crisis of a nation's fate, the demand for a great general has been as loud as the terror of approaching ruin could make it; and again and again it has been uttered without avail. Lord Stanhope justly points out that we were not alone in misfortune in the Revolutionary War. If England was the laughing-stock of Europe on account of her military failures during Pitt's administration, assuredly Europe must have begun by being a laughing-stock to herself. Russia never found a successor to Suwarrow. Prussia passed through many a humiliating defeat, and narrowly missed complete national extinction, before she could supply even so imperfect an imitation of the required article as Blücher. Austria, from the first to the last of her many battles with Napoleon, never produced anything more brilliant than the painstaking Archduke Charles. How anxiously did England seek for a great general in the American war, and how deplorably unsuccessful was her search! In truth Lord Macaulay's ideal picture of the great minister discovering and bringing forward the great general is one to which it would be difficult to discover an historical counterpart, especially at the beginning of a war. Civil rulers are gifted with no special faculties that enable them to discern buried military talent. Clive and Wolfe are the two generals to whom England is indebted for the possession of her two most powerful dependencies; and both of them had actually distinguished themselves and acquired high reputation before they were intrusted with the independent commands which enabled them to gain the victories of Plassey and Quebec. And how little did human design or contrivance do for England in producing the two great heroes who form the pride of her military annals! Humanly speaking, it was mere chance that enabled these two men while they were yet young to struggle to the point where their genius would at once form itself and become known. If one had not been connected with the Court, and the other had not been brother to the Governor-General of India, it is probable that history

history would have recorded little enough of the exploits of the Duke of Marlborough and the Duke of Wellington.

If under Pitt's administration the English arms achieved no great exploit upon land, it was because he did not possess the instrument by which alone such triumphs can be won. Fortune forges such tools but rarely, and she did not fashion one for him. It cannot be laid to his charge that he preferred bad commanders when he might have had good, or condemned to inaction any proved military genius. He simply had them not to employ. And a minister can no more save an army from defeat if it has a bad commander, than a shipwright can save from wreck the ship he has built if she has a bad pilot. He never saw a man of real military talent till a few months before his death; and then, as will hereafter appear, he recognized him at once. But if, instead of weighing one by one the result of each individual expedition, we look upon the upshot of his military administration as a whole, there is no ground for being dissatisfied with it. Considering the adversaries he had to oppose and the materials with which he had to work, it did not fall short of what his lofty talents entitled the nation to expect. He had to contend with a people maddened to extraordinary efforts by revolutionary frenzy, and in the latter part of his administration with the overmastering genius of Napoleon. For allies he had rotten, antiquated governments, too much eaten up by mutual jealousy to work well together, and too much fettered by routine to work efficiently at all. So far as England fought alone, Pitt's administration was brilliantly successful; but when it came to combined or subsidized operations, the issue was very different. The cowardice and irresolution of the French emigrants caused the expedition against Quiberon to miscarry. The mismanagement of the Russian contingent and the lukewarmness of the Dutch sympathisers were fatal to the expedition to the Helder. These were comparatively trifling failures. It was the collapse of the coalitions which he successively formed against Napoleon, which has really brought his war administration into disrepute. They caused a lavish waste of English money; and the only result was to swell Napoleon's power and prestige. But if any one was guiltless of these failures, it was Pitt. The policy of subsidized coalitions has been sufficiently justified by the events of 1813. Pitt's conviction that England, standing alone, was unequal to the task of Napoleon's overthrow will hardly be disputed now. Having made up his mind as to right policy, he devoted his best efforts to carrying it out. But the issue was in other hands than his. He could furnish money freely, and contribute naval victories in abundance; but he could furnish nothing else. He could not subsidize the

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Aulic Council with energy, or the Prussian Court with courage, or the Russian Emperor with common sense. Lord Castlereagh afterwards succeeded where Pitt had failed, simply because in the interval the moral contrast of the two combatants was no longer what it had been. But in 1805 Napoleon had not yet learnt to outstrip even his antagonists in presumption and false security, and they had not acquired that slight accession of vigour and public spirit with which they were at last imbued by the schooling of disaster. It is hard justice to visit their errors upon Pitt. His merits should rather have been set off, in the eyes of impartial historians, by their foil. If England showed herself superior to the purposeless policy and impotent administration by which they were involved in so much calamity and disgrace, it must be attributed to the guidance of Pitt. She owes to him the great fact, upon which all her present pre-eminence is built, that, alone among European nations, the outbreak of Napoleon's ambition did not find her unprepared.

In any case it is but common justice to admit that, if Pitt is to bear the full blame of our military failures, he has a right to the full glory of our naval triumphs. Lord Macaulay's is a Lesbian rule. When the army and its success are in question, the Prime Minister is all in all, and the War Office is ignored. When the victories of the navy are to be disposed of, the Prime Minister suddenly becomes a cypher, and everything depends upon the Admiralty. When operations succeed, the subordinate Minister is praised; when they fail, the Prime Minister is blamed. The reason of this arrangement is obvious enough. The Prime Minister was Pitt, Fox's great opponent; the First Lord of the Admiralty was Lord Spencer, for a long time Fox's staunchest friend. But it is not thus that posterity will judge. They will not accommodate their verdict to the interests of the great Whig connection. It must be granted that where Pitt had none but worthless instruments to work with, he achieved little; and that where he was forced to fight with the arms of foreigners, he lamentably failed. But, in spite of these drawbacks, it was under his administration that England achieved some of her most splendid triumphs, and tided over the crisis of the deadliest struggle in which she has ever been engaged. History will never stigmatize as inglorious a rule under which the First of June, St. Vincent, the Nile, Camperdown, Copenhagen,* and Trafalgar were won. The situation which Pitt bequeathed to his successors bore no marks of a 'driveller's' administration. The French troops had been repulsed from Syria, and driven out of Egypt; *

* Copenhagen and Alexandria were actually won in the commencement of Addington's administration; but the expeditions were planned, prepared, and despatched by Pitt.

the French fleets were destroyed, the French flag could not show itself on the open sea ; and the preparations for an invasion of England—the most formidable that ever threatened her, and of whose probable performances Napoleon had confidently boasted, ‘ *Si nous sommes maîtres douze heures de la traversée, l’Angleterre a vécu* ’—had been foiled, dispersed, and laid aside.

The battle of Trafalgar—the last triumph of British valour that Pitt lived to see—marked the turning-point of the war. The task which Pitt’s successors had to fulfil was very different from that which he successfully carried through. The struggle was still for life and death, and the exertions which it exacted were stupendous. But it was waged upon a distant theatre, and only the echo of its ravages was perceptible in England. English statesmen no longer fought with the ever-present fear of invasion before their eyes. It was a question of patience and perseverance—of the success with which English endurance would wear out the *élan* of Napoleon. The national existence of England no longer hung upon the vigilance of an admiral or the hazard of a wind. The administration of the ‘driveller’ had broken the back of the war. When Pitt died, he left a vast residue for his successors to complete. But he had barred the road to India ; he had annexed Malta, the Cape, Ceylon, and many other colonies to the British Crown ; he had secured that the rich fountains of trade should remain open to England ; he had cut off its supplies from the ports of France ; and he had reduced all hopes of invasion to an idle dream. It must be admitted that, for a mere driveller, these were very respectable results.

If it had not been for Pitt’s untimely death, the world would have heard less of the failure of his war administration. If he had been allowed to gather the natural fruit of his own policy, he would have enjoyed the glory of it as a whole. He would have earned his due share of the renown with which England emerged from the long, exhausting trial, through whose earlier and darker stages he had guided her. But he was only suffered to lay the foundations on which others built ; he sowed that others might reap. By a strange injustice his memory has been reproached with the luxuriance of the harvest which he himself prepared. Later triumphs have been supposed to detract by their contrast from his fame, as though none of their glory were due to the Minister who gained for England the security that enabled her to achieve them.

Pitt’s death was so unlooked for, it was an incident so startling at the very crisis of a drama so terrible, and it was looked upon at the time as an event so calamitous to his country, that its circumstances have attracted the interest of historians in a very peculiar degree. All the minute incidents which it is usually the sad solace

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of sorrowing friends to collect have, in his case, become matter of historical record. Some of them have even become subjects of historical controversy. All of them are collected here, with many more that have never been given to the world before. Lord Stanhope has enjoyed peculiar opportunities of adding fresh touches to the well-known picture. The Duke of Wellington was staying in the same house with Pitt shortly before his death, and has communicated to Lord Stanhope several interesting details. The biographer's own father lived in constant intercourse with him, and was one of his latest correspondents: and his uncle Mr. James Stanhope stood by the Minister's death-bed and heard his last words. Lord Stanhope's narrative leaves upon the mind the impression that the popular idea of Pitt's having died from mere exhaustion is scarcely founded in fact. He was feeble throughout his life, and perhaps more feeble during the last six years of it: and the early age at which he began the laborious life of a Prime Minister would almost prepare one to believe that he must have been early worn out, whether he actually was so or not. The real cause of his death was his hereditary malady the gout, from which he was a sufferer almost before he left college. In one sense his work killed him, in that it did not allow him to apply the usual remedies in time. The isolation in which Lord Grenville had left him for the sake of reading to the King a practical lecture upon obstinacy, had thrown the whole burden of Government upon his shoulders: and the danger which threatened England was too closely imminent to allow him any lengthened intermission of his labour. The application of the Bath waters, the customary remedy of the time for his disease, became in his case an impossibility. The gout does not appear to have been the special result of his official labours: for it had fastened on him before those labours began, and continued to cling to him after they had closed. One of his severest fits attacked him in 1803, when he had been free from the labours of office for two years. In the autumn of 1804 it returned again, and his physicians strongly pressed on him a sojourn at Bath. But it was impossible for him to leave at that crisis, even for a week, the momentous duties which depended wholly upon his exertions. We find Lord Grenville at this period ridiculing him for his activity in superintending the military preparations against the expected invader? 'Can anything,' he writes, 'equal the ridicule of Pitt's riding about from Downing Street to Wimbledon, and from Wimbledon to Cox Heath, to inspect military carriages, impregnable batteries, and Lord Chatham's reviews? Can he possibly be serious in expecting Bonaparte now?' His alliance with Fox had not lasted

very long, but in point of patriotic sentiment he was an apt scholar in his new master's school. As a matter of fact we know now from the researches of M. Thiers that the very day this letter was written, the 25th of August, 1804, was just about the time that Napoleon had fixed for the invasion of England, and that he entertained so little doubt of its success, that he had actually caused the medals to be struck that were to be issued after its accomplishment, with the inscription, '*Frappé à Londres en 1804.*' But Lord Grenville, who was lounging at Dropmore between his garden and his library, knew or chose to know nothing of all this. Four or five years earlier he would not have sneered at the danger of invasion, or at a Minister's activity in providing against even the chance of it; but it was his sincere belief that there was something eminently ridiculous in an attempt to carry on the Government without his aid. He had not recovered the mortification of discovering that even his own refusal to take office without Fox had not forced the King to an unconditional surrender.

But in the mean time the anxiety and toil, at which Grenville was comfortably sneering, bore heavily upon Pitt. He obtained no interval of repose throughout the whole recess, and was forced to begin another Session with the gout still hanging about him. That Session chanced to be singularly trying. It was the Session in which the House of Commons employed itself in the task of hunting down Lord Melville. Now that the lapse of time has disengaged the question from the partisan feelings of the moment, no one believes Lord Melville to have been guilty of any dishonourable act. His own culpability was confined to the fact that he was charged with expending both the Navy money and a portion of the secret-service money, and did not keep the two accounts very carefully apart. As a necessary consequence, being bound to secrecy with respect to one portion of the expenditure, he could not give the House of Commons a very clear account of the items that were intermingled with it. But under cover of this general laxity, his paymaster, Mr. Trotter, had been guilty of actual malversation. It was a very fair case for an Opposition to take up. Unfortunately, Lord Melville's enemies were not confined to the Opposition. Addington—now Lord Sidmouth—had become his colleague; but Lord Melville had been among those who contributed to the fall of the Addington administration, and Lord Sidmouth was not a man who easily forgave. Wilberforce, too, and others of the independent members, were glad to make an example of Lord Melville at a time when suspicions of administrative malversation were very general, and not, perhaps, very unjust. In this state of feeling
Pitt

Pitt was unable to muster a majority for the purpose of defending his early friend. Lord Melville was condemned by the Speaker's casting vote. It was a crushing blow to Pitt. Lord Fitzharris, who was sitting next him at the time the numbers were announced from the chair, relates how he failed, under the first shock of the disappointment, to repress emotions of which few living men had ever seen the signs. 'Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead; and I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks.' A few nights afterwards he acknowledged to the House that the punishment of Lord Melville had given him 'a deep and bitter pang.' Lord Macaulay had heard from several spectators an account of the scene when these words were uttered. 'As Pitt uttered the word "pang," his lip quivered, his voice shook, he paused, and his hearers thought that he was about to burst into tears. He suppressed his emotion, however, and proceeded with his usual majestic self-possession.'

Pitt, in spite of his cold manners, was a man of intense feelings; and the very restraint in which he usually held them gave to them, when they did escape from his control, a violence against which his physical strength was unequal to bear up. From this time forward we hear a good deal more of his failing health and of the necessity for repose. But yet there were no symptoms to alarm his friends or to inspire his enemies with hope. In August Fox speaks of 'an appearance of extreme uneasiness, and almost misery.' On Michaelmas Day, Lord Sidmouth writes that 'Pitt looked tolerably well, but had been otherwise.' The King himself never suspected the imminence of the calamity that was impending over him. Pitt visited him at Weymouth, and strongly urged a reconstruction of the Ministry on a comprehensive principle. He had felt the numerical weakness of the Government in the Melville debates, and dreaded the results to the national security of any passing clamour or panic. Mr. George Rose spoke still more plainly. He told the King, if Mr. Pitt should be confined by the gout for only two or three weeks 'there would be an end of us.' But the King refused to believe in the gout, and Mr. Rose found him more impracticable than ever. The gout, however, was all this time making formidable, though unobserved, progress. The physicians were constantly urging him again to try the waters of Bath; but the press of business and the urgency of the crisis were as severe as they had been the year before. The army of Boulogne was still threatening the shores of England, and Pitt could not venture to absent himself for any length of time from London. No one,

however, appears to have been even anxious except his physicians. In the end of October he paid a visit to his colleague Lord Camden, at the Wilderness, in Kent, and there he chanced to meet Sir Arthur Wellesley. In after years the Duke of Wellington gave to Lord Stanhope in conversation his reminiscences of that too brief acquaintance, and Lord Stanhope has printed the notes of the conversation, which he took down at the time. Considering who were the two individuals concerned, we shall make no apology for extracting these notes at length. It is to be observed that the Duke makes a mistake in speaking of the visit as having taken place in November. Pitt was in London the whole of November:—

‘The Duke and I spoke of Mr. Pitt, lamenting his early death. “I did not think,” said the Duke, “that he would have died so soon. He died in January, 1806; and I met him at Lord Camden’s, in Kent, and I think that he did not seem ill, in the November previous. He was extremely lively, and in good spirits. It is true that he was *by way* of being an invalid at that time. A great deal was always said about his taking his rides—for he used then to ride eighteen or twenty miles every day—and great pains were taken to send forward his luncheon, bottled porter, I think, and getting him a beef-steak or mutton chop ready at some place fixed beforehand. That place was always mentioned to the party, so that those kept at home in the morning might join the ride there if they pleased. On coming home from these rides, they used to put on dry clothes, and to hold a Cabinet, for all the party were members of the Cabinet, except me and, I think, the Duke of Montrose. At dinner Mr. Pitt drank little wine; but it was at that time the fashion to sup, and he then took a great deal of port-wine and water.

“In the same month I also met Mr. Pitt at the Lord Mayor’s dinner; he did not seem ill. On that occasion I remember he returned thanks in one of the best and neatest speeches I ever heard in my life. It was in very few words. The Lord Mayor had proposed his health as one who had been the Saviour of England, and would be the Saviour of the rest of Europe. Mr. Pitt then got up, disclaimed the compliment as applied to himself, and added, ‘England has saved herself by her exertions, and the rest of Europe will be saved by her example!’ That was all; he was scarcely up two minutes; yet nothing could be more perfect.

“I remember another curious thing at that dinner. Erskine was there. Now Mr. Pitt had always over Erskine a great ascendancy—the ascendancy of terror. Sometimes, in the House of Commons, he could keep Erskine in check by merely putting out his hand or making a note. At this dinner, Erskine’s health having been drunk, and Erskine rising to return thanks, Pitt held up his finger, and said to him across the table, ‘Erskine! remember that they are drinking your health as a distinguished Colonel of Volunteers.’ Erskine, who had intended, as we heard, to go off upon Rights of Juries, the State Trials,

Trials, and other political points, was quite put out; he was awed like a school-boy at school, and in his speech kept strictly within the limits enjoined him."

It was not till the foreign news became disastrous that his disease began to take a dangerous turn. The first blow was Mack's capitulation at Ulm. It was an act of cowardice wholly beyond an Englishman's calculations to foresee, and it offered a gloomy omen of the approaching fate of the Coalition upon which Pitt had staked so much. It affected him as no other event had ever affected him before, except the public disgrace of his early friend. It at first reached England only in the form of a vague rumour. Pitt absolutely refused to credit it. 'Don't believe a word of it; it's all a fiction,' he said almost peevishly, loud enough to be heard by the whole company, at a dinner at which the report was being discussed. But the next day—the 3rd of November—which happened to be a Sunday, a Dutch newspaper came to the Foreign Office, containing an account of the capitulation. Pitt could not read Dutch, and none of the clerks who could were in the way. So they went off to Lord Malmesbury for an interpretation, and he read out to them the fatal news. 'I observed,' he writes in his journal, 'but too clearly the effect it had on Pitt, though he did his utmost to conceal it. This was the last time I saw him. The visit left an indelible impression on my mind, as his manner and look were not his own, and gave me, in spite of myself, a foreboding of the loss with which we were threatened.' This must have been the look which Wilberforce used, in after days, pathetically to call the 'Austerlitz look;' for, as Lord Stanhope drily observes, 'The expression was striking and well chosen, but not strictly accurate, since Wilberforce never once saw Pitt after the battle of Austerlitz was fought.'

No dangerous effect, however, followed from this shock: as we have seen, Sir Arthur Wellesley saw him a week later at the Lord Mayor's dinner, and did not think him looking ill. Early in December, he found time at last to go down to Bath. The object of his physicians was to bring out the gout, which had been flying about him for some time, in the form of a regular fit. The Bath waters did their duty; and a good fit of gout soon made its appearance in his foot. During this time his spirits were good, and his cure was visibly progressing. He seems to have amused himself in his unwonted leisure with the somewhat uncongenial task of criticising the poetical effusions of his friends. Canning sent him a poem inspired by Trafalgar, together with a string of critical questions for him to answer. Lord Mulgrave, his colleague in the Cabinet, was also staying at Bath; and he

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was induced by Dr. Calcott to employ his leisure time in supplying the words for a patriotic song—the musician being wisely of opinion that a Cabinet Minister's name on the back of a song would make it sell, whatever the merit of the poetry might be. Upon this Ministerial performance, Pitt was called on to pass a critical judgment. He seems to have taken a purely political view of the subject; and accordingly, bearing in mind the precedent of despatches and votes of thanks, he pronounced that the second in command ought to be noticed as well as the chief. He is even said to have supplied the defect by the addition of a stanza of his own—which, if his reputation depended on his poetry, would certainly have justified the hypothesis that his intellect was giving way. The verses are execrably tame, and not altogether intelligible. The fact, however, only rests upon the bare assertion of one of Lord Mulgrave's sons, unsupported by any proof; and Lord Stanhope thinks it better, for the credit of his hero, to discredit the genuineness of this poetic effort altogether.

But this promise of recovery was speedily cut short. Just at the crisis of the malady, a report reached England that the Coalition had gained an overwhelming victory at some place in Moravia. For a time the rumour was generally believed. Even the Ministers did not suspect it, and reported it to the King as an undoubted fact. Close after it followed the melancholy truth—that the overwhelming victory was upon Napoleon's side, and that the costly Coalition, from which so much had been expected, was at an end. The shock was too much for Mr. Pitt's critical condition. As soon as he had read the despatches, he asked for a map, and desired to be left alone. He was left for a long time to his reflections upon the disheartening news: and he rose up from them a doomed man. The malady under which he was suffering, and which is particularly susceptible to violent emotion, received an impetus which could never afterwards be checked. It left his extremities, and turned inwards upon some vital organ; and from that moment a growing debility set in, from which he never rallied. As Canning said some days later, 'It was the relapse of a single day that reduced Mr. Pitt to the wreck he now is.'

After this the end came rapidly. At first he did not see it himself, and talked as if he only doubted whether he should recover in time for the beginning of the Session. But he began to be aware of what was impending sooner than his friends, and apparently sooner than his physicians. The day before he left Bath—a fortnight before his death—he said to Lord Melville, 'I wish the King may not repent, and sooner than he thinks, the rejection of the advice I pressed on him at Weymouth.' But
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by the time he had arrived at Putney it was too evident to all. The symptom which was most alarming to unprofessional observers was the total loss of those splendid tones which in public and in private had always fascinated his hearers. His voice had become weak and tremulous. His emaciation was so great that his countenance was utterly changed. For a day or two he still was supposed to be well enough to write letters, and to see some of his political friends. His last conversation upon public affairs was with Lord Wellesley, who had just returned from India: and one of the last subjects of that conversation was his commendation of Sir Arthur Wellesley. 'I never met,' he said, 'any military officer with whom it was so satisfactory to converse. He states every difficulty before he undertakes any service, but none after he has undertaken it.' There was something almost prophetic in this his dying description of the combined caution and courage which ultimately carried on to victory the task that he was leaving incomplete. But this interview and these topics were more than his strength could bear. He fainted away before Lord Wellesley had left the room. Lord Wellesley saw that the hand of death was upon him, and warned Lord Grenville of what was coming. 'He received the fatal intelligence in an agony of tears, and immediately determined that all hostility in Parliament should be suspended.' Such is Lord Wellesley's account of the effect of the intelligence upon Pitt's former colleague. His ancient rival Fox received it, if his own account may be trusted, with more philosophy. 'He was not much for delicacies at any time,' he told the Speaker; 'but there were some he found who felt a difficulty while the reports were so very strong of Mr. Pitt's extreme state.*' It was but seven months more, and he was lying in the same state himself.

The closing scene is best described in the words of Lord Stanhope's uncle, who stood by the side of the death-bed:—

"After this was concluded, Mr. Pitt begged to be left alone, and he remained composed and apparently asleep for two or three hours. Doctors Baillie and Reynolds arrived about three, and gave as their opinion that Mr. Pitt could not live above twenty-four hours. Our own feelings in losing our only protector, who had reared us with more than parental care, I need not attempt to describe.

"From Wednesday morning I did not leave his room except for a few minutes till the time of his death, though I did not allow him to see me, as I felt myself unequal to the dreadful scene of parting with him, and feared (although he was given over) that the exertion on his part might hasten the dreadful event which now appeared inevitable.

* Colch. Diaries, vol. ii. p. 28.

Hester applied for leave to see him, but was refused. Taking, however, the opportunity of Sir Walter's being at dinner, she went into Mr. Pitt's room. Though even then wandering a little, he immediately recollected her, and with his usual angelic mildness wished her future happiness, and gave her a most solemn blessing and affectionate farewell. On her leaving the room I entered it, and for some time afterwards Mr. Pitt continued to speak of her, and several times repeated, 'Dear soul, I know she loves me! Where is Hester? Is Hester gone?' In the evening Sir Walter gave him some champagne, in hopes of keeping up for a time his wasting and almost subdued strength; and as Mr. Pitt seemed to feel pain in swallowing it, owing to the thrush in his throat, Sir Walter said: 'I am sorry, Sir, to give you pain. Do not take it unkind.' Mr. Pitt, with that mildness which adorned his private life, replied: 'I never take anything unkind that is meant for my good.' At three o'clock on Wednesday Colonel Taylor arrived express from His Majesty at Windsor, and returned with the melancholy [news] of all hopes having ceased. I remained the whole of Wednesday night with Mr. Pitt. His mind seemed fixed on the affairs of the country, and he expressed his thoughts aloud, though sometimes incoherently. He spoke a good deal concerning a private letter from Lord Harrowby, and frequently inquired the direction of the wind; then said, answering himself, 'East; ah! that will do; that will bring him quick:' at other times seemed to be in conversation with a messenger, and sometimes cried out 'Hear, hear!' as if in the House of Commons. During the time he did not speak he moaned considerably, crying, 'O dear! O Lord!' Towards twelve the rattles came in his throat, and proclaimed approaching dissolution. Sir Walter, the Bishop, Charles, and my sister were lying down on their beds, overcome with fatigue. At one [Jan. 23] a Mr. South arrived from town in a chaise, bringing a vial of hartshorn oil, a spoonful of which he insisted on Mr. Pitt's taking, as he had known it recover people in the last agonies. Remonstrance as to its certain inefficacy was useless, and on Sir W. saying that it could be of no detriment, we poured a couple of spoonfuls down Mr. Pitt's throat. It produced no effect but a little convulsive cough. In about half an hour Mr. South returned to town; at about half-past two Mr. Pitt ceased meaning, and did not speak or make the slightest sound for some time, as his extremities were then growing chilly. I feared he was dying; but shortly afterwards, with a much clearer voice than he spoke in before, and in a tone I never shall forget, he exclaimed, 'Oh, my country! how I leave my country!' From that time he never spoke or moved, and at half-past four expired without a groan or struggle. His strength being quite exhausted, his life departed like a candle burning out.

Pitt's last exclamation, 'Oh, my country! how I leave my country!' is printed in the work before us 'how I *love* my country!' But we understand that, since the publication of his work, Lord Stanhope has discovered an earlier copy from the
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blotted and blurred MS., in which 'leave,' and not 'love,' is the reading. As far as internal evidence goes, there cannot be a doubt. The one is slightly melodramatic, and by no means natural in a man who carried the repression of feeling to an excess: the other sums up with eloquent conciseness the circumstances which cast a gloom, deeper than the gloom of death, over the dying statesman's thoughts.

Though it has hitherto rested on no very distinct authority, it has always been the popular belief, that Pitt died with the exclamation 'Oh, my country!' upon his lips. It is strange that Lord Macaulay should have treated the tradition with ridicule, and dismissed it as 'a fable.' There can be no doubt of its substantial authenticity now; but it was so true to the nature and the past career of the great Minister, that the wonder is that it should have ever been disbelieved. It was mournfully in character with a life devoted to his country as few lives have been. Since his first entry into the world he had been absolutely hers. For her he had foregone the enjoyments of youth, the ties of family, the hope of fortune. For three-and-twenty years his mind had moulded her institutions, and had shaped her destiny. It was an agonizing thought for his dying pillow, that he had ruled her almost absolutely, and that she had trusted him without hesitation and without stint, and that this was the end of it all. At his bidding the most appalling sacrifices had been made in vain; and now he was leaving her in the darkest hour of a terrible reverse, and in the presence of the most fearful foe whom she had ever been called upon to confront. Such thoughts might well wring from him a cry of mental anguish, even in the convulsions of death. It was not given to him to know how much he had contributed to the final triumph. Long after his feeble frame had been laid near his father's grave, his policy continued to animate the councils of English statesmen, and the memory of his lofty and inflexible spirit encouraged them to endure. After eleven more years of suffering, Europe was rescued from her oppressor by the measures which Pitt had advised, and the long peace was based upon the foundations which he had laid. But no such consoling vision cheered his death-bed. His fading powers could trace no ray of light across the dark and troubled future. The leaders had not yet arisen, who, through unexampled constancy and courage, were to attain at last to the glorious deliverance towards which he had pointed the way, but which his eyes were never permitted even in distant prospect to behold.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Shot-proof Gun-Shields as adapted to Iron-Cased Ships for National Defence.* By Captain Cowper Phipps Coles, R.N. London, 1861.
2. *Second Report of the Royal Commissioners on the National Defences.* London.
3. *What is good Iron, and how is it to be got?* By R. H. Cheney. London, 1862.

THE civil war now raging in America seems destined to furnish Europe with a series of surprises which defy the calculations of our most sagacious politicians, and at first sight appear to set at nought all the experience hitherto gained in the wars on this side of the Atlantic.

The war itself, not only in its origin but in its duration, has been of a nature that no one anticipated; and even at this moment the most experienced statesmen are as unable to predict when or how it may end as they were to foresee its commencement. The siege, if it may be so called, of Fort Sumter, which was the first event of the war, is unlike anything that is known to have occurred in Europe. We have no record of a powerful casemated fort in the sea being forced to surrender to the attacks of batteries situated on the shore before a breach was made or a single gun dismantled; and, what is more wonderful still, before a single man was killed or even wounded on the side either of the attack or the defence. The battle of Bull's Run, which was the next great event, is equally without a parallel in the annals of European warfare; and so, too, is the duel recently fought between the two iron-plated vessels at the mouth of the James River. This duel was, so far as we know, almost as bloodless as the siege of Fort Sumter, and, if not so momentous in its political consequences, it is yet well worthy of the most attentive consideration of all persons interested in military matters. We could afford to smile at the siege of Fort Sumter, and did not think that any knowledge was gained through that event, as to the advantage of defensive works. The battle of Bull's Run was looked upon as so exceptional that no one attempted to draw any military conclusion from its phenomena. But the action between the 'Merrimac' and the 'Monitor' has aroused the attention of Englishmen almost as much as the 'affair of the Trent;' and the fight has been discussed, both in Parliament and out of doors, with a degree of interest and an amount of excitement scarcely surpassed by the announcement of the seizure of the Confederate envoys from under the protection of the British flag.

The difference, however, in the manner in which the two controversies have been conducted is striking in the extreme.

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There are few Englishmen who are not capable of forming a sound judgment, when they give themselves the trouble of thinking, regarding a point in which the national honour is concerned; and the unanimity and good sense shown by the whole people on the first occasion was as striking as it was honourable and creditable to us as a nation. Unfortunately, however, there are very few persons who have the special knowledge which is requisite to draw any satisfactory conclusions from an unusual and complicated military event, or who are competent to give an opinion on the recent experiment of a fight between two iron-plated vessels. The consequence is that a panic has seized the public mind. Everything is considered as known, everything as settled, by this one action. Both in Parliament and outside, the most violent opinions have been asserted in the most dogmatic manner, and Ministers have been forced by the clamour to give way against their conviction on matters nearly concerning the interests and the safety of the country. Had Parliament not been sitting at the moment, had more time been allowed for reflection, or for obtaining more accurate information, the result would probably have been different; but while things are in this position it may be well worth while to examine the details of the fight in Hampton Roads a little more closely than has hitherto been done, and to see if any modicum of real knowledge can be extracted from the vague and scanty intelligence which has yet reached us.

The first vessel that took a part in this memorable action was the 'Merrimac'—since called the 'Virginia'—originally one of six first-class wooden frigates, built by the Americans in or about the year 1855. The 'Minnesota' and the 'Monitor' were also appeared on the scene of action, are sister vessels; tonnage ranging between 3400 and 3600 tons, and equal in cost of a first-rate line-of-battle-ship. (The tonnage of our 'Duke of Wellington,' 130 guns, is only 3776 tons.) They were all war steamers of the most improved class, and it was to be much feared that our 'Orlando' and 'Mersey,' and other vessels of that description, were constructed. The 'Merrimac' was sunk and supposed to be destroyed by the Federal officers, when the Confederates took possession of the naval yard at Norfolk. She was, however, afterwards raised and converted into an iron-plated vessel of the most formidable description in inland defence. So far as can be made out from the very imperfect descriptions which have reached this country, it seems that her top masts and upper deck were entirely removed flush with the gun deck, and for these a casing of iron was substituted, sloping upwards at an angle of 45 degrees. This casing must consequently have

have extended some feet beyond the original sides of the ship at the water-line, to which it was carried, on the assumption that she floated to her original depth. Upwards it extended to the level of the original upper-deck, which was considerably narrowed, and was also covered with thin plates of iron. The weight of all this additional armour being considerably in excess of the portions removed, and for which it was substituted, seems to have lowered her line of floatation, as was intended, some three or four feet, so that her armour extended to that distance below the water-line; but her port-sills were also brought so low as to render it extremely doubtful how she would behave in the open sea, or with any swell on.

Her armament consisted of twelve guns, so disposed that four or five of them were broadside-guns on each side, and either two or one facing forward and aft in the direction of the keel. The accounts are not quite clear on this point, which is in fact of very little consequence. The broadside-guns were 11-inch Dahlgrens; the fore and aft guns seem to have been rifled, though on what system is by no means clear.

In addition to these she was fitted with two prongs or rostra, projecting from the bow, it is said, like ploughshares. These were intended to run into and pierce any vessel she might be engaged with; and from the use made of them they appear to have been as much or more depended on by her officers than even the armament detailed above.

Thus fitted and equipped, the 'Merrimac' left her moorings at 11 o'clock on the 8th of March last, and steamed down the James River to Hampton Roads, at the entrance of the Chesapeake Bay. Here she found two frigates belonging to the Federal navy, lying at anchor,—the 'Cumberland,' a sloop of 24 guns and 1726 tons, built in 1842, and the 'Congress,' by some said to be the old 'Congress' of our war with the United States, by others to have been built in 1841,—at all events bearing 50 guns, though only 1867 tons burthen. Both were sailing-vessels, and, as may be supposed from these particulars, neither of the first class, and the guns of the 'Congress' at least must have been of very small calibre to enable so small a vessel to carry so many of them.

On approaching the Federal squadron the 'Merrimac' seems to have singled out the 'Cumberland' for her first victim, and, after firing once or twice into her from her bow-guns, ran straight at her, and 'gave her the stem' immediately abreast of the foremast. She then rounded off, firing shell from her broadside-guns into her adversary; and, having gained a sufficient offing, again ran into her right amidships; on both occasions making
such

such holes in her sides below the water-line as to insure her destruction, even without the assistance of the shells, which seem, however, to have spread havoc and destruction wherever they struck the vessel.

While thus engaged with the 'Cumberland,' the 'Merrimac' seems also to have fired occasional shot and shell into the 'Congress;' and having completed the destruction of the former vessel, she turned her serious attention to her consort. A few rounds, however, and the example of what she had just witnessed, convinced the latter that resistance was hopeless, and she hauled down her flag and surrendered,—not one moment too soon,—as a very few minutes more would have sufficed for her entire destruction from the shells of the 'Merrimac,' without the necessity of any attempt to run into her.

Having destroyed these two vessels, the 'Merrimac' seems to have amused herself for some time in playing at long bowls with the shore batteries, and neglected her opportunity of destroying the 'Minnesota,' which she could easily have done, as the latter had run aground in coming to the assistance of her consorts, and lay at the mercy of the shells of the 'Merrimac,' though of course out of reach of her prow, which at that time the officers seem to have considered their most powerful weapon of offence.

As night approached the 'Merrimac' retired, either to refit or to replenish her ammunition; feeling no doubt perfectly secure, from the experience of the day, that the rest of the Federal squadron would fall an easy prey on the morrow. Most fortunately, however, for the honour of the Federal flag a new competitor had appeared on the scene of action before the day dawned, in the form of the now celebrated 'Monitor;' which was able not only to check the 'Merrimac's' career of victory, but almost to turn the tables against her.

According to the accounts we have received, the 'Monitor' is a vessel 172 feet long over all, and 41 feet 4 inches in extreme breadth. Internally she is a complete iron vessel, composed of plates of half an inch in thickness. Over this, to the depth of some three feet below the water-level, is a coating of 26 inches of oak, and over this again a five-inch rolled plate of iron. The composition of her sides seems consequently to be almost identical with that of the 'Warrior,' the weight of iron being nearly the same, though with a slight difference in the mode in which it is disposed, but with eight inches more wood: these, however, seem an unnecessary incumbrance. Her deck is planked with seven inches of timber, over which is one inch of iron, and she floats with her deck only two feet above the water; and may be more appropriately called a raft or a barge than a ship,—

a ship,—it being evident that she could hardly live in a sea-way.

The great peculiarity, however, of her structure is the tower or turret, which rises above the deck in the centre. This is described as in appearance like a small gasometer. Its external diameter is 21 feet 6 inches,* its height 9 feet, and it is composed of eight thicknesses of one-inch plates of rolled iron. It stands on a turn-table, which is moved by steam-power between decks, and is armed with two Dahlgren guns, placed side by side, and firing through two narrow portholes in the side of the tower. These are further protected by shields and pendulums, intended to prevent the entrance of the enemy's projectiles when the guns are withdrawn.

No sooner had the 'Merrimac' appeared on the scene of action on the following morning than the gallant little 'Monitor' proceeded to encounter her, and for five hours the combat raged between these two strange-looking antagonists. During the course of it the 'Merrimac' endeavoured to run down or pierce the sides of the 'Monitor,' but, so far as we now know, with singularly little success, having injured herself in the attempt much more than she did her enemy. She also tried boarding, but equally in vain. Every opening was closed with iron gratings, and no hole left for the boarders to enter; while the tower could be turned round so as to sweep the deck either way.

Foiled in these attempts, the vessels contented themselves with a cannonade, which appears to have been almost as innocuous on either hand as the celebrated fight that caused the surrender of Fort Sumter. Towards evening the action ceased, and both vessels withdrew, each satisfied of the impregnability of the other. During its continuance, however, the 'Merrimac' had fired occasional shots at the shore batteries, or at the 'Minnesota.'

What surprises us most in this, as in every other action of this great war, is the want of dash and energy shown by the commanders on either side. Why did not the 'Merrimac,' when she found she was invulnerable, and that the 'Monitor' could do her no damage, turn at once to the 'Minnesota' or 'St. Lawrence,' and destroy them with her shells? or why did she not at once steam up the Potomac, break down the Long Bridge, throw her shells into the capital on the one hand, and the Federal camp on the other? Such an action might have had some influence on the fate of the war, and here was a golden opportunity that may not soon occur again. Why, on the other hand, did not the invulnerable

* If only breech-loading guns were used, a much smaller turret would suffice; but one immense advantage of the 'Ericsson turret' over the 'Coles shield' is, that it admits of the use of muzzle-loading guns, which the other does not.

'Monitor'

'Monitor' try the same thing at Richmond? Up to the date of the latest accounts neither has attempted anything further; so, while the combatants are reposing on their laurels and recovering their breath, let us try what crumbs of information we can gather from the late action of Newport News.

The experience gained from this most remarkable encounter may be conveniently examined under four separate heads:—

1. As regards the use of iron-plated vessels as rams.
2. As to the effect of horizontal shell-firing against wooden ships.
3. As to the experience gained from an action between two iron-coated men-of-war; and
4. As regards the probable results of an action between an iron-plated vessel and a fort; the latter being the point on which it has been considered as decisive in this country, though, strangely enough, it is the only point of the four in which the action affords us no direct information whatever.

With regard to the first branch of the subject, the result, so far as it goes, seems to be adverse to the idea of using iron-plated vessels as rams. It did not require this action to tell us that the bilge is the weakest—the stem the strongest part of any vessel; and that if any ship of 3500 tons caught one less than half her size at anchor, and chose to run full tilt at her side, she would certainly drive it in and sink her.

Unfortunately we have already too much experience of this sort. In our own river Thames, even little penny steamers have an unpleasant knack of running their noses against sailing-vessels twice or three times their size, and with the uniform result of piercing their sides. The only unexpected feature is that the attacking vessel not only receives no injury in her prow, but that neither her engines nor any part of her moving gear are deranged by the shock. It is extremely probable that if any wooden screw line-of-battle ship or frigate ran full tilt against the side of another vessel of equal, or even of superior weight and power, she would sink her. This, however, is a point on which naval men are by no means agreed; but, supposing it granted, it by no means follows that the addition of an iron beak gives to an iron vessel an additional advantage at all in proportion to the immense increase of strength which is certainly gained by the iron-plating and stronger construction of that class of war ships, and it is consequently by no means clear that they will be successful as rams. What the present experiment teaches us,—if it teaches anything,—is that when one iron vessel especially fitted for the purpose

purpose tried to run down another of about half her size, she failed signally, and did herself more injury than she did to her adversary. After all, however, the question is probably an idle one. We can hardly fancy the circumstances in which a steamer, unless disabled, should allow herself to be run into in this manner. Putting the helm up or down,—forging ahead, or backing astern,—any manœuvre would prevent it, so it is scarcely likely to occur as between iron steam-ships in action. As against wooden ships it is useless, for it cannot now be denied that horizontal shell-firing has sealed the doom of wooden ships of war, and our second head of inquiry is thus finally disposed of.

Those who have had opportunities of following the progress made in this branch of artillery practice since the Russian War have long been absolutely convinced that it only required one naval action to settle the question for ever. In the 216th Number of this Journal (October, 1860), an article appeared describing the various means of destruction which had been invented for this purpose, and pointing out the utter impossibility of using wooden vessels for fighting in the present state of naval science. To use the emphatic expression of Sir John Hay, in speaking in his place in Parliament on this subject, ‘the man who goes into action in a wooden vessel is a fool, and the man that sends him there a villain.’

Although all this was perfectly well known to the initiated long ago, the advantage gained through the American action is incalculable. The public now believe what before was accepted only by the men of science. Notwithstanding all that wonderful tenacity of faith in the ancient ways which is characteristic of a British Admiralty, their wooden idols must now at last be abandoned. Although it is reported that the dock-yard authorities have bought and converted more timber during the last financial year than they ever did before, they too must be sacrificed. The public now know that a wooden man-of-war is a mere box of lucifer-matches, and that the first shell fired into it explodes the whole. The question has passed from the region of theory into the domain of fact, and woe to those who refuse to be taught by such experience. But it is needless to reiterate what was said a year and a-half ago as clearly and as strongly as it could now be put.

We now come to the third branch of the inquiry, and we feel that we should require to know more than we yet do of the construction of the two vessels engaged, before it would be justifiable to hazard any very positive opinion on the subject. It appears, however,

however, tolerably certain that the 'Monitor's' turret was formed of eight thicknesses of one-inch iron plates. Now it happens that a target has recently been tested at Shoeburyness, composed in nearly the same manner, but rather thicker, and having the additional advantage of a two-inch plate on the outside. It was made in the very best manner, and of the very best materials. At two hundred yards, the 68lb. solid shot and 100lb. Armstrong both pierced it every time; and though the shot themselves did not go actually through, they sent such a shower of splinters into the sea beyond, as would certainly have killed every man who had happened to be inside a tower protected by so frail a covering.

Whence then arises this difference between our experiments and those of the Americans? Is it that their iron is superior to ours, or their workmanship better? There is not a shadow of a reason for suspecting either the one or the other. On the contrary, the iron for our targets has always been selected with the utmost care, and the workmanship the best that the skill of this country can produce. Nor does there seem to be anything in the shape of the turret to account for the difference in its resisting power.*

If, therefore, neither the material, nor the workmanship, nor the form will account for the immense difference between the results of the American experience and ours, it is probable that the solution must be sought in the nature of the artillery employed.

The heaviest guns of the 'Merrimac' were apparently 11-inch Dahlgrens. These are practically shell-guns, like our 10-inch guns; and though solid shot may be fired out of them, this cannot be done without danger, and can only be with very reduced charges. If the 'Merrimac' only fired shells, or if it is true, as the Duke of Somerset stated in the House of Lords a few nights ago,

* If there is anything to account for the difference, and if it is possible to render such a tower invulnerable, it is most fortunate that the Government has not proceeded further with Captain Coles's cupolas. A perpendicular tower is not only more roomy and capable of far better ventilation, but it occupies far less room on the deck, and avoids the great difficulty and expense of Captain Coles's proposal, which consist in its junction with the deck and the protection of its lower edges. If, therefore, it is possible to protect this tower, even at the expense of coating it with $4\frac{1}{2}$ inch plates on the outside, or five or six thicknesses of inch plates internally, it will be found as great an improvement as the sloping-sided shield advocated by Captain Coles—but which was suggested to him by Mr. Scott Russell—is over the curvilinear cupola, which is the only invention Captain Coles can really lay claim to, but which never was and never could be carried into effect. One of the many objections to Captain Coles's system is that only breech-loading guns can be used in his cupolas, and the largest class of guns cannot be made breech-loaders; so that a cupola-ship may any day find herself over-matched by a vessel of a much smaller and less expensive class.

that the initial velocity of her projectiles was only 700 feet in a second, the whole mystery is cleared up. We know perfectly well, and knew long ago, that an 11-inch shell fired with so low an initial velocity would barely make an indentation on such a target, and that even an 180-lb. solid shot fired with reduced charges would hardly do more damage; but we also know that at 200 yards a 68-pounder solid shot fired with an initial velocity of 1600 feet a second would pierce it, and at shorter ranges go clean through it.*

We know so little of the composition of the 'Merrimac's' sides, that it is perhaps even more difficult to speak with certainty regarding her. But knowing what her tonnage and displacement were, and admitting that she is now sunk three or four feet below her proper loadwater-line, we can calculate approximately what weight of armour she could carry; and if we spread this over her, we arrive at the conclusion that her armour was not heavier than what we are in the habit of experimenting upon. Nor will the sloping position in which it was placed suffice to solve the difficulty. On this point our experiments have been too numerous and too conclusive to admit of any doubt. It was stated the other day by Sir John Hay, the Chairman of the Iron-Plate Committee, at the meeting of the Institute of Naval Architects, that the result was pretty much the same whether a given weight of metal was placed perpendicularly to the line of impact, or whether it was spread out into a thinner plate to cover the same vertical height as would be required for that purpose, if placed sloping at any given angle. In fact, there seems no possible solution of the mystery from the data at our command, except the one suggested in the previous paragraphs, that the 'Monitor' fired nothing but shells, or fired shot at such low velocities as to be comparatively innocuous. If she fired solid shot at such velocities as are usual in our service, either the 'Merrimac's' sides must have been stronger than anything yet constructed on this side of the Atlantic, or all our science is naught, and we have learned nothing from the numerous costly experiments we have hitherto made.

The fight in Hampton Roads proves nothing directly with

* A curious illustration of the loss of power from reduced velocity is seen from an experiment frequently tried at Shoeburyness. A 100 lb. shot is fired from an Armstrong gun at a target with the usual charge of powder, say 14 lbs. The next round a 200 lb. shot is substituted, but with 10 lbs. of powder. Although the velocity is not, of course, reduced nearly a half by this process, it is found that the effect of the larger shot fired with the reduced charge is contemptible in comparison to that of the smaller shot with the larger charge, and that the former is, in fact, of no use as against a well-made iron target.

reference to the fourth branch of our inquiry, inasmuch as we do not know of any single shot from the shore-batteries having struck the 'Merrimac;' and if any shot from that vessel struck the forts, we are not told what effect it produced. As a contest, therefore, between guns on shore and guns afloat, the action might as well not have been fought. It seems, however, to be inferred that because these iron-plated vessels cannot be injured by shot from other vessels, therefore they cannot be injured by shot from forts.

Before jumping so rapidly to this conclusion, it would be well to bear in mind, that if the American fight proves anything, it proves too much. If forts cannot stop iron-plated ships, no more can other vessels of like nature. If, for instance, we had an iron-plated 'Merrimac' of 3000 or 4000 tons, armed with the heaviest ordnance, and lying at Spithead, and a little 2-gun 'Moniteur' were any morning to pay us a visit from Cherbourg, what is there to prevent her steering straight into Portsmouth Harbour and burning and destroying everything she finds there? It is certainly not the iron-plated frigate that can stop her; and if we are to accept the experience of the American action as final, it would be as strictly logical to argue, that if we had fifty of such iron-plated ships in the Channel, we could not prevent a single turreted gunboat from entering either Portsmouth or Plymouth Harbour, or from running into the Thames or Mersey, and burning and destroying everything within reach of her shells. If this really were so, England's doom is sealed; and we had very much better, like Captain Crocker's coon, 'come down' at once. The truth, however, seems to be, that the fight between the two iron-plated vessels in Hampton Roads really proves nothing—taking the facts as they were understood to be when the matter was discussed in Parliament—except that the Americans have discovered the art of fighting bloodless battles. First at Fort Sumter, then at Newport News, the firing is continued hour after hour with a fury almost unknown on this side of the Atlantic—an immense quantity of ammunition is expended; the noise and confusion are such that heaven and earth seem coming together from the exertions of these Titans; and when the smoke clears away we are delighted to find the result is merely what we used to witness with such pleasure at the Princess's Theatre, when under the management of Charles Kean. In the first instance nobody was hurt; in the second, the captain caught a cold in his eye from the wind of a passing ball; and the crew were half-suffocated, as the actors are, or ought to be, from the smoke they themselves had been making! We do not say that this is a perfectly accurate representation of the state of the case:

more recently we have read in the newspapers an account of the death of Commodore Buchanan, the commander of the 'Merrimac,' after undergoing amputation of the leg. What further reports of injury to the crew or to the ship may be in store for us, we cannot yet tell; but it seems clear that, from whatever cause, the 'Merrimac' has been in no hurry to resume her operations.

But the action, as we have sketched it above, is the action which in the British Senate it is assumed will revolutionise the art of war and change the destiny of nations. Both on the 31st March and on the 4th April member after member rose and spoke, and, with no more knowledge of the subject than could be crammed into him by a pertinacious projector like Captain Cowper Coles, denounced all forts as useless. With a unanimity seldom witnessed, the House shouted for gunboats and cupolas; and so great was the excitement, that Parliament was quite prepared to assume the responsibility of superseding the functions of the executive, and actually did force the Ministers, against their own earnest protest, to suspend the execution of the permanent works, regardless of the money they were wasting, and, what is worse, of the precious time that is thus sacrificed. When the spasmodic energy has passed away, and Members have time to reflect on what they have done, all this will no doubt be repaired as far as may be; for it seems impossible to doubt that if we are to maintain our superiority in the Channel, it must be by providing securely fortified harbours of refuge for our fleet, and this can only be done either by building permanent fortifications for their defence, or by maintaining such a fleet of iron-cased vessels for purely defensive purposes, as would, when added to the expense of the sea-going fleet, ruin the richest nation in the world in a very few years.

Turning to our own experiments, all the conditions of which are known to us, while we really hardly know one of the conditions of the American experiment with sufficient exactness to draw a trustworthy conclusion from it, we find that almost up to the present moment the elements of defence and of attack were as nearly balanced as possible. For instance, the 'Warrior' target, which is the best and strongest that has yet been devised, though it was not pierced at 200 yards by the 68-pounder or 100-pounder Armstrong used against it, was very seriously injured; and if the artillery had been a little more powerful, or had been placed nearer, it cannot be doubted that the attack would have carried the day against this as it had against every other target that had yet been tried. But, assuming them as hitherto equal, the conditions are already changed. There is now at Shoeburyness a 300-pounder Armstrong gun, which has not yet been rifled, but which is used as a smooth-bore, firing
a solid

a solid spherical shot of 156 lbs. weight. With a charge of 40 lbs. of powder, this leaves the gun with a velocity of 1720 feet per second; and at 200 yards its force of impact is as nearly as possible three times that of a 68-pounder at the same range. This gun has now been tried against a 'Warrior' target, and with 50 lbs. of powder sent its 156 lb. spherical balls through that target, punching a clean circular hole, very little larger than the diameter of the ball. With 40 lbs. of powder it smashed the plates and broke in the sides, doing more real damage than with the larger charge. When this gun is rifled it will throw a bolt of 300 lbs. weight; and although at ranges under 500 yards this will not have a force greatly in excess of that of the 156-pounder, it will at all ranges above that maintain an immense superiority over the smooth bore; and we may safely assert that at ranges between 1000 and 2000 yards it would pierce anything that has yet been fabricated of wood and iron. But why should artillery stop there? If guns can be made carrying 300 lb. balls, they can be made to carry them of 600 lbs. Sir William Armstrong is prepared to make guns of that size; and is only waiting for the order to commence the work, having made all the calculations and prepared all the drawings, and having not the least possible doubt of perfect success in making a gun of at least this calibre; while the Americans talk of 1000-pounders with more show of practical sense than is to be found in most of their schemes.

There seems to be no limit to the extent to which the powers of artillery may be increased; but, on the other hand, we seem very near the limit of the strength of armour which ships can carry. Neither the 'Warrior' nor the 'Defence' class can support the weight of their plating over their whole body; some of the new vessels will be made to do so, but it will be at a considerable sacrifice of other qualities; and consequently the limits within which the weight can be increased are very narrow indeed. Upon another very important question, namely, how far the composition of the armour-plates can be improved, we must refer our readers to the valuable and seasonable pamphlet by Mr. Cheney, 'What is Good Iron?'.* But it does not seem to us probable that upon the composition of the best armour-plates now known,
any

* "If, a quarter of a century ago," says Mr. Cheney, "a political economist had been asked to name the conditions most favourable to the security and prosperity of the country, he could have devised nothing more promising than that supremacy in commerce and in war should be made dependent on superiority in the manufacture of iron; that iron should be the armour of our navy, and the material of our commercial marine—perhaps, too, the coating of our fortifications. Such conditions have been realised; but instead of the energy imparted by knowledge and experience, instead of the alacrity of anticipated triumph, they find among us error and bewilderment."

any improvement is likely to be made which will affect the controversy. If bad iron be used, some great national disaster must inevitably ensue.

In this condition of matters it may be safely asserted that if the forts proposed by the Commission on National Defences were erected at Spithead, and each were armed with three or four 300lb. or 600lb. rifled Armstrong guns, there is no spot where any ship could take up a position to bombard the dockyard without the certainty of her being destroyed. It is no doubt admitted by the Report of the Commission that a ship might run past the forts without receiving damage. It is probable she might; but it should always be added, that if she runs past the forts she also runs past the dockyard; and, as far as any damage she could do to it, might as well have stayed in the middle of the Channel.*

The National Defence Commissioners seem to have recommended in their Report the employment of stationary in preference to floating defences to as great an extent as possible, because they found that the expense of a gun in a floating battery,† moved by steam-power, is nearly four times as great as that of a gun in a fort; because the repairs of a fort when once built are practically nothing, those of a steamship continuous and enormous; and because they believed that it would always be much easier and cheaper to find men to fight guns in a stationary fort than to handle them in a floating battery in action.

They seem also to have been struck with the fact that we know the exact form of a fort which will be serviceable now and for all future time; while we do not know the form of any kind of floating defence which may not be superseded within the next twelve months. If we were to-morrow to set about building a hundred

bewilderment. Instead of pouring into our docks and arsenals a steady supply of impenetrable ship and armour plates, we are disputing about what is good iron, and are struggling to use what is not. Nevertheless, the impulsion is given—ill or well the movement will go on—our wooden walls are rapidly transforming themselves into iron. The cost will be enormous. It depends on the direction for good or for ill now given to the iron manufacture whether the expenditure be not made in vain."

* It should also be borne in mind that the proposed works are for the defence of the dockyards and arsenals only, and are assumed to be the least that could be sufficient for that limited purpose. They are not schemes for making the nation secure against all chances of invasion; and, though valuable auxiliaries in that respect, much of the criticism that has been lavished upon them arises from confounding the two purposes.

† There seems no reason to doubt that the forts may be constructed for the price originally estimated. Though iron is to be substituted for granite, the thinness of iron walls, and the absence of all internal piers, will enable their size to be reduced at least one-third, while carrying the same number of guns, and so equalise the expense within very narrow limits of variation.

'Monitors'

'Monitors' or 'Merrimacs,' or even 'Warriors' or cupola-ships, the progress of discovery in this respect is so rapid, that before they are completed we may find out that we have again to undertake the rather expensive process of 'reconstructing the Navy,' and may have to repeat that operation every ten years. If, indeed, the 'Merrimac' and the 'Monitor' are as perfect as they are assumed to be, both the 'Warrior' and the cupola pattern of ship are already superseded. It is satisfactory to think that at all events no money has yet been wasted in this last class of vessels, and there is time to adopt Captain Ericsson's invention if it should be proved as superior to Captain Coles's as it is suspected to be.

But the great fact is that there is no limit to the weight of armour which a fort will carry, or to the size of the guns that can be manœuvred on their steady platforms; while the weight of armour and of artillery which ships can carry, seems already to be very nearly reached. It may also be added that the new invention of rifling ordnance is of very questionable advantage on board ship, owing to the unstable platform from which they must be used. It requires the fixed, steady floor of a fort to enable the guns to be used with that precision which is their peculiar advantage. None of these advantages of forts have been in the smallest degree affected by the result of the American duel; and, so far as our knowledge at present extends, there seems no reason to depart from them.

It is surely unworthy of a great nation like this to say, 'We must stop the forts, because we want the money for ships.' If either or both are necessary for the national safety, surely the money can be easily found. At all events let the question be argued on its own merits, and let it not be said that one department is trying to abstract from the means of the other; or that sailors are clamouring for ships, because they are sailors; or soldiers asking for forts, because the forts belong to their service. But let us look at the question like men of business, and if we can discover what is right, let us set about carrying it out as far as may be practicable. The Commissioners recommended the application of one million of money to floating defences; and if that had been appropriated at the time, it would have been quite as much as ought to be applied to such a purpose in the present transitional state of naval warfare. This sum, if it were taken up now as part of the loan, ought to satisfy all reasonable demands, without infringing on the more permanent works, which are far more essentially necessary for any general and comprehensive scheme of national defence. Neither stationary forts nor floating defences will
alone

alone suffice for the purpose, but only such a combination of both as shall render the special advantages of either available. But so far as can at present be seen, the greater stress ought to be laid on the forts, not only on account of their greater economy, but because of their power of using heavier artillery than ships, and with greater accuracy of aim. Such forts, too, as it is proposed to erect at Spithead appear to be of a singularly formidable description, and being situated on the shingle banks in the middle of the sea, command the whole area of the roadstead with their fire at ranges which would now be efficient against wooden vessels, and which in all probability will be equally so against iron-plated ships with the artillery which may be prepared for them before they are completed. They have also the advantage that they can—without either materially increasing the expense or diminishing the number of guns—be plated with iron of such thickness as shall render them absolutely invulnerable against any artillery; and from this circumstance, and the peculiarity of their situation, they are at the same time impregnable by any means of attack we are acquainted with.

If not capable of being used as the sole means of defence, it must be admitted that such forts must form a very important element in any scheme of defence for an open roadstead; and that with the aid of a certain amount of floating defences they ought to render our harbours as secure as any in the world. It is, however, just this necessity of the combination of the two that renders the question so difficult to decide. The advocates for ships and the advocates for forts have both reason on their sides to a certain point, and when this is the case a little superior talent or superior energy on the side of either party can secure for it at least a temporary triumph. The true statesman sees the advantage of the combination of both, and the real man of genius is he who can appreciate exactly how much of either is necessary to effect successfully the object in view.

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